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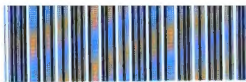
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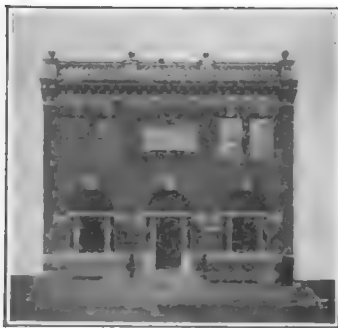
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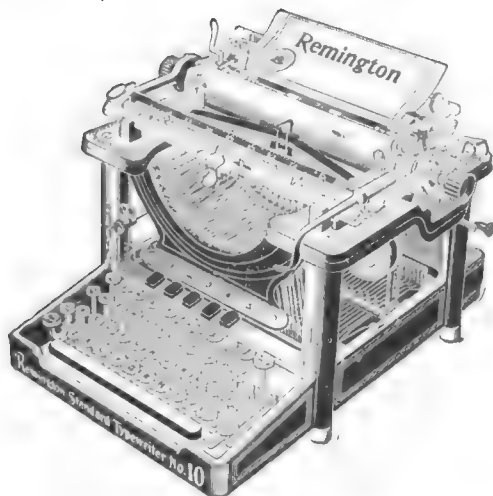
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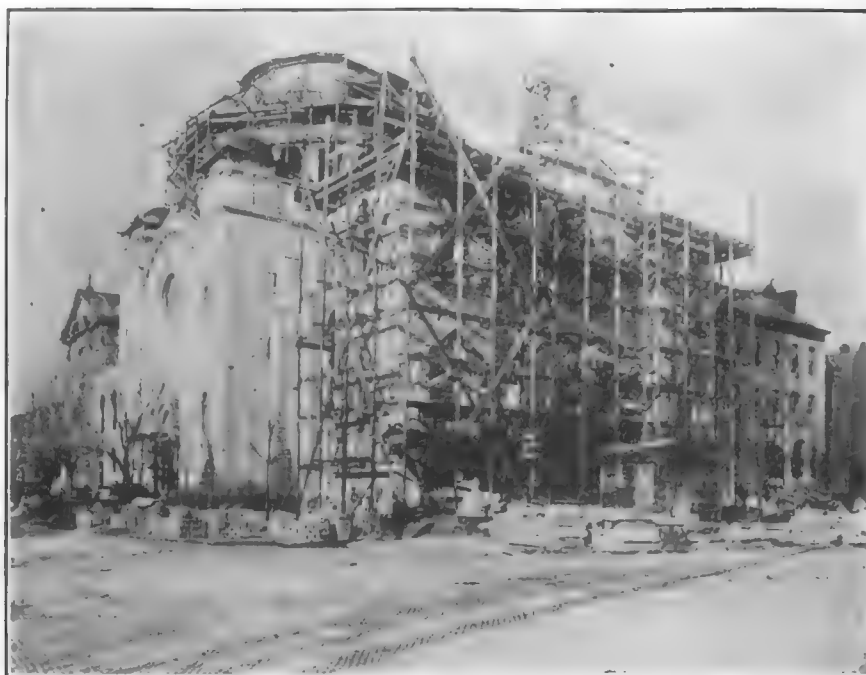
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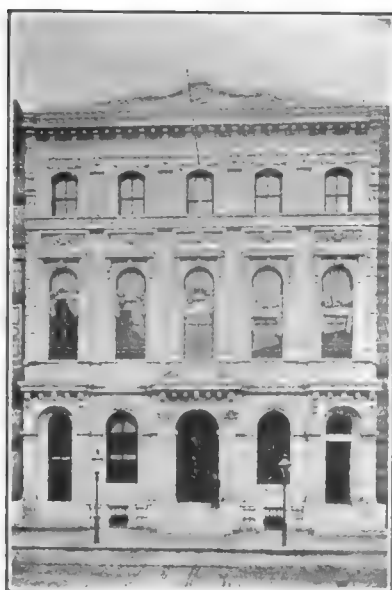
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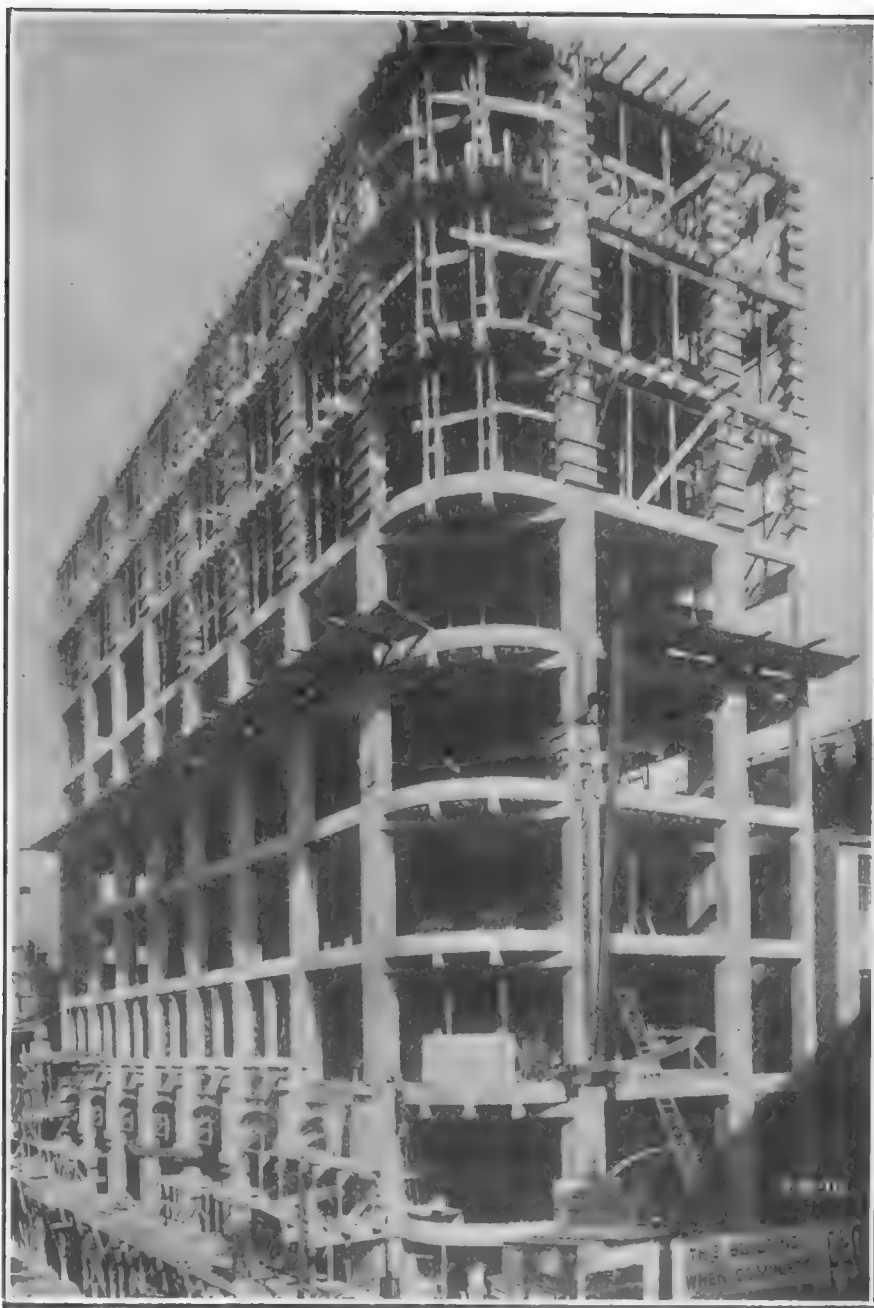
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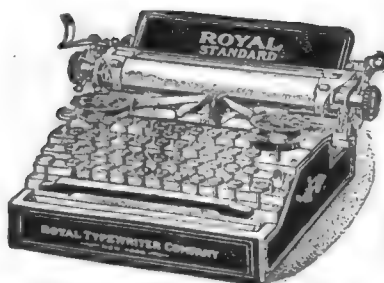
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SPANISH-AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

IN THE MONTH of May, the Argentine Republic will celebrate the centennial anniversary of its independence, Mexico will follow in September, and throughout Spanish America, the echoes will ring of universal rejoicing, and the memories, bitter and sweet, of 1810 will return. In 1810, Spain had ruled for three hundred and eighteen years in America. Her vast dominions were governed in the name of the Spanish monarchs by the Viceroy of Mexico, Peru, New Granada and Buenos Ayres, and by officers of inferior rank, known as captains-general. None disputed her authority, though occasionally, a discerning eye might have observed ominous signs of the coming storm, and influences were at work which would overthrow her empire.

In 1730, there had been a rising at Cochabamba, in Peru, under the Indian, Alejo Calatayud. One of the causes of discontent was that Americans were ignored in the distribution of offices. This complaint cropped up, again and again, from the sixteenth century down, until, in 1889, Spain lost her last possessions in America.

This rising in Peru was the first cry for liberty; it came to nothing. The time for independence was not ripe. Calatayud triumphed over the Spaniards, but he tried to compromise with them. He entered into negotiations, a compact was made, he laid down his arms, and he lost his life in consequence.

In 1780, the Inca, José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, again roused the country to rebellion. Three years of struggle followed, but the

capture of the chief, and his cruel execution put an end to it.

The year after, in 1781, a revolution broke out in New Granada which was successful in so far, as it wrested several privileges from the dominant party.

Nearly thirty years more were to pass before the great rebellion would sweep over Spanish America that was to annihilate Spanish rule on the Western Continent.

In the meantime, great changes had taken place in Europe. The French revolution had triumphed, with a reign of terror greater than that of Sylla in ancient Rome. It came like a whirlwind, and it passed, leaving the despotism of Bonaparte behind; but its more conservative principles spread over the world, and reacted on Spanish America. In Spain, the Bourbons had fallen, too, and Napoleon, who was distributing the thrones of Europe among his kindred, sent his brother, Joseph, to Madrid. But the proud Spaniard who had accepted the Hapsburgers and the Bourbons, because their blood was mingled with that of Castile and Aragon, would have none of the Corsican *parvenu*.

In America, also, great changes had occurred. The British colonies, lying between Spanish America and Canada, had cast off the yoke of the mother country and declared themselves free. There were points of similarity between the British and Spanish colonies, but there were, also, vast differences. Both were dependencies of the crown, and governed by its representatives; in both, the various governments were independent of each other, though united by a common tie of language and blood. But here the likeness ceased. The dependencies of Spain knew nothing of that spirit of liberty that characterized the American colonies. They had no popular representation; the paternal government of the House of Austria, and later of Bourbon, treated them as children, and with the exception of a few spasmodic insurrections, they bowed their heads to every royal decree. There was no such thing as freedom of speech, or of the press; yet they hesitated not to petition the crown when there were grievances to be redressed. In North America, civilization was in its infancy, the settlers were still doing battle with the wilderness, the Indian was the white man's enemy, and the soil was reeking with the blood, shed in savage warfare, or against the French. The colonies possessed no literature worth mentioning, few schools, and fewer centres of higher learning, and, consequently, no men eminent for science and letters. They were content to extract with painful labor the fruits of the soil, to manage their domestic affairs, and to muster their raw militia when the occasion required it.

It was not thus in Spanish America which had reached a high degree of civilization. With the exception of the fierce Araucanians in Chili, and some remote tribes, the Indian races had been conquered and, more or less, Christianized with a certain degree of civilization. Colleges and schools for the Indians, as well as for the Creoles, had existed since the sixteenth century. There were flourishing universities in Mexico, in Peru, in New Granada, in Ecuador, in Chili, in the regions of the La Plata, and in Cuba. Education was, to a great extent, in the hands of ecclesiastics, though it had received a severe blow by the suppression of the Jesuits, the great educators of Spanish America. At this particular time, there was a re-awakening of the natural sciences, especially in Bogota, where men, like Mutiz and Caldas, were forming a new generation of scientists in the famous College *del Rosario*. Literature which had been lulled for a time, was beginning to flourish again, and Spanish America might boast of a host of writers from the sixteenth century down.

For a long time, French literature had been invading Spain and its colonies, the accession of a French dynasty in the eighteenth century serving to increase this influence from across the Pyrenees. This was the period when the encyclopædists were undermining the bases of Christian faith, and sowing the seed which was to grow into the Reign of Terror. Neither the Inquisition, nor its adjunct, the censorship of books, might avail to prevent the principles of the "philosophers" from penetrating among the children of Iberia, whether at home or beyond the seas. When the fruit of the tree of knowledge had been eaten there was, quite naturally, awakened an unconscious thirst for liberty. Together with this, the germ was laid in both hemispheres of a spirit adverse to Christianity. This lay for a long time concealed. The movement for liberty in Spain and its colonies was, unlike in France, not at all inimical to the Church. Men, animated by the encyclopædic spirit, were forced to abide their time. The people were not ripe for a revolution either against the tiara or the crown. Still the time had come for a revolution of some kind. Despotism had almost spent itself, and Spaniards in whose breast the ancient instinct of freedom had never been extinguished, were loath to exchange one form of despotism for another, that of the Bourbons which they had lovingly endured, for that of the invader and upstart Bonaparte. Hence the Spanish revolution which placed the kingdom under a regency, and produced the constitution of Cadiz, was not a rebellion against the Bourbon princes whose abdication was forced by Napoleon; but an opposition to the French. It was democratic in spirit, yet Catholic in tone.

In America, where the growing young Republic of the United States furnished an object lesson, the Fall of the Bourbons served as an occasion for the outbreak which spread so rapidly over the whole continent. There was, at first, no apparent wish to cast off the yoke of the Spanish monarch, the descendant of Philip V. and, in the female line, of the old Gothic kings. But the people of Spanish America who threw themselves into revolution refused to accept either Bonaparte, or the Regency of Cadiz in the appointment of which they had no voice. When, finally, Napoleon had been overthrown, and the old absolutist regime returned with the legitimate king, Ferdinand VII., it was too late. The flames of revolution had spread over the whole of Spanish America, and they could not be extinguished except by torrents of blood. But I anticipate.

In the beginning of 1810, the colonies were still loyal to the mother country. But the time had come; and a leader was needed. He appeared in the person of Simon Bolivar, then twenty-seven years old. Since he had been in France, at the time when Bonaparte was crowned emperor of the French, the idea of emancipating his country had taken possession of his mind. A dark shadow had recently fallen upon him, in the loss of his young wife, a loss that destroyed the domestic peace and happiness which he had enjoyed for so brief a period. He had sought distraction in travel, and had just returned home, when an old friend of his, Vicente Emparan, was appointed captain general of Venezuela, and confirmed by the *Junta* in Spain which had assumed the government during the interregnum. The captain-general was decided to force the recognition of the new government. The voice of Bolivar arose in opposition, and, suddenly, on April 19, the revolution broke out in Caracas. Less than a month had passed when Buenos Ayres declared its independence, and a revolution was in progress, under a *junta*, or provisional government. Thus did the 25th of May become the Argentine "Fourth of July."

About the same period, the revolutionary spirit was rife in Colombia, and the *junta* at Santa Fé de Bogota was paving the way for the independence of the country which was to be attained under the leadership of Bolivar. It is, indeed, surprising to behold how, in spite of the isolation of the colonies, the revolution had spread. Within a very brief period, Peru, Bolivia and Chili were in flames, as well as Venezuela, New Granada and Argentina.

In Mexico, the same opposition to the Cortes existed, and a secret conspiracy was formed to convoke a congress which should govern in the name of Ferdinand VII. This, however, was nipped in the bud. A second conspiracy, in which the famous Hidalgo,

parish priest of Dolores, and Allende were prominent, was, also, discovered, but Hidalgo was too quick for the authorities. On September 16th, he gave the famous "Grito de Dolores," and the flames of revolution broke forth. From now on, the soil of Spanish America was to be soaked with blood.

The revolution, though it broke out simultaneously in all the Spanish possessions, was to be continued in two separate grand divisions, in South America, where Bolivar was the principal figure, and in Mexico.

To write a history of Spanish America is to write of a number of independent states, the vicissitudes of which are varied, although in the fight against the common foes all of the South American countries, hitherto subject to Spanish rule, co-operated.

As in the history of all revolutions, especially when Spaniards are the principal actors, we find great deeds of heroism; but, also, acts of blood curdling cruelty on both sides. The Spaniard is an extremist; he is tremendous in his good and in his evil qualities. His is the choleric temperament, the temperament that makes great men in every walk of life. If he takes to religion, he becomes a mystic or a saint; if to war, he may be a military genius; but when the honor of his country is concerned, he will walk roughshod over his enemies. If he is in authority, and he inflicts punishment, no sentimental fancy will cause him to swerve from his purpose, and he will strike with gauntleted hand. As a reformer he fears no obstacle, and, like Las Casas, he will spare no opponent.

Hence it is that we find so many heroic names in the annals of Spain and its colonies, though many of them are stained by the blood of victims. We cannot but admire the bravery, the intrepidity, the indomitable and all-conquering perseverance of a Cortes or a Pizarro. Yet, no amount of admiration for their deeds of valor can make us forget the execution of a Guatemotzin, on the one hand, or the sacrifice of the unfortunate Atahualpa, on the other. The same country that produces the lovable figure of a Cabeza de Vaca, or of the wise Gasca, gives us, also, a Nero, like Aguirre. Spain is the land of contrasts. Its transparent atmosphere, its fair sky, its touches of unparalleled landscape are coupled with treeless and arid plains. Thus we find among Spaniards heroic virtue and heroic vice; the most beautiful and the most repellant qualities. In the Spanish-American revolution, the descendants of Spaniards were fighting their brothers from the land of their ancestors. The same heroic and the same fierce qualities meet on the battlefield in deadly embrace, producing that greatest horror of civil warfare, a fight to the death, without quarter.

As we begin to analyze these qualities, some great names of great men arise before us. In South America the most prominent are Bolivar, Sucre, San Martin and O'Higgins. With these names the struggle of South America for liberty is inseparably connected. The most striking figure is that of Simon Bolivar. We find the name of Bolivar figuring in old colonial days in the history of Spanish America, but it was reserved to the "Libertador" to immortalize it. A native of Caracas, he raised the standard of revolt in his country, and the *Junta* of Venezuela gave him the rank of colonel. Of war he knew nothing; and the only military experience he had, was what he had acquired as captain of the militia in the valleys of Aragua. His first act in the new drama was a diplomatic one. Sent to England to announce the political change that had come into the government of Venezuela, he obtained from the British Cabinet the assurance that Great Britain would not intervene in the affairs of South America, provided no alliance should be formed with France. After this diplomatic victory, he returned home. Independence was declared July 5, 1811. Thenceforth Bolivar was to be the leading spirit in the revolution. Venezuela and New Granada were the first theatre of his military exploits, the Republic of Colombia the outcome of his victories. In the meantime, Peru was struggling for liberty. Bolivar hastened to assist her. The fields of Junin and Ayacucho established a new republic which alone would suffice to preserve the name of its liberator from oblivion, and Bolivia took its place among the republics of America.

Five of the South American republics owe their independence to Bolivar, namely, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. And yet, like so many other great men, Bolivar had to suffer from ingratitude, and the shafts of calumny were hurled at him. But posterity has placed him on a pedestal, and his name is in honor throughout the whole of South America. Bolivar died at Santa Marta in 1830.

Antonio José de Sucre was, like Bolivar, a Venezuelan by birth. From 1813, when Bolivar entered Caracas, until death separated them, these two men were united by ties of friendship that nothing could sever, and the life of the one is closely linked to that of the other. From the first struggle in 1813, until the decisive victory of Ayacucho, they fought side by side, Bolivar with his eagle eye detecting the points where victory awaited the patriots, and Sucre, ever active, organizing, eliminating obstacles, and paving the way to triumphs. At Ayacucho, on August 6, 1824, the victory was gained that decided the fate of South America, the most brilliant victory ever gained in Spanish America. Five thousand seven hundred

patriots fought against nine thousand three hundred royalists. The enemy left three thousand on the field of battle, and the viceroy of Peru was taken prisoner. Sucre was made president for life of Bolivia; but alas; the long series of bloody revolutions that have stained the annals of Spanish America soon began. In one of these Sucre was wounded. Resigning the presidency of a country he had tried in vain to benefit, he returned to Venezuela in 1828, to fall soon after, the victim of an assassin, and to die in the same year as his friend Bolivar. Sucre is regarded as one of the most beautiful characters in the revolution of the colonies of Spain in America, and one whose glory is most free from stain. As a military man we behold in him the conqueror, but intestine strife in a country he had freed was too much for him. Ruinous ambition and perverse passions blocked his way. Leaving the country of his adoption for that of his birth, he asked as reward for his services that his work should not be ruined, and he begged Bolivia to preserve her independence.

Second to Bolivar in importance in the Spanish-American revolution, and the greatest figure in the struggle for Argentine independence, is General José de San Martin. He was born in Argentina in 1778, and in his youth he served in the armies of Spain against the French invasion of the Peninsula. Unlike Bolivar, he had the benefit of a military training, having reached the rank of colonel when the revolution broke out in America. Abandoning the splendid career that lay before him in Spain, he hastened across the Atlantic to offer his services to his country. The newly constituted Argentine government placed the organization of the army in his hands. After a few victories in Argentina and Upper Peru, he formed the Army of the Andes, with which he crossed a mountain range greater than that over which Hannibal and Napoleon had led their hosts, and carried his victorious banner from Chili to the Equatorial regions. At the battle of Chacabuco he established the independence of Chili, and, with the co-operation of O'Higgins, he marched into Peru. He entered Lima in triumph, and, on July 29, 1821, Peru declared its independence, with San Martin as president, bearing the title of Protector. In the meantime Bolivar had accomplished the independence of New Granada, and San Martin, marching northward, met the "Liberator" at Guayaquil. The result of the conference was that San Martin left the consummation of Peruvian independence, with a portion of his troops that afterward figured at Junin and Ayacucho, to Bolivar. The career of this great man ends gloriously, for he took no part in the subsequent imbroglíos of Latin America. Retiring to private life, he went to France and

ended his days in peace at Boulogne, on August 17, 1850. He will always be remembered as one of the greatest pioneers of Spanish-American independence.

Bernard O'Higgins is the great figure in the history of the Chilean war for freedom. His father, Ambrose, was an Irishman in the service of Spain, who reached such eminence that he governed Chili as Captain-General, and he was later appointed Viceroy of Peru. The younger O'Higgins was a born Spanish-American, and on his mother's side of Spanish descent. After completing his education in England, he was on his way home through Spain, when he became intimate with some gentlemen from beyond the seas who were then laying their plans for the independence of their country, plans into which the young man heartily entered. On his arrival in Chili he found the country in arms, and he at once entered its service, with the title of Colonel of the Militia of Laja. It was not long before he was general of the army. After the first reverses he took refuge in Argentina, where he joined San Martin, with whom he returned to Chili in 1817. At the battle of Chacabuco it was O'Higgins who decided the day in favor of the patriots. From 1817 to 1823 he was at the head of affairs in Chili, when, obedient to a popular demand, he resigned and retired to Peru, where he died in 1842. His career had been short but brilliant. Like San Martin, he had given liberty to his country, and after that his work was done.

It is striking that the men who gave liberty to the Spanish colonies had either little influence in their government when the goal had been reached, or they met with ingratitude. Bolivar first, then San Martin, Sucre, O'Higgins, and finally Iturbide, all contributed to the independence of their respective countries, but none reaped any substantial or lasting benefits for himself. Such is often the fate of those who have molded the destiny of nations.

During all these years of South American conflict, Mexico had been in the throes of insurrection, with varying fortunes. After an ephemeral success, in which the first spark of the revolution burst into a flame which might have become a conflagration had the revolutionaries been better organized, it seemed crushed for the moment. Hidalgo, followed up by the ecclesiastical and military authorities, was degraded and shot on August 1, 1811. It had again been proven that discipline is better than numbers, and that one of the great errors of military leaders is not to follow up their victories.

Morelos, a priest like Hidalgo, and his pupil in the college of St. Nicolas at Valladolid, kept up the fight with success until 1815, when the tide turned against him. The famous Iturbide was then

fighting for Spain, and gave the first blow to the insurgents. Morelos was captured and, like Hidalgo, degraded and shot on December 22, 1815.

The fight still went on, however, and Vicente Guerrero kept it up successfully, beating the Spaniards at many points, until 1821, when Augustin de Iturbide appears upon the scene as the decisive force. Until then Iturbide had been fighting the patriots, but when the new constitution had been proclaimed in Spain he decided to throw his influence into the scales for Mexican independence. He knew thoroughly the condition of the country, and he managed by degrees to turn public opinion to his favor. Marching southward, ostensibly to fight Guerrero, he invited that redoubtable chief to a conference, with the result that Guerrero accepted his plan, with the three guarantees of *union, religion and independence*. It was not long before the whole country declared for Iturbide.

The new viceroy, O'Donohue, wishing to secure, if possible, the Mexican throne for Ferdinand VII., or at least one of the royal family, met Iturbide, entered into negotiations with him, and capitulated. The independence of Mexico was now assured, and the "Liberator" entered the capital triumphantly at the head of 16,000 men, on September 27, 1821. Now begin the series of vicissitudes through which the country had to pass for long years, until the downfall of poor Maximilian. The short-lived empire of the unfortunate Iturbide, the feuds of factions in which Freemasonry exercised such influence, the quarrels between the York and Scottish rites, the rise and fall of presidents and dictators, and the interference of foreign nations, give us the history of distracted Mexico until late in the nineteenth century. In fact, the entire history of Spanish America is reeking with blood, shed in revolutions.

A striking feature in the war for independence is the part that ecclesiastics took in it. While the conservative element of the clergy may be said to have adhered to the cause of the mother country, there were a number of priests who favored independence, some of whom actually fought for it. In Mexico, as we have seen, Hidalgo and Morelos were priests who became military officers and led their armies into battle. They figure among the foremost leaders in the revolution to which Hidalgo gave the signal.

In Argentina we find the patriot priest, Cecilio Tagle, who paid for his patriotism in the prisons of the inquisition. Chili gives us the name of Father Buenaventura Aranguiz, a learned Franciscan and a virtuous religious, who, being provincial of his order, was deposed by a Spanish general, Ossorio, and made to suffer for his patriotic sentiments. A confrère in the Franciscan order, country-

man and fellow-patriot of Father Aranguiz, was Juan Antonio Bauza. He too occupied the position of provincial in his order. At a later period, becoming secularized, he died canon of the Cathedral of Santiago.

As we look back over the past century, we cannot but feel pity with the struggling republics of Spanish America. Republicanism with them has been an experiment that has cost them dearly. Castelar said in Spain, long ago, after having failed as a republican president, that it was impossible to have a republic without republicans. Therein, perhaps, lies the reason of the comparative failure of the Spanish republics. Accustomed to an absolute form of government in which they had no voice, the Spanish provinces were hardly ripe for a republican form of government; hence the frequency of dictatorial rule that we observe in them. Their theories were excellent, but the practice was a disastrous failure, and recourse was too often had to the sword. However, they have learned a bitter lesson, which I think is not lost, and the larger republics, like Mexico, Argentina and Chili, are on the highroad to prosperity. The tide of European immigration has for some time been running southward, and some of the most important cities of the western hemisphere, like Buenos Ayres and Santiago, are in South America. The mineral and agricultural resources of the half of this great continent will go on increasing its commerce, and there is no doubt that, from a material standpoint, a great future lies before South America. Intellectually, the better class of the population has reached a high standard, and I have no hesitation in saying that the literature of Spanish America is in some respects in advance of ours. Considering the difficulties writers have had to contend with, this is no small credit. A better acquaintance with our southern neighbors will raise them in our estimation.

As to religion, it is in Spanish America as it has been in every country, as it is with individuals. There are lights and shadows, fluctuations between fervor and tepidity, periods of increase and periods of decrease. In the early colonization period some of the best souls and some of the most desperate characters were coming to America. Cervantes regarded it as the dumping ground of all that was bad in Spain. The correspondence of the early friars shows what a struggle they had against their own countrymen, and histories of the period, like that of Santa Fe de Bogota, by Juan Rodriguez Fresle, exhibit human nature with its bright and with its shadow side, as it always has been, as it ever will be. But, in the colonization period, religion was upheld by authority—that of the

state—while the inquisition, with an iron hand, repressed anything that savored of infidelity.

In the beginning, the religious were the salt of the earth, the mainstay of virtue, and the dike against the vices of the *conquistadores*. However, considering the weakness of human nature and the materialism of the New World, it is not at all surprising that, here and there, the salt of the earth should have become corrupted, and that, sometimes, material interests should have weighed more with ecclesiastics than spiritual. Yet all through the history of Spanish America, in its colonial period as well as in that of independence, I find innumerable names of ecclesiastics, secular and regular, bishops and priests, who shone as bright lights by their learning, and gave great edification by the holiness of their life.

When the colonies had cast off the yoke, it was quite natural that the irreligious element, aided by secret societies, should come to the front. Forces that made for evil, which thus far had been violently repressed, reacted with untrammelled license, while too often they were aided by a state inimical to religion. Yet, with all this, virtue survived and even flourished. It must further be remarked that the same conditions did not prevail in all republics, and that, side by side with the liberal element, adverse to religion, there is a conservative one, upholding the Church and its influence.

With the return of quiet, and the diminution of the revolutionary spirit, as well as the infusion of new blood, it is quite likely that the next era will witness a religious revival that will keep pace with the advance in material prosperity.

The coming summer, which is the winter in the southern hemisphere, Argentina will inaugurate a series of celebrations to commemorate its independence. It is quite likely that many governments, among them our own, will send representatives to share in the rejoicing. A feature of the occasion will be the meeting of various learned congresses, such as that of the *Americanists*, and other international reunions. These will bring together a number of scholars from all parts of the world. The Seventeenth International Congress of Americanists will be the first to meet below the Equator. Contrary to its antecedents, the congress will meet twice in one year, as another will be held in Mexico in September.

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FATHER WASMANN ON EVOLUTION.

IT IS not a little curious to find that when the English-speaking world had about settled down to the very sane conclusion that the theory of evolution was nothing more than a weariness to the spirit and a burden to the flesh, and that Darwinism had become an intolerable bore, over in the proud city of Berlin the fires of controversy are still raging as fiercely as ever and the quarrels of the schools are at white heat in the very capital of that land that aspires to be known as the "Nation of Thinkers."

The reason, of course, is not far to seek, and may be summed up in two words—Ernest Haeckel. Haeckel has long been known as one of the fiercest exponents of Darwinism. He is the German champion of materialistic evolution. Facts may fail him, but his imagination is ever furnished with a ready supply. No one among the original expounders of the famous hypothesis seems to have taken him at all seriously. Its great English-speaking chiefs were wont to smile benignantly on his extravagances of statement. The extraordinary proofs brought forward from time to time by the preposterous Jena professor were regarded with amusement and wonder rather than with anger or alarm; and it is now somewhat surprising to find his countrymen in his old age taking him seriously as an exponent of the moribund hypothesis. But that this is so is beyond question, and the most convincing proof of the strange fact is a somewhat curious volume that comes to us all the way from Berlin, entitled "The Problem of Evolution, by Erich Wasmann, S. J."

It would appear that Father Wasmann had already published a book on "Modern Biology and the Theory of Evolution." In a series of lectures delivered at Berlin by the Jena professor, he frequently referred to Father Wasmann's book. Indeed, Father Wasmann tells us in the preface to his recent book that Professor Haeckel had "in fact stated that the appearance of this work had led him to deliver his lectures." Father Wasmann then proceeds to tell us how "it seemed therefore expedient, in view of the many misunderstandings to which Haeckel's references had given rise, to publish a definite statement of my own opinion." This he accordingly did in an "Open Letter to Professor Haeckel"; but as this method of meeting the issue raised by Professor Haeckel seemed inadequate to the purpose, Father Wasmann says he "deemed it very important to give a course of lectures in Berlin itself on the same subject"—the theory of evolution.

It would appear that in Germany an appeal to a Berlin audience

is the proper procedure. An audience of Berlin scientists seems to be regarded as a jury sufficiently competent to properly adjudicate the claims of contestants of every kind. The Saxon Wittenagamot in the days of the English Heptarchy does not seem to have been regarded as a tribunal of more surpassing wisdom; and, like the Athenian Areopagus, it is to it every man with a worthy cause turns as to the body endowed with the proper jurisdiction and the requisite attainments to decide the difficulties which arise in the discussion of his problems. The arrangement in the case of Father Wasmann's lectures made the whole affair a quite unique proceeding. Indeed, its singularity makes it quite a remarkable episode in these latter days of the history of evolution. Three different nights were assigned to Father Wasmann for the delivery of his three lectures. A night was then set apart for the discussion of the problems in evolution raised by these lectures. At this discussion eleven savants in all spoke, ten of whom were opposed to Father Wasmann's views, the eleventh being noncommittal. Finally, Father Wasmann closed the discussion, speaking by way of rejoinder to the replies of his opponents; and his remarks—which lasted half an hour—closed the debate, the learned and distinguished assemblage breaking up a little after midnight. Surely Berlin has taken the problem of evolution seriously.

In one of his remarkable novels, *Sienkiwicz*, the famous Polish writer, in unrivalled word-painting, pictures one of his noble characters in the act of death to which he is assigned. By way of forlorn hope he attempts to escape from a besieged city to obtain outside aid for the beleaguered army and citizens within its walls, but finally falls into the hands of the enemy. The death to which he was swiftly condemned was that he be placed against a tree facing the soldiers and made a mark for the fiery arrows of the enemy's sharpshooters. His life was spared to the last arrow. But as the whizzing darts pierced in quick succession first his limbs, then his body, and—when he was completely covered—finally his heart, each sharp wound of the cruel Cossacks was met with a profession of Christian faith; the various verses of the Litany of Loretto kept time with the flying arrows. In somewhat similar fashion Father Wasmann met his opponents; each monistic thrust is met with a new profession of faith. The issue, too, is different; for although Father Wasmann emerges from the steady fire of his enemies with his body a forest of scientific darts, he is nevertheless victorious. It was a remarkable proceeding throughout, and Father Wasmann, evolutionist though he is, like *Sienkiwicz's* hero, never fails to make profession of his faith.

Father Wasmann's book rehearses all these proceedings at length. It gives Father Wasmann's three lectures, the replies of his opponents, and Father Wasmann's rejoinder. But as only a half hour was assigned to Father Wasmann for this rejoinder, whereas his opponents had spoken for two and a half hours, it is evident that it was absolutely impossible within the brief space of half an hour to cover adequately all the varied objections of his numerous opponents. Father Wasmann himself has evidently thought so, for in the book which he has just published he has deemed it prudent—which certainly it was—to comment at greater length on the speeches and objections of his antagonists. There is no doubt that this is by far the most valuable part of Father Wasmann's book. Written as it is in the cold, clear light of the morning after, or, more correctly speaking, weighed in the cool atmosphere of his study, with his wise and sound philosophical guides at his elbow, the objections of the various speakers are for the most part met directly, and Father Wasmann shows that, whatever the merits of his theory of evolution, he is deeply versed in the principles of sound Christian philosophy. Indeed, whatever inconsistencies or logical lapsings we may deprecate in his lectures, there is little to be desiderated in his comment. In not more than two instances has he failed, we think, to meet the objections of his opponents squarely and forcibly and crush them with overwhelming logic.

But it is not because of the discussion, unique though it all was, that this article is written. We were wholly unacquainted with Father Wasmann's writings. We knew in a vague way that Father Wasmann had been coquetting with evolution of some kind. We regarded ourselves as tolerably familiar with everything of importance that could be adduced in favor of the somewhat inconsequential and tardy theory. A somewhat close attention to the arguments of Darwin, to the pugnacious contentions of Huxley, and above all, to the philosophico-scientific treatment of the subject by Herbert Spencer—who, it may be remarked in passing, as a summist surpassed even Darwin himself—had long familiarized us with the leading arguments at least in favor of evolution, and if not always with the facts themselves, at least with the classes of fact upon which these arguments were supposed to be based. An acquaintance of more than a quarter of a century with all the strength and all the weakness of the theory and an occasional battle with the advocates of the theory over the somewhat brusque claims made in its behalf, made us somewhat curious to learn what Father Wasmann, the Jesuit, had found in the arguments of Darwin or his followers to make him also a disciple. We had, besides, some slight acquaintance

with the theories of the Catholic evolutionists. We had read their claims and noted their inconsistencies, and we confess to a slight curiosity to know whether Father Wasmann's evolution was not also characterized by the constitutional weakness and inconsistency with which we had long been familiar in evolutionists of this class. For these reasons we shall take the liberty of examining Father Wasmann's position at close range, and of applying strictures where to us they may seem necessary.

It goes, of course, without saying, that Father Wasmann is as orthodox—even in his evolution—as Pope Pius X. himself. His work has the approval of his own Jesuit Provincial, as well as the Imprimatur of the Archbishop of St. Louis, and no one could have fought more valiantly than he has against the monists, materialists and atheists who in Germany take their stand under the ægis of evolution. From the standpoint of orthodoxy there is little to find fault with, and it is wholly from the standpoint of scientific and logical conclusion that we intend to deal with it.

Doubtless Father Wasmann will repel with indignation our statement which classes him as a disciple of Darwin. But there is no remedy for it; in his acceptance of the theory of evolution it would be impossible to class him otherwise, much as Father Wasmann may object. Indeed, the very first anomaly that strikes us in Father Wasmann's book is the desperate attempt which he makes to exorcise the doctrine of evolution of the Darwinian spectre. In common with all Catholic evolutionists, he wishes to rescue evolution from the opprobrium which attaches to the name of Darwinism. They all naturally desire to rid themselves and the theory of Darwin's name by drawing a wide distinction between the theory of evolution and the doctrine of Darwin; but the attempt is a wholly fruitless one, and moreover it is entirely unfair to Darwin. Indeed, the theory of evolution with the name of Darwin expunged would be the play of Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark left out. Father Wasmann expends so much labor and energy on his effort to accomplish the impossible that it may be well to clear up the matter.

Father Wasmann tries to draw a sharp line of separation between the theory of Darwin and the theory of evolution. He wishes Darwin's doctrine to be regarded as merely "a special branch" of the evolution theory. He says, with all the emphasis that italics can impart to the statement, that "Darwinism and the doctrine of evolution are not equivalent ideas." He even attributes to Darwinism "a Darwinian theory of the universe." He attempts to establish the distinction by telling us that evolution, "which is wider and more general, connotes the doctrine of the derivation of *all* forms of life

from earlier and simpler forms, whereas Darwinism deals with the origin of the organic species *by way only of natural selection*, and is therefore a special branch of the doctrine of evolution." And lastly, Father Wasmann enumerates what he calls four different significations of the term Darwinism, and takes considerable pains to show that none of these is identical with the theory of evolution.

Now, nothing could be more misleading, and in some instances farther from the truth, than Father Wasmann's contention under this head. Indeed, on reading it one begins to wonder whether Father Wasmann is, after all, at all acquainted with what Darwin wrote on the subject of evolution. The real truth in the matter is that Darwin is the real father and founder of the theory. It was Darwin and Darwin alone who gave to the doctrine—even in the sense in which Father Wasmann accepts it—a local habitation and a name. It is true that the subject was first broached by Lamarck, that Erasmus Darwin, the grandfather of the famous founder of the evolution school, and Geoffrey St. Hilaire had also speculated along the line of the famous theory; but the theory was either scorned, or ridiculed, or ignored, or abandoned until the "*Origin of Species*," by Charles Darwin," raised the extraordinary commotion in the scientific world. In saying this we are not overlooking the part played by Mr. Wallace, but Mr. Wallace himself has joined the rest of the world in according whatever honor belongs to the authorship of the invention to Darwin. Whatever credit or discredit attaches to the creation of the theory of evolution belongs to Darwin and to Darwin alone, and all endeavor to wrest from him the glory (?) of the invention must be regarded as the bold and daring attempt of piracy or usurpation. This is so obvious that it is surprising to hear Father Wasmann question it. The concluding words of Darwin's introduction to his famous "*Origin of Species*" show plainly the scope of his work, and that it was not so much the principle of natural selection as the mutability of species which he wished to establish on a firm and lasting basis. He says:

"Although much remains obscure, and will long remain obscure, I can entertain no doubt, after the most deliberate and dispassionate judgment of which I am capable, that the view which most naturalists until recently entertained, and which I formerly entertained—namely, that each species has been independently created—is erroneous. I am fully convinced that species are not immutable."

This, then, was the end and aim of Darwin's work—to show that the barriers which were supposed to divide species from one another were not insurmountable—that species were not immutable.

The theory of natural selection, it is true, entered into his theory as a predominating factor, but its place was always secondary and subordinate; its importance was great, in his estimation, but always subsidiary. This is evident from the words which follow those above quoted, where he says:

"Furthermore, I am convinced that natural selection has been the most important, but not the exclusive, means of modification."

Darwin's evolution, then, was the formulation of the broad generalization. His main effort was to overthrow the scientific doctrine of the immutability of species, and to supplant it by the doctrine of descent with modification. For this purpose he collected numberless facts from every department of science, he collated and compared varieties, he endeavored to systematize the laws of variation, he pointed out the struggle for existence, he dived into the depths of palæontology, he brought forward arguments from morphology, embryology and rudimentary organs, he strove to trace the succession of organic beings in time and their geographical distribution in space—all this he did and a thousand times more, and all for the express purpose of proving to the world that species is not immutable, but that all the different species of organic life now existing on our globe have been developed from a few original simple forms. And this is precisely what Father Wasmann calls evolution when he tries to oppose it to Darwinism, and tells us that the former, as distinguished from the latter, "connotes the doctrine of the derivation of *all* forms of life from earlier and simpler forms." All Darwin's industrious researches, all his reflections on the mutual affinities and resemblances of organic beings, on their embryological relations, their geographical distribution, their geological succession, tended to one single purpose, viz., to show that the perfection of structure and coadaptation of the innumerable species which inhabit our globe, have all been brought about by the simple principle of descent with modification—in other words, by the principle of evolution. Hence all other evolutionists are but followers or borrowers of Darwin's broad generalization, and it is somewhat amusing to read Father Wasmann's attempts to rule him out of the school of evolution altogether. Towards the close of one of the later editions of "*The Origin of Species*" Darwin wrote—many years before Father Wasmann dreamed of evolution, we surmise—"I formerly spoke to very many naturalists on the subject of evolution, and never once met with any sympathetic agreement. It is probable that some did then believe in evolution, but they were either silent or expressed themselves so ambiguously that it was not easy to understand their meaning. Now things are wholly changed, and almost every natu-

ralist admits the great principle of evolution." Were Darwin living to-day, he might add "Now things are changed," with a vengeance; for not only is evolution accepted, but the more ardent believers in the doctrine strive to read him out of the school of evolution altogether.

Of course, in order to show that the principle of evolution was at work throughout all organic life, Darwin felt himself obliged to give some reasonable explanation of the manner in which the principle operated. He wished to convince rational beings of the truth of his hypothesis, and for this reason he was forced to cast about for a cause of its operation. Just as Father Wasmann feels himself obliged to answer to his own mind the question, By what agency does evolution accomplish its wonderful results? so did Darwin feel forced to answer it. And just as Father Wasmann imagines that the agency by which evolution operates is what he calls "the interior factors," so Darwin imagined that the agency was an external factor which he called "natural selection"; but it would be just as reasonable to undertake to read Father Wasmann out of the school of evolution by saying that his evolution is not evolution at all, but a principle of interior factors, as to exclude Darwin because natural selection was the agency in which he believed. The fact is that in seeking for an explanation of the modification and coadaptation which he believed he had discovered Darwin imagined he had found the key to it in the action of breeders who artificially selected. This suggested to him the notion of a principle of selection in nature which might be the agency at work in evolution and the instrument of modification. Thus we see that natural selection, while it is all-important in Darwin's theory, nevertheless holds only a subordinate place, although the chief agency by which evolution is supposed to be effected. Evolution is the great result with Darwin; natural selection is the means. Evolution is the great door through which all organic life passes in its wonderful variations; natural selection is the hinge on which the great door swings. Hence we fail to understand how Father Wasmann hopes to separate evolution from the doctrines of Darwin or rid the theory of evolution of the incubus of his name. But although he may change the factors, the product will be the same; though he may invent new means of evolution, the result will be evolution still; to Darwin rightly belongs organic evolution's whole realm.

Nevertheless Father Wasmann makes a desperate effort, and for this purpose, somewhat capriciously, we think, enumerates four different classes of Darwinism, each of which in turn he rejects as properly representing his own idea of evolution. Let us glance

briefly at these four divisions by Father Wasmann. His first division of Darwinism is what he calls "Darwinism in the narrower sense," which briefly means evolution "by way only of natural selection." That this was the theory of Darwin is to some extent true, as we have just seen; but it is not the whole truth. Darwin at first maintained that natural selection was not only the chief factor, but he seems to have long thought that it was the only one. That he afterwards admitted other factors, and that later he believed he had overrated the importance of natural selection, is certain. In the words from the introduction to one of the later editions of his works which I have already quoted, he expressly says he regarded natural selection an important, "but not the exclusive means of modification." Indeed, Father Wasmann himself—in a note—tells us that besides natural selection Darwin admitted "direct adaptation, correlation, compensation, etc.," as factors of evolution. Consequently it seems to us somewhat arbitrary on the part of Father Wasmann to rule Darwin so cavalierly out of all his original title deeds and letters patent in the realm of evolution. On the same grounds every upstart evolutionist would be fully justified in extruding Father Wasmann from all his evolutionary claims.

In Father Wasmann's second division of Darwinism he tells us that "In the wider sense, Darwinism is the name given to the generalization of Darwin's theory of selection, and its extension to a 'Darwinian theory of the universe.' This is identical with the monistic theory in the form of Haeckelism; according to it, the whole world has come into existence without a creator and through merely mechanical causes."

There certainly must be a grave mistake here, and the error is absolutely unfair to Darwin. We think it would be difficult for Father Wasmann to show that Darwin in any of his speculations touched upon "a theory of the universe" at all. Whatever may have been his private views on the subject, we fail to find in any of his writings any trace whatever of such speculation. He seemed to confine his studies absolutely to the organic world, and left the "theory of the universe" entirely to others. Herbert Spencer, it is true, gave us a theory of the universe, but we look in vain through Darwin's own writings or teachings for a hint of his views on the origin of the cosmos.

But especially is it in the highest degree unjust to Darwin to attribute to him the monistic theory of Haeckel. We think it is exceeding the limits of truth to associate Darwin's name with the theory that "the whole world has come into existence without a creator and through merely mechanical causes." So far, indeed, is

this from the truth that Darwin, if his own words mean anything, believed that the original organic forms came into existence by means of a creative act. Even in the later editions of the "Origin of Species" Darwin accepts the doctrine of creation of the original organic forms. He frankly discusses the question "whether species have been created at one or at more points of the earth's surface," and thinks that "the simplicity of the view that each species was first produced within a single region captivates the mind." He argues that "To my mind it accords better with what we know of the laws impressed on matter by the Creator, that the production and extinction of the past and present inhabitants of the world should have been due to secondary causes"; and in the concluding chapter of his famous work he tells us: "There is a grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one"—all showing that to the end he was a believer in creation. Indeed, Father Wasmann himself quotes this last passage to show that Darwin was a believer in a theistic evolution, and how he can at the same time endeavor to link his name with monism and materialism, and assert that he sanctioned the notion that "the whole world has come into existence without a creator and through merely mechanical causes," is an anomaly which it is difficult to account for unless on the ground of the inevitable inconsistency which seems to dog the footsteps of the Catholic evolutionist. However that may be, there is no doubt that it is a wholly unfounded calumny to attribute to Darwin a mechanical theory of the universe or the belief that "the whole world came into existence without a creator." Herbert Spencer was the author of these views—Darwin, never.

Father Wasmann tells us: "The third way in which the word Darwinism is used, popularly, is to designate the application to man of the Darwinian theory of selection. Man is assumed to be the animal most highly bred in the course of the struggle for existence, and nothing else," and here at least Father Wasmann does not make the mistake of attributing to Darwin views which he never professed. Indeed, this is the great *lapis offensiois* of Charles Darwin's theory; and perhaps we should not be surprised to find evolutionists, by fair means or by foul, attempting to divorce evolution from this stupid theory. Father Wasmann here at least is guilty of no calumny on the memory of Darwin. He only makes the mistake of saying that the term Darwinism is used "popularly" in this sense. It is used not only "popularly," but scientifically in this sense, and Darwin himself labored hard to make it a tenet of science. Indeed, Father Wasmann himself, while he indignantly refers to it,

is not so far removed in his evolution from this theory. But to Father Wasmann's relation to this division we shall return later.

"Fourthly and lastly," says Father Wasmann, "the name of Darwinism is applied in a general way to *the theory of evolution*, as I remarked before." Here again Father Wasmann uses terms somewhat loosely and in a way that is apt to be misleading. If, when he says that "the name Darwinism is applied in a general way to the theory of evolution," he means that Darwin applied his theory of evolution "in a general way" to the evolution of organic beings from creation down to the present time, and from the earliest fossil truth; but if by this expression he means—and this seems to be the case—that Darwin extended his speculations on evolution beyond the limits of the organic world and into the inorganic, then is he dealing with an assumption that is, as we have just seen, without the slightest tittle of evidence.

The object of Father Wasmann's divisions of Darwinism is, as we have already said, to rid the Christian philosophy of the stigma of the third division. For this purpose he wishes to effect a permanent divorce between Darwin and his own theory. Father Wasmann makes no secret of his motives. He frankly tells us "This confusion of ideas has done much harm in many ways. If, for instance, a serious student, engaged in scientific research, finds in his special department what he regards as evidence of the development of species, he is at once called a Darwinist, and as such is assailed by another party." Father Wasmann naturally chafes under this classification as unjust, and naturally tries to remedy the injustice. But as long as he accepts the theory of evolution we do not see how his position can be amended. He may differ from Darwin on a few minor points, but the world at large, as we have seen, must class him simply as a follower of Darwin. The name of Darwin is as inseparably interwoven with the theory of evolution as is the name of La Place with the nebular hypothesis or the name of Comté with the positive philosophy. Darwin has been the first on the field, has been the first to map out the territory of the broad generalization, and henceforth and forever has the legitimate right to claim it as his own. The claim of Christopher Columbus to the discovery of the new world was not more valid than Darwin's claim to the realm—such as it is—of evolution. Indeed, Father Wasmann himself seems to be all the while unwittingly conscious of all this; for while he is laboring so hard towards the extrusion of Darwin, at the close of his third lecture he actually proceeds to an apotheosis of evolution, with Darwin as its creator. He compares Christianity to a rock

around whose base the waves of science are breaking. Although the wave of science was successful in the case of Copernicanism, the rock stands firm, and he thinks it will be the same in the present instance. A wave had again, like the Ptolemaic system, "rested in long-continued peace at the foot of the rock" of Christianity. But "the new wave came, and it will probably be victorious in the conflict now raging between it and the old." This wave is evolution, and its mover is Darwin. He tells us—in spite of his attempts at Darwin's extrusion—"In 1859" (the year in which Darwin first published "*The Origin of Species*") came the moment when a powerful wave, starting from England, assailed us like a deluge. It increased in strength and power until the foam flecked the very pinnacles of the rock. It is true that this wave no longer bears the name of Darwin and of the Darwinian system in the narrower sense, but it is the theory of evolution which . . . has hitherto been victorious in the strife, and will probably remain so to the end." It is not a little singular, after all that Father Wasmann has written to show that evolution has nothing in common with Darwinism, to find him now speaking of that same evolution as the mighty and "powerful wave, starting from England in 1859," which "has assailed us like a deluge," and which, having "hitherto been victorious in the strife (?), will probably remain so to the end." The incongruity of statement is explicable only by the usual inconsistency of the Catholic evolutionist.

Indeed, in spite of all his ostentatious rejection of Darwinism, there is a remarkable resemblance between Father Wasmann's evolution and that of Darwin—a resemblance so striking as to suggest relationship; and on some points where there is dissimilarity Father Wasmann seems to us to out-Darwin Darwin himself. Here are a few points of resemblance on the essential features of the doctrine: (1) Darwin maintains that the theory of evolution is operative throughout all organic nature. Father Wasmann, if we understand him rightly, maintains the same, and proceeds even further, for he extends the principle not only to inorganic nature, but to the development of the cosmos. In this he far outstrips Darwin and is to some extent abreast of Herbert Spencer and Ernest Haeckel. (2) Father Wasmann rejects monophyletic evolution, whether applied to the whole kingdom of organic life or to "the whole animal kingdom on the one hand," and to "the whole vegetable kingdom on the other, as derived from one primary form." He seems to believe, however, in a polyphyletic evolution; that is the theory of "development from a variety of stocks." Darwin to the last believed in polyphyletic evolution as opposed to monophy-

letic. He discusses the question freely, and tells us "I cannot doubt that the theory of descent with modification embraces all the members of the same great class or kingdom. I believe that animals are descended from at most only four or five progenitors, and plants from an equal or less number." Monophyletic evolution, even in the sense "that all the organic beings which have ever lived on this earth may be descended from one primordial form," he regarded as neither impossible nor incredible, but the only evidence in its favor was, he believed, "chiefly grounded on analogy." In any case, he regarded it as wholly "immaterial" to the theory of evolution "whether or not it be accepted." (3) On the importance of "natural selection" as a factor of evolution there is a slight difference between Darwin and Father Wasmann; but only slight. Darwin regarded natural selection as the chief, "but not the exclusive means of modification." He admitted "the inherited effects of use and disuse," "the direct action of external conditions," and also the influence of "variations which seem to us in our ignorance to rise spontaneously." Father Wasmann, while apparently making light of natural selection, and while proclaiming it to be a merely "subsidiary factor," nevertheless tells us "it is indispensable" as such "in the theory of evolution." He regards what he calls "the interior factors" as the chief point to consider; but of these interior factors he admits no one knows anything, and what with their expediency, adaptiveness, etc., etc., it is not easy to distinguish between them and Darwin's "variations which seem to rise spontaneously"; so that on this point the difference between his views and those of Darwin, which he so indignantly rejects, appear to be the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. Nor in the last analysis do we find so wide a difference between Father Wasmann's theory and Darwin's doctrine of man's descent from beasts, which Father Wasmann finds so objectionable. Father Wasmann will undoubtedly rebel against all such interpretation of his theory. But if we understand Father Wasmann rightly, while he rejects the ape as man's ancestor, he substitutes for him a creature which, though not a beast, is not yet a man—possibly a species of Caliban. And this brings us to Father Wasmann's own theory of evolution. Before proceeding to an examination of his views on the subject, however, we may be permitted to emphasize the fact that when Father Wasmann attempts to expel Darwin from the realm of even modern evolution, he is simply beating the air. All his endeavors in this line, together with the results which are apparent from his work, remind us of the attempts of the modernists to wrest the weapons from the hands of the Biblical critics, but which, alas! resulted so ignominiously in their own com-

plete capture by the very Egyptians whom they had planned to despoil. In espousing the cause of evolution Father Wasmann has but opened the floodgates for that "powerful wave starting from England," which "has assailed us like a deluge," and which must inevitably sweep him—indeed, which seems to have already done so—from that bold and determined stand which he has nobly—though not very logically—taken against his third division of Darwinism. Meanwhile, what constitutes Darwinism must be determined by what Darwin himself taught and wrote, and in spite of all the efforts and protests of Father Wasmann, it will be difficult for him to show that he is not a disciple of Darwin in the true sense of the term, or as he himself with some ostentation tells us Haeckel has already styled him, "a Darwinian Jesuit."

Although in his preface Father Wasmann tells us that the motive of his lectures was that he aimed "at throwing light upon the important question, 'What are we to think of the doctrine of evolution?'" and although he repeats this in his first lecture when he tells his audience, "I only wish to throw some real light on the subject, trusting in this way to do a good work," we confess to some difficulty in always ascertaining Father Wasmann's exact views on some important points. More than once he rides right gallantly up to the ranks of the evolutionists, and when we expect to find him registering as an enthusiastic recruit, we are surprised by finding him backing away in a sort of awkward fashion, or at least his words have not the ring of enthusiasm we might expect to find in a newly enlisted soldier. Then, too, we find some difficulty in grasping the manner in which he endeavors to couple together the theory of creation and the great universal principle of evolution. We shall try to give a brief synopsis of Father Wasmann's attempted rehabilitation of the discredited doctrine of evolution:

(1) He calls this theistic evolution and tells us that it starts "with assuming the existence of a personal Creator."

(2) Next, "The theistic theory of the world involves the idea of creation."

(3) "Further, the theistic view, taken in conjunction with the creation of matter, lays down as its foundation the subjection to law of the whole cosmic evolution and of the entire evolution of the inorganic world, asserting that the first combination of atoms or electrons contained the definite material disposition from which, in the course of the succeeding millions of years, all the various constellations of atoms were to result by way of natural evolution. Thus we have a sufficient foundation and a sufficient primary cause for the further

natural evolution of the whole inorganic world—and this to me appears a very reasonable view to take.”

(4) We have thus got down to the time when life began to exist on the globe, and “in order to account for the origin of the first organisms, the theistic theory of life presupposes a so-called act of creation to have taken place.” This is “a production of organic bodies out of pre-existent inorganic matter.” The theistic theory, however, is ready to surrender this position of the “so-called creation” of organisms in case spontaneous generation should ever become an established conclusion of science.

(5) “The earliest laws of evolution were laid down for the organic world at the production of the first organisms.” And

(6) “The Christian theory of life” requires “the assumption that man possesses a spiritual and immortal soul.”

These are in brief the programme of theistic evolution; but it is so vague that we must try to fill in the great gaps in the bald statement from other parts of Father Wasmann’s lectures.

We may say, then, that Father Wasmann believes in a Creator and a creation of original matter. Next he believes that on this original created matter the Creator had impressed the laws of evolution, and that in consequence we have the natural evolution of our solar system and the uniform development of the cosmos as a whole, including all the heavenly bodies. “Included” in this vast universal evolution is the evolution of our own little world, and it occupies “a scarcely perceptible period of time, barely a minute, and of this minute a small fraction (that nevertheless, according to geologists, lasted millions of years), was occupied by the evolution of organic life before the appearance of man.” We have already seen that this process of evolution had either ceased or was interrupted at the entrance of life upon this planet, and that Father Wasmann was obliged to assume “a so-called creation” of the first organisms to account for the appearance of life. Two great links in the chain of evolution are yet to be accounted for by the theistic evolution, and as these are the two that most concern us, we are not a little disappointed to find that when Father Wasmann approaches them he becomes nebulous and obscure. These two are, first, the development of organic life from its appearance on the globe down to man, and next the evolution of man. In the organic world down to man, Father Wasmann seems to believe in a sort of spasmodic evolution. This evolution seems to be partial, or chromatic, or intermittent; and Father Wasmann is singularly hesitant about formulating his views in anything like a plain categorical statement. Although he tells us that in his special line of studies he has come upon “a num-

ber of interesting phenomena, which are biologically explicable only from the point of view of evolution," and although he says "The principle of the theory of evolution is the only one which supplies us with a natural explanation of these phenomena, and therefore we accept it," and although he emphasizes this latter statement by printing it in italics, we find that it is soon defecated by him to a mere transparency, and he so sublimates it that from a proof it soon becomes a mere probability. Although he finds evolution the only explanation of the phenomena which he has observed, and although he adds that therefore he accepts it, in the very same breath he asks, "But to what extent do we accept it?" And his answer is in italics: "Just as far as its application is supported by actual proofs." And when he "attempts to answer how far this is the case," the answer dwindles from "actual proofs" down to mere probability and the essence of the whole explanation seems to be merely that "the probability is in support of evolution." The evolution of original created matter and its development throughout the cosmos as well as the evolution of inorganic nature on our globe are, of course, pure assumptions on the part of Father Wasmann, without a single tittle of evidence, whether by way of direct or indirect proof or even analogy to sustain them. Consequently they are of no value whatever and are entitled to just the same respect as any other groundless speculation, but no more. Indeed, we have become somewhat sceptical as to the value of such so-called scientific speculations. They have nothing of science whatever about them, and it must be regarded as somewhat misleading to link them with the name of science in any way. We are inclined to be equally sceptical about the value of speculations which are the outcome either directly or indirectly of studies in special departments of science. No doubt it seems very imposing in a scientist to hear him speak of his own special department and his observations therein, together with his special conclusions therefrom; but we have always held fast to the inconsequence of the implied assumption. For instance, Father Wasmann is a specialist, he says, in an important department of science. His specialty is the study of ants and cockroaches. Outside of this he must, to use his own admission, "rely upon the authority of others." Candidly, we have always been of opinion that interesting and all-absorbing as is the study of ants, it is a strange place to seek for a solution of the problems of the universe. Of the scientific value of the conclusions from this department, too, we must confess to a mild scepticism ever since we once read in some of Darwin's own observations in this field, an account of how he once came upon a raid on the home of *F. Fusca* by a body of *F. Sanguinea*, how the

conquerors were marching home in triumph carrying the pupæ of the vanquished, how the survivors of the fray who had lost their home were rushing about in great agitation, and how "one was perched motionless with its own pupa in its mouth on the top of a spray of heath, an image of despair over its ravaged home." The "image of despair" has, rightly or wrongly, rendered us sceptical about the value of "scientific conclusions" drawn from this special department of science ever since.

But let us pass to Father Wasmann's *Descent of Man*. His exposition of the evolution of man is, as we have said, unfortunately obscure, or perhaps we should say hesitant. Father Wasmann is of course throughout his three lectures arguing against the Monism of Haeckel, but he is at the same time—as he said at the outset—endeavoring to throw light on the problem of evolution. He rejects with scorn the theory of man's descent from beasts, whether by descent we mean the whole man or merely man's body. He examines the two zoological theories of man's descent first from the higher apes and secondly from an ancestor common to both man and ape, and he rejects both absolutely. He makes a noble plea for the independence of man of the brute creation. He claims rightly that with regard to the whole man—and the whole man is body and soul united—zoology alone is not capable of giving an adequate answer to the question of his origin. He truthfully says that in investigating the origin of man, the chief question is: Whence comes his higher part? not: Whence comes his lower part? and yet, in spite of all this, it is difficult to see that Father Wasmann's theory of the evolution of man is at all an advance on the theory of his descent from beasts. For Father Wasmann seems to have a theory of his own of the evolution of man. Indeed he asks the question: "*May this theory (evolution) be applied to man, and if so, in what degree?*" And this is how he answers it: "I wish to state definitely, before discussing the matter, that we are not concerned with the application to man of Darwin's theory of evolution, for I showed in my last lecture that I was unable to accept that. But he immediately adds: "We may apply the theory of evolution to man, and still have as foundation the principles of Christian philosophy and of the Christian theory of life." We have searched in vain through Father Wasmann's book for the explanation of this theory of man which is supposed to be in perfect harmony with "Christian philosophy" and "the Christian theory of life," and fail to find it, unless it be in the speculations at the beginning of his third lecture which lead up to the question just asked and answered. In these speculations he says:

"Every atom in the human body had its primary origin in a creative act of God at the first formation of matter, although millions of years of cosmic development were to elapse, before it became a part of a human body; and in just the same way, we might imagine a hypothetical history of humanity, governed by the laws of natural development, which God pressed on the first cells at the moment when life originated."

Father Wasmann then proceeds to tell us how, "in accordance with this purely speculative supposition, man would have become man completely only when the organized matter had so far developed through natural causes, as to be capable of being animated with a human soul. The creation of the first human soul marks *the real creation of the human race*, although we might assume that a natural development lasting millions of years had preceded it."

"These," he adds, "are, it is true, only attractive possibilities, the outcome of bold speculation, but I have referred to them in order to prove to you that, if ever science is able to demonstrate to us the natural development of man from an ancestry resembling beasts, *the divine origin and the divine end of humanity will nevertheless remain unassailed and firmly established as before.*"

This may be regarded by Father Wasmann as a "bold speculation," but we can hardly agree with him in calling it an "attractive possibility." If we understand Father Wasmann's speculation rightly, it is an attempt to push aside Darwin's speculation about the descent of man, and in a measure the Mivartian hypothesis as well, and to supplant both by what might, perhaps, be properly termed a *phylogenetic germ-cell theory of humanity*. In other words, instead of the hypothesis of Mivart which refers man's ancestry to apes, assuming that at a certain period in the evolution of the ape a human soul was infused, Father Wasmann assumes that man had a direct and special ancestor for himself, which we might call man-in-preparation. It presupposes that at the creation of life God created something like a germ-cell of humanity endowed with life and the power of development, with the ultimate intention of erecting it into a man "when the organized matter had so far developed through natural causes as to be capable of being animated with a human soul." It was not yet man. It was distinct from other animal ancestry. It was not ape or beast or any other kind of obnoxious ancestor. It was worthy of the future dignity of man. It was man-matter vivified by the spark of life and left with the power of developing. It was specially created, probably out of specially prepared matter; and when the proper time in its own development came, the human soul was grafted on this living thing.

Heretofore it was incompleated man; now it became complete man. We think we have given Father Wasmann's views; but of course are subject to correction if we have misapprehended his meaning.

Of course every proposition that does not involve an antinomy of thought is possible, and Father Wasmann's "bold speculation" is no exception, but for our part it is difficult to understand how this is at all an improvement on the Mivartian hypothesis; and we utterly fail to see how Father Wasmann expects to reconcile it with "the principles of Christian philosophy." Its main object seems to be to discover a proper salve for human pride, and for this it is indeed well calculated, though the notion is purely fantastic. But whether the human soul was at man's creation grafted on an ape or on this man-in-preparation—whether we regard the preparation as homunculus, or an undeveloped Caliban, or a soulless man—seems to be of little consequence as far as "Christian philosophy" is concerned. Consequently whatever may be the merits of the speculation from a scientific point of view, from the standpoint of Christian philosophy it is absolutely worthless. There seems to be one fatal flaw in all these speculations—in which the human soul is supposed to be grafted on beings already possessing an anterior principle of life—which seems to have been completely overlooked, but which to us at least seems to completely negative all theories of this kind. It is the simplicity of the human soul. Father Wasmann himself argues nobly in favor of this principle which, nevertheless, his speculation would completely contradict. According to the teaching of St. Thomas and all Christian philosophers the soul is the first principle of life—"primum principium vite." According to Father Wasmann's hypothesis this first principle of life is introduced into an organized being already endowed with the life principle. Consequently in Father Wasmann's man there are of necessity two principles of life, one the original life of the incomplete man, the other the human soul specially created. Now how do these two principles of life existing within each of us act? Do they operate separately or conjointly? It is hardly conceivable that the first life principle is absorbed by the second, and it is equally improbable that it is annihilated by the second or by God to make room for the second. In fact a whole swarm of spectral questions emerge from Father Wasmann's speculation which he will find it difficult to allay or to reconcile with his philosophy of the simplicity of the soul. Do the two souls exist in one body? Or is the newly-created soul superadded to the first? Do they coalesce? Or does the newly-created soul absorb the evolution soul? And if so, how can such a soul be said to be simple? Or we can take the three dif-

ferent ways into which the speculation must resolve itself. Either the two souls exist in man independent of each other; or they act in unison by co-operation, or coalescence, or absorption; or the first soul is either annihilated or expelled. The theistic evolutionist will hardly be ready to accept the first. In the second case the soul of man is not simple but compound; for the third there is no warrant of any kind either in science, in philosophy, or experience.¹ Indeed we prefer to these revolting and unwarranted alternatives, which Father Wasmann's speculation forces upon us, to accept crass materialism without question. Materialistic materialism is bad enough, but materialistic spiritualism which these assumptions postulate—!! The simple question: What becomes of the animal soul? seems to be fatal from the standpoint of "Christian philosophy" to all speculations that involve the introduction of a new and human soul into a being already endowed with life. For the rest we cannot see how Father Wasmann's speculation can aid Christian philosophy in an acceptance of evolution, though as a sop to human pride it does palliate to some extent the theories of Mivart and Darwin.

It has long been a wonder to one portion of humanity that men should permit their imaginations to run away with their judgments in matters scientific, thus involving themselves in inextricable difficulties and perplexities. In the case of evolution at least this is certainly not owing to the overwhelming nature of the proofs. Nor does Father Wasmann claim to give us any new proof of the theory which he espouses. We have looked for them in vain. In dealing with this portion of the theory of evolution Father Wasmann divides the proofs for it into the "direct" and "indirect." "The direct proofs," he tells us, "are those faint traces of transformation of species, as they still may be discovered; such, for instance, as the botanist, Hugo de Vries, has described in support of his theory of mutation. He shows that in the botanical genus *Oenothera*, mullein, new forms are still being developed, which "behave like real species." Of course this is a case of *parturiunt montes* in which all that the great generalization—evolution—can bring forward in its favor is the behavior of some specimens of the mullein plant, and is ridiculous in the extreme. The great principle of evolution is supposed to have been at work throughout all time and throughout all space. On our own globe, on land and sea, throughout the entire vegetable kingdom, throughout the entire animal kingdom, throughout all

¹ Note: Possibly some expressions of St. Thomas might be regarded by some as pertinent here; but it will be difficult to show that they have application at all except possibly by way of analogy; and even analogically it would be difficult to show that they are applicable.

inorganic matter, throughout the entire cosmos—the universe—the heliocentric system, it is supposed to be operative and to have been operative throughout all past time and down to the present, and yet the only direct proof that can be adduced that there is such a principle at work or indeed that there is such a principle at all, is that some varieties of mullein are somewhat eccentric in their behavior. Of course Father Wasmann is too sensible a man to regard this as a proof, and so we may dismiss it. We wish Father Wasmann's judgment had been as correct in dealing with the "indirect proofs."

His indirect proofs are from paleontology and, it is hardly necessary to say, are affected by the constitutional weakness which are characteristic of all the proofs from this quarter in favor of evolution. Father Wasmann furnishes no new principle and not even any new variety of fact, although his facts are taken from his own observation in his own special department of ants and cockroaches.

"There are," he tells us, "hundreds of kinds of ants, which we know through their having been preserved to us in the tertiary amber of the Baltic and Sicily. Amongst them occur several genera which still exist, but scarcely a species that is identical with the present ones. We can hardly avoid coming to the conclusion that our ants are the descendants of these fossil varieties, and that they have come into being by way of natural evolution of the race, and not by way of a new creation."

Father Wasmann does not give us the mental process by which he finds himself so constrained that he "can hardly avoid coming to his conclusion;" hence we must deal with his argument in common with the whole argument from paleontology. First, however, let us hear Father Wasmann in full on this point.

"Again if we compare the fossil termites of the tertiary epoch with those now known to us, we are forced to assume that the latter are modified descendants of the former, and that they have come into being by way of race evolution, not by way of a new creation."

Had Father Wasmann, instead of "a new creation," said "a separate creation," his meaning would have been made much clearer; but the force of his reasoning in behalf of evolution would have lost half its value.

Father Wasmann cites a third instance. He says:

"Further, if we consider the oldest of the still existing varieties of termites, viz., the Australian genus *Mastotermes*, and compare the formation of the wings with that of the *Blattidæ*, or cockroaches,

both fossil and still existent, we shall *probably* find that the termites in some prehistoric palæozoic age were evolved from one and the same stock as the ancestors of our present black-beetles."

Father Wasmann adds, "I might give many such instances, but it is time for me to pass on to my photographs."

This then is the whole argument from paleontology which Father Wasmann furnishes as the indirect and only proof that evolution has taken place throughout all space and throughout all time and that it is still at work throughout the entire universe. These indirect "proofs" are a fair sample of the evolutionist's method of argument and give us a fair notion of what is meant by "the proofs of evolution." We regret to find Father Wasmann falling into the slip-slop of the evolutionist, and for this reason we shall deal with the argument somewhat at length.

If we understand Father Wasmann's argument rightly it is this: Since among the fossil ants found in the tertiary amber of the Baltic and Sicily none are discovered which are identical with some species which now exist "we can hardly avoid coming to the conclusion" that no such species ever existed before, and that our present ants must have descended by way of evolution from the fossil ants which are there found. By way of confirmation of this argument it may be added that among the fossil ants of the Baltic and Sicilian tertiaries we do find genera which still exist. Therefore the probability is that no species like those now existing ever lived and that our present ones are descended from these fossil ants which we do find there. We think Father Wasmann himself has not put his argument in stronger form than we have done. Let us examine this argument at length.

The argument looks exceedingly like trying to prove a negative. What is the proof that no such species ever previously existed and that we must look elsewhere for the ancestors of Father Wasmann's present ants? Why must we derive them from other species? And what proof is there for the non-existence of similar species? None that we can see except that they are not to be found in the "tertiary amber of the Baltic and Sicily." But surely, this can not be regarded as a proof that such a species never existed. Father Wasmann's argument is based on three distinct assumptions, not one of which holds good in reality. First, that we have a complete acquaintance with all the fossils which the full geological record contains; secondly, that every species which ever existed has become fossilized and that therefore in the complete geological record we have an exact inventory of all the species that have ever existed upon the earth; and third, that in the supposition that all forms have left fossil re-

mains, those fossil remains have been preserved. A failure in any one of these suppositions renders doubtful the position assumed by Father Wasmann; but there is failure in all three. With regard to the first, it is a truism to say that we have but a fraction of the geological record and consequently only a mere fragmentary portion of its content. The geological record is an open book, the fossiliferous strata are its open pages, the fossil remains found in those pages are the characters or letters by which paleontologists seek to reconstruct the past history of plant and animal life on this globe. But this history is not only incomplete; it is merely fragmentary. Sir Charles Lyell always insisted on its imperfection. Even Darwin himself bewails it. He tells us, "The noble science of geology loses much from the extreme imperfection of the record." And, again, "For my part, I look at the geological record as a history of the world imperfectly kept and written in a changing dialect. Of this history we possess the last volume alone, relating only to two or three countries. Of this volume, only here and there a short chapter has been preserved, and of each page, only here and there a line." Even Herbert Spencer candidly admitted that "had we an exhaustive examination of all exposed strata and of all strata covered by the sea, it would disclose types immensely outnumbering those at present known." Hence even though no identical ancestors of the now existing species of ants are to be met with in the fossils of the Baltic and Sicily, it would be an extremely rash judgment to conclude that such ancestors never existed. The conclusion which can be drawn from the absence of such forms in the amber fossils of Sicily and the Baltic is that no such fossils are to be found in the Baltic and Sicilian tertiary amber, but nothing more. It would be even rash to conclude that they never existed there; for we have no evidence to show that remains of all fossils even in that environment have been preserved. And this brings us to the second assumption, viz., that all living forms that have ever existed upon the earth have left behind them fossil remains. No one who gives the subject a thought for a moment will entertain so wild a notion. We know that fossilization is now the exception, and it is fairly certain that it has been the exception in all past time. A concurrence of the conditions which preserve for us the forms of life which at one time or other inhabited our globe in fossil state is not frequent and certainly is not constant. In all probability the proportion of organisms in relation to the whole animal and vegetable life of the globe, that have been preserved in fossil form to puzzle posterity and multiply perplexing problems, was no greater at any time than it is at present. Darwin himself admits that "The accumulation of each great fos-

siliferous formation will be recognized as having depended on an unusual occurrence of circumstances, and the blank intervals between the successive stages as of vast duration"; and Herbert Spencer again is forced to admit here that "geologists agree that even had we before us every kind of fossil which exists, we should still have nothing like a complete index to the past inhabitants of the globe; and he adds further, that "there are strong reasons for believing that the records which remain bear but a small ratio to the records that have been destroyed." He also further admitted that "the facts about fossil remains are so fragmentary that no positive conclusion can be drawn from them." Then, too, as Spencer has remarked: "The great mass of ancestral types—plant and animal—consisting of soft tissues, have left no remains whatever," which coincides with Darwin's remark that "No organism wholly soft can be preserved. "None will deny then that it would be wrong to suppose that even though we had the entire geological record before us and made an exhaustive examination of its contents, we would be very far from anything like an approximation of the varied species that have at one time or other inhabited our globe. Indeed, Spencer's words are nearer the truth, that "even though we had before us every kind of fossil which exists, we would have nothing like a complete index to the past inhabitants of the globe." So that the second assumption on which Father Wasmann's conclusion is based is groundless as the first. And just so with the third. Supposing that we had before us the complete pages of the geological record which laid before us every specimen of organized forms which that record contains, and supposing also that each organism that ever lived upon the earth had left behind some fossil remains, Father Wasmann's conclusion would not yet follow. For it is certain that numberless fossil remains have, in the course of ages been entirely destroyed. That fossils have been formed is no proof that those forms have been preserved. On the contrary, fossil remains frequently disappear. And what is more, this disappearance is by no means on a small scale. Darwin himself admits that "Shells and bones decay and disappear when left on the bottom of the sea, where sediment is not accumulating." Again he holds that "remains which become imbedded in sand or gravel, will, when the beds are upraised, generally be dissolved by the percolation of rain water charged with carboic acid." Spencer, as we have seen, claimed that "the records which remain bear but a small ratio to the records which have been destroyed," and ascribes the destruction to igneous action. He tells us that "Many sedimentary deposits have been so altered by the heat of adjacent molten matter, as greatly to

obscure the organic remains contained in them." And he adds, "The extensive formations once called 'transition,' and now renamed 'metamorphic,' are acknowledged to be formations of sedimentary origin, from which all traces of such fossils as they probably included have been obliterated by igneous action. And the accepted conclusion is that igneous rock has everywhere resulted from the melting-up of beds of detritus originally deposited by water." Those beds of detritus were the resting places of the fossil remains. Spencer's conclusion from it all is, "How long the reactions of the earth's molten nucleus on its cooling crust, have been thus destroying the records of life, it is impossible to say; but there are strong reasons for believing that the records which remain bear but a small ratio to the records which have been destroyed." We have purposely chosen those opinions from the two founders of the theory of evolution—Darwin the father of the theory on the side of physical science, and Spencer the father of evolution taken as a philosophical theory; Darwin, who confined his researches wholly to the sphere of organic nature, and Spencer, who extended his philosophical speculations not only through all organic life, but extended it to inorganic nature and to the entire universe on the one hand, and on the other throughout the whole realm of human life whether social, political, religious, or moral.

Thus, on the authority of the founders of the evolution theory themselves, we find that the assumptions on which Father Wasmann's "proof" is based are wholly without foundation. First, our geological record as known to us gives but a mere fragment of the complete geological record as it exists in its discovered and undiscovered form; secondly, the forms of life that have been fossilized are but a fraction of the forms that have existed in past time; and thirdly, even those that have become fossilized and are preserved (though mostly yet undiscovered), bear no proportion to the records that have been destroyed by the action of igneous rocks, by the action of chemical dissolvents, and by other known and unknown causes. What then are we to think of Father Wasmann's conclusions from palaeontology? What are we to think of his expression "we can hardly avoid coming to the conclusion" and "we are forced to assume" that because no ancestors have been found for these specific ants, we have therefore come upon a case of evolution? In the face of the facts and conditions which we have just seen it seems a little premature to maintain that such ancestors never existed, although none of their remains have been, not indeed preserved—for of this we know nothing—but discovered. Spencer's conclusion, already quoted, that "the facts about fossil

remains are so fragmentary that no positive conclusion can be drawn from them," seems to us to be the only sane one in the field of palaeontology. But in Father Wasmann's mouth this argument has a character of inconsistency peculiarly its own. For in his argument against an ape ancestry of man he draws from similar premises a directly opposite conclusion from that which here "he is forced" to accept. His argument in one case is: the Termites have no ancestors of their own; therefore they must be descendants of the ants of the Baltic tertiary; while in the case of man his argument against Haeckel and monism is: Man has no ancestor therefore he is not descended from the ape, but from some ancestor unknown. But supposing a thorough-going monist like Ernest Haeckel should undertake to apply his "ant" argument to man and say: We find fossil apes and prosimiae in abundance, but nowhere do we find fossil human species, therefore, we are forced to conclude that man must be descended from apes or prosimiae, we do not see what reply Father Wasmann could well make, since it is taken from his own mouth.

The most interesting argument for Father Wasmann's evolution would have been that taken from his own experience, but as this is given only in the condensed form of the press report we can merely surmise its force from Father Wasmann's conclusions which he gives more at length. Father Wasmann does not claim to have discovered any new facts or principles, but merely states that he has observed some phenomena "which are biologically explicable only from the point of view of evolution." This, however, is strong language and he supplements it by telling us, "I wish to draw your attention to the fact that accommodation to the life of ants and white ants or termites has in all probability led to the formation of new species, genera and families among their guests, which belong to very various families and orders of insects. In some cases (*Taumetoxena*) the characteristic marks have been so completely altered by accommodation that it is scarcely possible for us to determine to which order of insects this strange creature belongs. In other cases (*Termytomyia*) the whole development of the individual is modified in such a way that it resembles that of a viviparous mammal rather than that of a fly."

Father Wasmann here calls attention to the modification in what he calls "the characteristic marks" of species and also to changes in their physical development. Now it must be observed that among the lower forms of life the divisions of genus and species are not always very clearly defined. Indeed what distinctions we have here are the factitious division of naturalists, and

seldom do any two agree in their classifications. The family lines are not easily distinguished; very often the lines between orders and classes are not so sharply outlined. Linnaeus, the father of classification, misled by "characteristic marks," actually classed an homopterous insect as a moth. The numerous instances of dimorphism, trimorphism and polymorphism in individuals of the same species both in plants and animals, have long been the wonder and perplexity of naturalists. Among these lower orders naturalists meet with startling variation within the limits of known species—variations which cannot possibly be the result of evolution, for they occur in members of the same family, or offspring of the same parent. These alterations occur not only in the characteristic marks, but also in the physiological structure. Often these differences are met with in the different sexes of the same species. To pass over those cases which are so familiar to every one—the difference between the male and female of the peacock, the pheasant, the fowl—if we go into Father Wasmann's own domain, we shall find that some ants are winged while their females are wingless—a wide morphological difference. Mr. Wallace was the first to call attention to the fact that among butterflies in the Malayan Archipelago, the females of a certain species regularly appear under two or even three conspicuously distinct forms, not connected by intermediate varieties. The same is said to be true of certain Brazilian crustaceans. Of the Lepidoptera Mr. Wallace says "there is no possible test but individual opinion to determine which of them shall be considered as species and which as varieties." Darwin calls all this "very perplexing" as it undoubtedly is, and he further tells us: "It certainly at first sight appears a highly remarkable fact that the same butterfly should have the power of producing at the same time three distinct female forms and a male; and that an hermaphrodite plant should produce from the same seed-capsule three distinct hermaphrodite forms, bearing three different kinds of females and three or even six different kinds of males. Nevertheless, these cases are only exaggerations of the common fact that the female produces offspring of two sexes, which sometimes differ from each other in a wonderful manner." Surely, in all these instances there is no room for evolution. Now let us suppose that Father Wasmann had met with two of those individual types in the course of his investigations, without any previous knowledge of their close, intimate and immediate relationship. Doubtless, he would recognize them as belonging to the same order, at least the order to which it belonged, and would in all probability feel that he was forced to attribute the relationship to evolution, precisely as he does in the

present instance. Nevertheless, not only was there no room for the intervention of evolution at all—not even room for the difference of genus or species—for in spite of their “wonderful differences,” they were offspring of the same parent. We should think Father Wasmann would endeavor to clear up this inexplicable fact before he derived any proofs—even indirect and merely probable ones—from the “characteristic marks” or morphological structure of beings in the lower world of life.

Add to this that, as Darwin has said, “no one quite understands what is exactly meant by the term species,” that we are profoundly ignorant of the laws of variation, their extent and efficacy, that it is naturalists themselves who have drawn the lines between species and species—not always with the greatest accuracy—and it will be easy enough to account for the results of Father Wasmann’s observations, we think, without an appeal to evolution. We ourselves were, we think, the first to call attention in this REVIEW to the fact that the creation of species as species was not a dogma of religion at all, but a doctrine of science, and if scientists are not yet prepared to define clearly the lines of separation beyond which organisms do not pass and become new established species, the fault is the fault of science. Indeed, viewed in this way evolution seems to be but an expression to cover our ignorance and shield our indolence. Various definitions have been given to the term species; but as Darwin has remarked, “No one definition has satisfied all naturalists.” Darwin thinks the term includes the unknown element of a distinct act of creation”; but it should be remembered that it is science which has assigned this meaning to it; not religion. The confusion over the lines of demarcation in the lower forms of life is among the scientists themselves, and it is science and not religion which is interested in the “characteristic marks” and physiological “development” of organisms in the lower spheres of existence. Doubtless, if by evolution Father Wasmann means that among the inferior orders of animal life the tendency to vary is greater than in the great systematic categories or that in this realm the lines of the limitations of variation are more elastic; in other words, that there is a greater plasticity of nature in the lower forms of life, he may not be so far from the truth; but it would be a travesty of language to dignify this by the name of evolution; it is simply variation. Indeed, we are of opinion that the term variation will cover all the facts that Father Wasmann has found, that is, when scientists will have agreed among themselves as to what constitutes the true meaning of their own term “species.”

There is one other proof of evolution which is usually brought

forward and upon which Father Wasmann barely touches—and then only to reject it—which we cannot pass over, so peculiarly does Father Wasmann deal with it. His manner of accepting and rejecting it, like his acceptance and rejection at the same time of evolution, and his attempted ejection of Darwin from his own theory, seems to us highly capricious and wholly unreasonable. This proof is what Father Wasmann calls “the biogenetic principle,” but which among evolutionists of the English school is known as the argument from embryology. The absolute tyranny of the evolution theory was perhaps never better exemplified than in Father Wasmann’s treatment of this “proof.” Incidentally, too, it demonstrates the inconsistency of the Catholic evolutionist. Roughly this argument is: that the individual organism in its development from the cell to maturity passes through all the stages of the evolution of the race; or, as Father Wasmann puts it: “According to it the development of the individual is only an abbreviated and partially modified reproduction of the development of the race.” Father Wasmann seems to accept this as a principle, when it suits him and to reject when it does not suit him; so that like evolution we must regard it as spasmodic in its action. He says with full italicised emphasis:

“I maintain, therefore, that *we cannot accept the biogenetic principle* in its entirety, nor can we sanction its application to man in order to *prove his descent from beasts*.” Nevertheless, we find him telling us: “It is an undeniable fact that, both among the higher and lower animals, instances occur of stages of individual development, which can be explained only by regarding them as temporary traces of a previous stage of development, which was permanently impressed on their ancestors.” This sounds somewhat strange coming from a man who rejects the biogenetic principle; but more follows. Father Wasmann thinks that he has discovered instances of this rejected principle in his own special department and we shall let him speak for himself. He says: “Something similar occurs in the case of the *Termitoxenia*, a very small fly that lives with the white ants. You saw a diagram of it during my first lecture. It presents the peculiar feature of having for a short time, whilst it is passing through the stenogastric stage as a full-grown insect, genuine veined wings in the still cuticular appendices to the thorax”; and he adds in wonderment, “I could scarcely believe my eyes, when I noticed this for the first time in my series of sections. Subsequently, these little hooked appendages to the thorax grow into horns, and serve as organs of touch and exudation, and enable the fly to balance itself, and no trace of likeness to wings remains.”

Seeing is, of course, believing, and Father Wasmann, unable to withstand the force of this convincing evidence, adds: "Probably we have here a certain amount of reproduction of the growth of some ancestors." We are glad to find Father Wasmann prefixing 'probably' to the results of his marvellous discovery, but soon his enthusiasm seems to get the better of him and he tells us "I might refer to a number of similar instances, but what has been said will suffice to show that there are really cases, in which the evolution of the individual gives us a clear indication where to seek the ancestors of the race." So far, Father Wasmann's mental processes are sufficiently clear on the subject; but what follows seems to be enveloped in fog and mystery. He adds: "Nevertheless, if we are to explain such a stage of evolution as being a repetition of some hypothetical stage in the life of its ancestors, this explanation must be the only possible one (!)—and it is my opinion that there is no such stage in the ontogeny of man." Now, the riddle of the sphinx is easy compared with this sybilline language of Father Wasmann. And then why should he balk the great principle when he comes to man? Was not the principle sufficiently proven to him in the case of the parasites of the white ants? In the "Discussion," which was not discussed, but written out at his leisure, Father Wasmann returns to the mystery of his words and this is how he interprets them for Dr. Smith—Jena, who called his attention to the inconsistency. He says: "I never recognized the *biogenetic principle as such*, either in my third lecture nor in my book on *Biology and the Theory of Evolution*. The instances adduced by me, to which Dr. Smith—Jena referred, were exceptional cases of *relatively rare occurrence*, in which the development of the individual gives us a clue to the evolution of the species. But the fact that these are exceptional and of rare occurrence shows that the biogenetic principle is not a general law." But if it be not a "general law," how does Father Wasmann know that in his own particular discovery (!) he has "a clue to the evolution of the species?" Why should it prove to be the law in his case and not in that of others? There are those who maintain that they, too, have discovered instances of it and those also who insist that it is a general law. Why should Father Wasmann be so confident of its import in his own case and so positive in his rejection of it in other cases? Why should he be so positive that he has come upon a real case of parallel between ontogenesis and phylogenesis? Indeed, Father Wasmann's attitude here is wholly capricious and in spite of all his protestations can only be interpreted as a confirmation of their position by those who maintain the validity of the biogenetic principle.

Indeed, we think the admonition of the nursery rhyme, "The gob-beluns'll get you if you don't watch out," is particularly appropriate for Father Wasmann on this particular point. For the rest we are sorry to find Father Wasmann lending himself to an effort to revive interest in the argument from embryology, especially when scientists themselves seem to be abandoning it as valueless.

Let us, however, try to get the force of Father Wasmann's argument; and perhaps we can obtain some idea of its value and efficacy more readily by taking one from the "number of similar instances" of the biogenetic principle which he cites rather than from Father Wasmann's own instance. As one of those instances, Father Wasmann mentions the case of the whalebone-whale, which is one of the stock arguments of evolutionists in behalf of the biogenetic principle. We shall try to follow Father Wasmann's argument in this case, which he accepts as a "clue" and an "indication where to seek the ancestors of the race"; but first a brief digression may be permitted. Whether the principle of evolution has or has not been at work in other directions there is one place at least where it seems to be a marked success—the evolution of error. Indeed, so successful has it been in this department of knowledge that it has actually differentiated a new spick-and-span species of fallacy and developed it to such perfection that it has come into general use throughout the entire school of evolution and seems to be a characteristic mark of every member of that school from Darwin down to Father Wasmann. This new species we may call the fallacy of the double hypothesis; and its operation is thus-wise. First a hypothesis is framed, wholly possible, more or less probable, absolutely without proof, and with little presumption in its favor. After more or less discussion this hypothesis quietly takes its place as a proven fact, though it has not progressed in its evolution beyond the assumption stage. Later, in another totally different department of science another totally different hypothesis is needed for another totally different purpose. It is forthwith invented, and, after its invention, follows the usual discussion, when suddenly some one discovers that the first hypothesis has some bearing on the question. The first hypothesis is instantly invoked, and *presto!* the second hypothesis is proven by the first. Meanwhile the fact that it has been instrumental in proving the truth of the second hypothesis at once raises the first to the dignity of a truth also. Occasionally, not only two, but entire series of hypotheses thus become established truths. The argument from the whalebone-whale is a brilliant example of this. Father Wasmann says of it:

"As an example of this (the biogenetic principle), I may refer

to the teeth which the embryos of the whalebone-whale still possess, although subsequently they degenerate into whalebone If we may compare with it the further fact that geology has ascertained, viz., that the whalebone-whale only in the tertiary period succeeded to the toothed whale, which may be regarded as its probable ancestor, the conclusion is obvious. The whalebone-whale is descended from an older toothed whale, and the reason why, in the development of the individual whalebone-whale, there is a stage at which teeth appear, lies in the fact (!) that the ancestors of the present whales passed through this stage of development, and it remains up to a certain definite point in the growth of the embryo." This is a splendid specimen of the fallacy of the double hypothesis. Indeed, there is a third hypothesis which plays a silent part also. Father Wasmann says "that the whalebone-whale only in the tertiary period succeeded the toothed whale, which may be regarded as its probable ancestor"—mark the "probable," and the double assumption, first of the succession (which is very far from certain) and secondly of the relationship by descent. The first hypothesis then—destitute of every vestige of proof—is, that the whalebone-whale is descended from the toothed whale. The second hypothesis which is the one seeking for proof, is that the appearance of the embryonic teeth is due to the biogenetic principle. (This is the hypothesis which tell us that ontogenesis, or the evolution of the individual we have a reproduction of phylogenesis, or the evolution of the race; in other words, that the individual embryo up to maturity passes through all the forms through which the race has passed.) In this particular case Father Wasmann wishes to prove it by the appearance of the teeth in the embryo whales. And this he does by the simple process of assuming his first hypothesis to be a "fact." We have already elsewhere called attention to this new species of fallacy which consists in basing one hypothesis on another and assuming the edifice thus raised to be a solid structure, whereas it is merely a castle in the air without any foundation whatever. Yet the whole literature of evolution teems with this species of reasoning, and the fallacy vitiates every argument and every conclusion of the entire school. It is a monstrous form of deception against which an effective protest should be made, though often the deception is wholly unconscious, and for the most part dupes even its own authors. It is manifest, however, that outside the school of evolution, any writer who had the interests of truth in mind would state plainly and candidly the wholly conditional aspect of the argument; and in such a case Father Wasmann's argument would run somewhat in this fashion: **Fossil remains of the whalebone-whale**

have been found in the tertiary deposits, but in no earlier ones; and for this reason it is supposed that this species of whale did not exist earlier. Toothed whales, however, have been found in earlier strata, and consequently it is surmised that the whalebone-whale may be descended from the toothed whale. If this supposition should prove to be true, and the whalebone-whale should prove to have the toothed whale for its ancestor, the appearance of teeth at a certain stage in the development of the embryo whalebone-whale would be a marked confirmation of the biogenetic principle. We think we have put the argument as strongly as the facts in the case will warrant, but Father Wasmann, in true evolutionist fashion, tells us "the conclusion is obvious," and that "it will suffice to show that there are really cases in which the evolution of the individual gives us a clear indication where to seek for the ancestors of the race."

Before taking leave of Father Wasmann's book there is one other feature of his evolution which we wish to note for the reason that in the light of admitted facts it seems to us to be wholly untenable. It is that development with progress or advance seems to be regarded by him as the law of evolution. Instead of being explicitly stated, this is taken for granted throughout his entire work. Indeed, he seems to think there can be no evolution without progress. Advance is essential to the doctrine. Thus in his attempted differentiation of Darwinism from evolution, he tells us that evolution "connotes the doctrine of the derivation of *all* forms of life from earlier and simpler forms." In his third lecture he says: "It is essential to the very nature of evolution to advance from what is simple to what is complex." Following Hertwig, he has told us: "As this process continues, the corresponding new generation must advance somewhat further than its immediate predecessor"; and still again he says: "The more highly any animal is organized, the more stages of development must it pass through before reaching the complex final stage." Hence there is no doubt whatever that at least Father Wasmann's evolution includes the notion of advance or progress from the simple to the complex or from a low state of organization to a high one.

Now, few things are more certain than that such a notion is wholly incompatible with the facts of palæontology. Indeed, it is surprising in the extreme how prone evolutionists generally are to forget this all-important fact. For one of the real lessons which palæontology teaches us is, that if there has been an evolution of organic life throughout the past ages, such an evolution must have taken place without progress of any kind. We have many organic forms existing at the present day which are identical with the ear-

liest which palæontology discloses, and assuredly in these there could not have been advance. Father Wasmann himself tells us that the Baltic tertiary ants are in some cases identical with many that exist at present. Surely here there could have been no advance.

And this was the view of Professor Huxley. Half a century ago he told us: "The paleozoic age is a long distance off from the present, but the *Pleuracanthus* of that age, according to the testimony of palæontology, differs no more from our present sharks than these differ from one another." Where, then, is the advance? The same is true of the Ganoid fishes. Where is the progress or advance? The essential characters of the Crocodilia among reptiles of our day are identical with those of the Mesozoic epoch. Where is the advance? And even among mammals, those of the Triassic and Oolitic species differ from those of the present no more than these last differ from one another. Where here do we find advance?

Professor Huxley took each great division of the animal world which was remarkable for a long range of period throughout the geological series and tried to ascertain what had been the advance from simple to complex structure. Let us glance briefly at a few of his conclusions. The Protozoa range throughout the whole geological series from the lower Silurian to the present day; the most ancient forms are exceedingly like those that now exist; they are not more embryonic or less differentiated. Among the Coelenterata the Tabulate Corals range from the Silurian to the present day; the ancient *Heliolites* are quite as highly organized as our present *Heliopora*. Among Molluscs, he asks "In what respect is the living *Waldheimia* less embryonic, or more specialized, than the palæozoic *Spirifer* . . . ?" And conversely he asks in what sense *Loligo* or *Spirula* are in advance of the Belemnite. It is the same with the Annulosa. It is the same with the lower vertebrates and with the higher vertebrates. He asks: "In what sense are the Liassic *Cheilonia* inferior to those which now exist? How are the Cretaceous Ichthyosauria, Plesiosauria or Pterosauria less embryonic, or more differentiated species, than those of the Lias?" It is not necessary to multiply instances. Where, then, is there evidence of Father Wasmann's evolution, to "the very nature of" which "it is essential to advance from what is simple to what is complex"? Professor Huxley sums up by saying:

"These examples might be almost indefinitely multiplied, but surely they are sufficient to prove that the only safe and unquestionable testimony we can procure—positive evidence—fails to demonstrate any sort of progressive modification towards a less embryonic, or less generalized, type in a great many groups of animals of

long-continued geological existence. In these groups there is abundant evidence of variation—none of what is ordinarily understood as progression; and, if the known geological record is to be regarded as even any considerable fragment of the whole, it is inconceivable that any theory of a necessarily progressive development can stand, for the numerous orders and families cited afford no trace of such a process.”

Professor Huxley concludes his investigations on this subject by the query: “What, then, does an impartial survey of the positively ascertained truth of paleontology testify in relation to the common doctrines of progressive modification which suppose that modification to have taken place by a necessary progress from more or less embryonic forms, or from more to less generalized types” (Father Wasmann’s theory) “within the limits of the period represented by the fossiliferous rocks?”

And his answer is: “It negatives those doctrines; for it either shows no evidence of any such modification or shows it to have been very slight; and as to the nature of that modification, it yields no evidence whatsoever that the earlier members of any long-continued group were more generalized than the later ones.” Huxley’s conclusion has never been disputed, but is the accepted doctrine of the schools to-day. In one instance Huxley himself maintained twenty years later that there was a notable exception, but the evidence seemed to be wanting to prove the authenticity and the exception has fallen into innocuous desuetude. What, then, are we to think of Father Wasmann’s evolution, which postulates advance from one generation to another and advance from the simple to the complex as constant and continuous?

Father Wasmann says, with considerable *naivete*, that evolution is not an experimental science. We quite agree with him; but it is not an experimental science for the simple and conclusive reason that it is not a science at all. It deserves to be ranked as a science no more than the cooling theory of La Place and Kant can be regarded as a science, or than Christian Science can be regarded as a science. Indeed, Father Wasmann himself admits all this, for he shows with much circumlocution that it is but a hypothesis built on several other hypotheses. “It is essentially a theory,” he tells us, “based on a group of hypotheses.” Such a theory can hardly be called a science; but, since these hypotheses are “in harmony with one another,” Father Wasmann thinks that they “afford the most probable explanation of the origin of organic species”—a proposition which he has failed to satisfactorily demonstrate.

Father Wasmann’s evolution breaks down in the same way

when we come to regard it—as he wishes it to be regarded—in the light of a great universal principle, whose sway extends throughout all organic life on our globe, throughout inorganic nature, and throughout the entire universe. Now, a great universal principle that breaks down at every important point, and that is discoverable in only out-of-the-way corners, and even there not very discernibly but merely supposedly, is no principle at all. Father Wasmann's evolution starts with the primal creation of matter and is supposed to be actively at work in the development of this matter—whatever that means; Father Wasmann or no one else understands—down to the time when this matter is ready for the introduction of life. Here suddenly it halts, breaks down completely, indeed so completely that Father Wasmann is forced to introduce “a so-called act of creation,” as he styles it, to account for the origin of life, and by the intervention of this new auxiliary, evolution starts in again with fresh courage and attempts a renewal of its operations. It must be remembered, however, that up to this point the existence of evolution and its labors in the development of matter is purely conjectural and without the slightest shadow of reason, that it now is and ever will remain as incapable of proof as it is of disproof, and that when we come down to the beginning of life on the globe this conjecture breaks down completely. Even after its new start on the creation of life on the globe we fail to find that Father Wasmann has proved it to be universal; it is far from it. But the evolutionist, still confident, clings to his theory and is still a firm believer in its efficacy; and, getting a fresh field with its new start in organic nature, he gives it full sweep through this vast realm; for is not this its own home, wherein he first suspected its existence—the field of its energy, its industry, its efficacy, the scene of its own special triumphs and demonstrable victories? Throughout this whole realm it has universal sway. *Si monumentum quaeris, circumspice*. Well, what do we find? Let Father Wasmann answer in behalf of his great principle, of whose “laws” and “interior causes” and “internal factors” he talks grandiloquently, although he admits that he knows absolutely nothing about them. “In the case,” he tells us, “of the same genus, the genera of the same family, and often for the families of the same order, even for the orders of the same class, the probability is in support of evolution.” Now, when it is remembered that in coming down the history of matter from its first creation to our own time, this is the first trace we find of the great universal principle, and that this vestige is mere probability, and that this probability is confined to the lower forms of organic matter, we must regard it as only an optimism of the most cheerful kind which would

find in such a probability a solid basis on which to found a great "science." For outside of the limits which Father Wasmann describes he is forced to admit: "But the higher we ascend in the systematic categories, and the more closely we approach the great chief types of the animal world, the scantier becomes the evidence; in fact, it fails so completely that we are finally forced to acknowledge that the assumption of a monophyletic evolution of the whole animal kingdom of organic life is a delightful dream without any scientific support." Hence here in its own special realm, where evolutionists of every school admit that the great principle has absolute sway, we find whole tracts and continents, so to speak, where its existence is but "a delightful dream"; so that even here evolution breaks down seriously. And even accepting this fragmentary evolution within its own special realm to be some slight evidence in favor of the principle, Father Wasmann declares that when we come down to man, the principle again breaks down irretrievably. Where, then, is the evidence of the existence of this great principle? It fails us everywhere. To insist on a great principle of evolution running uninterruptedly throughout the entire universe and producing all inorganic phenomena as well as all organic life, and to maintain that such a principle is demonstrable from the crazy-quilt patchwork of evidence in our possession, is like proving that all the great bodies of water on the Continent of Europe are expansions of one great river which is invisible except where the lakes appear. Supposing the principle of gravitation were thus chromatic and elliptical? Gravitation is demonstrable everywhere, from the dewdrop to the motion of the spheres.

"That very law that moulds a tear and bids it trickle from its source,
That law preserves our earth a sphere and guides the planets in
their course."

When Father Wasmann can speak thus confidently of his principle of evolution, he may ask us to accept it. At present it seems as though we were all expected to transfer our faith from religion to science, so scant is the evidence in proof of the scientific principle. For the rest, Father Wasmann's attempt to establish a harmony between evolution and Christian philosophy seems to us, like all other attempts of the kind, an endeavor to ride around the ecliptic of evolution with one horse of heaven and one of earth.

Before completely surrendering ourselves, however, to an unhesitating acceptance of Father Wasmann's theistic evolution or to an unquestioning faith in its truth, it is just as well to remember that all evolution, whether theistic or atheistic, rests for proof on just two classes of argument, one the argument from embryology,

or, as Father Wasmann calls it, the biogenetic principle, the other the argument from palæontology; that of the former Father Wasmann himself is quite pronounced in his repudiation and that he is far from alone in his rejection of it; that of the latter Herbert Spencer admitted years ago that "the facts about fossil remains are so fragmentary that *no positive conclusion* can be drawn from them"; that this sane conclusion cannot be contradicted; that it was true when Spencer first penned it, that it is true to-day, and that it will remain true for all time.

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SCHOLASTIC APOLOGETICS.

CHANCE brought to our notice not long ago a work bearing a very recent date and obviously intended to give the general, and especially the non-Catholic, reader a brief yet comprehensive and reliable view of Scholastic Philosophy from a Catholic standpoint, and the extremely questionable manner in which this important subject was treated, taken in conjunction with other recently appearing and similarly defective works, seemed to demand a serious review of the whole subject and *status* of what may, perhaps, not inaptly be termed "Scholastic Apologetics."

We are, of course, no longer surprised at the interested obloquy which its enemies have constantly sought to cast upon this elaborate and venerable system of thought; but the title, the preface, and the author of the work now in question would lead one to expect a *leal*, and even devoted, exposition and defense of what has now become, in the minds of most men, the Church's consecrated philosophy. But, in place of this, a very evident desire to please and placate has led to so serious a mutilation of the system, and to so thorough a discrediting of its principal theses, that the general reader could not but be misled as to what Scholastic Philosophy really is in itself, and as to how it is regarded by legitimate Catholic authority.

As already indicated, this work and this author are by no means alone. This same excessive and consequently destructive conciliation is the chosen tone of many more recent Catholic writers; and, as such, it renders a rigorous examination imperative. We sincerely regret any special reference to persons or to personal interests; and if we choose this particular author and work, it is only as types of their respective classes, and in order that the ideas and

expressions here criticized may be given *verbatim*. It may be well to mention here that, excepting Latin words and specially indicated passages, the italics and parentheses throughout are our own. In arranging the work, it has seemed best to quote at once the utterances both of these ultra-liberal writers and those of supreme Catholic authority, in order that the state of the question may be made apparent without delay. Later, a slight analysis and commentary will be attempted.

I. CRITICISED QUOTATIONS.

In the first place, we may point out, as a kind of introduction to the author's peculiar views, that he is a free and rather patronizing critic of St. Thomas. "On the question," he says, "of Divine Providence and the condition of the soul after death, it must remain at least doubtful whether Avicenna and Averroes or Saint Thomas were better exponents of Aristotle's mind." Again, "On the whole, he (St. Thomas) was more concerned to square Aristotle with Christian teaching than to square himself with Aristotle." Passing to the Scholastic system itself, the author first points out the undoubted truth that "all Scholastic Philosophy is based upon the distinction between matter and form," and truly says that "we must absolutely attend to it, if we are to have any notion of Scholasticism at all." But he then proceeds to give this very doctrine a more than dubious character by saying, "The hypothesis of there being one mother-stuff underlying every variety of material body (sic) . . . is indeed a doubtful hypothesis." It is true that in the author's context these words may apply exclusively to Suarez's special variation on the theme of *materia prima*; but, even so, the ambiguity remains; and it is practically certain that the general reader, for whom the book is intended, would apply the doubt to the general Scholastic doctrine. Elsewhere the reference to matter and form is clear and explicit, yet not less derogatory. "The extension of hylomorphism," the author says, "to the whole of nature, and notably to the constitution of inorganic bodies, is a much more dubious speculation." The reservation here indicated is to be found in the author's previous assertion that "the Neo-Thomist will strongly hold that in man the soul is the form, the body, the matter." The author says that this position will be taken upon biological grounds; but many will doubtless persist in believing that the Council of Vienna and that of the Lateran are not without influence here; and this notwithstanding the author's further and rather peculiar assertion that Scholasticism's "central tenet of the composition of all things out

of matter and form *has nothing to do* with Theology." Without attempting here a complete discussion of this last question, we simply note that some very high Catholic authorities have thought that the Scholastic doctrine positing the human soul as the form of the human body is very closely connected, not only with Theology, but also with the faith itself. Cardinal Zigliara, certainly a representative Scholastic philosopher and an undoubted ecclesiastical authority, may be taken as a type of these latter, and his mind concerning this matter may be learned by consulting page 175 of the second volume of his "*Summa Philosophica*." Historically, at least, the doctrine has had a great deal to do with Theology. Its relation to faith is still a matter of earnest discussion, and will probably long continue to be a subject for the deepest consideration. But, this aside, we have seen that on the general theory of matter and form all the author's reservations vanish. He even mildly ridicules the older methods of investigating even in cases where their weakness has yet to be demonstrated, and implies that there has never yet been a really philosophical inquiry into the subject of matter and form. "The doubt," he says, "will have to be cleared up. *if ever it is cleared up*, not by abstract arguments going upon the obvious phenomena of daily life, such as the burning of tow, but by all the elaborate apparatus now at the command of the chemist and electrician; even the highest methods of mathematical calculus may be brought in to aid. Verily there is work for the twentieth century schoolman who intends conducting a *thoroughly philosophical* inquiry into *materia prima*." To show, moreover, that his own criticisms in this regard are comparatively mild, he speaks of "many Catholic" philosophers who simply reject matter and form altogether. "Many Catholic philosophers have rejected, and do reject, matter and form." We confess that these "many" Catholic philosophers are not well known to us, but some, at least, no doubt, exist. Human nature is a very perverse quantity, and not all the popes that ever reigned are sufficient to keep some "Catholics" in line; as is evidenced very clearly by the existence of the very works that we are now considering. But even granting the complete objective reality of these numerous insubordinate Catholic writers, their existence throws no real light upon the question. As Cardinal Zigliari says in the other connection just noted, "*Ipsi videant*." The only thing to be said about such writers is that they are rather poor samples of Catholic scholarship to be placed before strangers as typical of Catholic thought.

Having thus registered, in these and many other similar passages, the practical rejection by himself and "many" other Catholic philosophers of what he himself declares to be Scholastic Philoso-

phy's "central" cosmological thesis of matter and form, the author proceeds to a similar process regarding a fundamental doctrine of Scholastic Psychology. "Another choice," he says, "*likewise beyond our prediction*, will have to be made in Psychology, on the retention or discarding of the 'active' and the 'potential' intellect"; and though he says here, "We are now merely indicating questions, not solving them," he immediately gives his solution—avoiding, however, the responsibility for so doing—by saying, "One schoolman of no mean ability, writing in a French Review, has urged the abandonment of speculation on 'active' and 'potential'; he would make the permanent self, underlying transient impressions, the first intellectual idea grasped by the mind," etc., etc. It may be suggested here that the popes in their solemn encyclicals have not issued a call for volunteers in the matter of philosophical speculation, but have explicitly and specifically enjoined the teaching of Scholastic Philosophy. They are not searching for separate theories for merely temporary or tentative use. What they do demand, and what they have a right to demand, is a corps of professors humble enough and loyal enough deeply to study and faithfully to teach a complete philosophical system already fully possessed, understood, and approved. And even for those who seemingly find it very hard to obey, it may be remarked that any opinion worth holding is also worth direct, open expression; and that the increasingly favorite modern method of putting what we want to say in the mouths of others is hardly worthy of a philosopher of whatever school he may be.

With a fatalistic kind of progression, the author next advances to Natural Theology; and in it, likewise, gives another typical example of his *penchant* for invalidating central Scholastic tenets, by choosing for his attack the well-known argument for the existence of God drawn from a necessarily existing "first mover" himself unmoved. The author elsewhere calls this a "favorite" argument of St. Thomas—in order, it would seem, to show that he attacks by preference that which the great scholastics have especially advocated—and he explicitly assures us that in his own treatment of it he is not malevolent, though it is difficult to see just how else he would act if he were. In discussing it, he points out several of what he considers to be fundamental defects, which, if really existent and essential, any schoolboy must have noticed; and then suggests an equal number of more than doubtful means for its rehabilitation by the Neo-Thomist "if he wishes to vindicate a favorite argument of his master." The remedies suggested involve considerations concerning the "energies of the universe" and the "principle of the conservation of energy," matters on which, as here applied, we shall

speak later on. In the meantime, one could scarcely credit, if it were not before his eyes, the continually flippant manner in which precisely the most important Scholastic theses are singled out for ridicule by a writer explicitly professing to believe in Scholasticism, and to be engaged in its exposition and defense.

Yet the author, later on, goes further than he has yet done in any of these particular instances; for he passes from details to the system as a whole; and, as a whole, he practically concludes for its rejection. Considering the weakness and decline which marked its later history and the reasons therefor, he asks and answers, "Was Scholasticism exhausted as a philosophy? Had it found out all that was to be found out by its methods and on its presuppositions? *Any answer attempted to this question must be premature. An a priori answer (rather late for that now) will not do. The experiment is being tried with a new Scholasticism (therefore the old is already dead) and we must abide the result.*" Who would believe from words such as these that it is precisely of this antiquated, enfeebled, and even discarded philosophy that Sixtus and Leo and Pius have spoken in terms of supremest *present* praise?

In his horoscope, finally, of this unrecognizable remnant of the anciently glorious philosophy, the author very consistently outlines an extremely precarious future. What he considers to be its only resource is indicated by his remark that "the hope of Scholasticism as a philosophy for the future seems to rest on its alliance with Physical Science." By a further very curious association of ideas, he digresses here, and makes the future of the Church also to depend upon the same flimsy support, and envelopes it with the same hazy, benumbing atmosphere of universal doubt. He makes the remarkable assertion—though by an afterthought he throws the responsibility for it upon appearances and the popes—that "upon Scholasticism, to all appearance, so at least popes have thought, depend *in great measure* the hopes of the Roman Catholic Church *ever* recovering the ascendancy which she has lost over the intellect of mankind." The first assertion forms a sufficiently dismal prognostication concerning Scholastic Philosophy, once a noble, soaring science, but now to become, it seems, only an aproned menial in the dingy workshops of matter. The second prediction will assuredly sound strange enough to those that remember that the Church, as a specifically moral agency, finally holds and regards an ascendancy over the will, rather than over the intellect; and that its influence, accordingly, recedes or advances, not as a sequence of movement in any natural science, or of any other merely intellectual process, but in exact measure with the ebb and flow of divine charity amongst

men. We must never forget that at the helm of the Church there is an invisible Pilot who has calmed even the most turbulent of natural elements long before now, and that it has also with it a Spirit Who breatheth where He will, and before Whom all the studied contrivances of men are as nothing and all human astuteness as chaff.

But it is only in linking these two strange propositions together that their fundamentally mistaken import becomes fully apparent. If, as they declare, the future of the Church depends upon Scholastic Philosophy, and the future of Scholastic Philosophy depends upon Physical Science, it easily follows that Physical Science holds the keys to the Church's advance; a modernistic proposition of the most advanced type, and one wholly foreign to its author's real mind. But this only shows that greater care should be used in the formulation of important ideas. We in nowise yield to the author in our estimate of the influence of Scholastic Philosophy upon religious issues. This paper is written precisely because we believe it to be very great. We simply urge here the far greater importance of ideas, almost wholly obscured by this faulty presentation, but openly and explicitly voiced by Leo XIII. in this very connection. In his great encyclical, "*Aeterni Patris*," the classical papal utterance on Scholastic Philosophy, this universally erudite pontiff says, "We do not, indeed, attribute such force and authority to philosophy as to esteem it equal to the task of combating and eradicating all errors; for, when the Christian religion was first constituted, it came upon earth to restore it to its primeval dignity by the admirable light of faith, diffused not by persuasive words of human wisdom, but in the manifestation of spirit and of power; so also at the present time we look above all things to the powerful help of Almighty God to bring back to a right understanding the minds of men and dispel the darkness of error." He says, later on, that "not in vain did God set the light of reason in the human mind," a truth of primary importance and one clear to all; but it is equally important and clear that reason must always be kept in its exact, and in matters of religion always subservient, position.

We conclude our special quotations from this work with a detached passage in which the author speaks of the "late" sovereignty of the Roman States, an expression which verges very closely upon a somewhat ghastly pleasantry concerning a subject which has long been, and still is, the object of the most solemn papal protestations. In it, the author seems eager to prove to the outer world his own complete liberality and "breadth," even in a matter guarded by the solemnly standing protests of the popes. As a matter of fact,

however, this kind of conduct really proves nothing, except the eagerly and weakly surrendering character of the author's entire work in regard to things which by no means lie within his right of disposal.

The reader will, of course, judge of all these utterances for himself. A preliminary indication of our own impressions will be given by saying that popularity is not so very precious as to be prudently bought at so ruinous a price, and that, with judicious minds, contempt, not popularity, will be the only and inevitable result of the unworthy attempt.

II. QUOTATIONS FROM POPES.

In direct opposition to views so seriously depreciatory of Scholastic Philosophy, we can doubtless consider with great advantage here the utterances of another and very different class of men, the supreme pontiffs of the Church, concerning the same philosophical system. The great natural abilities of the popes, their high erudition, their world-wide avenues of information, and the lofty supernatural graces accompanying their supremely important and difficult office, surely entitle their carefully weighed and most formal judgments to the very highest respect and attention.

Commencing, naturally, with our own present reigning pontiff, it is well known that Pius X. has adopted as his own the in every way explicit and special ideas and declarations contained in the encyclical "*Aeterni Patris*" of his late illustrious predecessor, Leo XIII., one of the most intellectual of all the popes. This formal and official expression, therefore, of our highest present authority must be taken as the only legitimate standard and norm for loyal Catholic thinkers in our day. In his turn, Leo XIII., in the solemn instrument just named, quotes as forerunners of his own mind and action, Clement VI., Innocent VI., Urban V., Nicholas V., Pius V., Sixtus V., Innocent XII., Benedict XIII., Clement XII., and Benedict XIV. Of these in general, he says, "Our predecessors in the Roman Pontificate have celebrated the wisdom of Thomas Aquinas by exceptional tributes of praise and the most ample testimonials." And with greater particularity he continues, "Clement VI., Nicholas V., Benedict XIII., and others bear witness that the universal Church borrows lustre from his admirable teaching; while St. Pius V. confesses that heresies, confounded and convicted by the same teaching, were dissipated, and the whole world daily freed from fatal errors; others affirm with Clement XII. that the most fruitful blessings have spread abroad from his writings over the whole

Church, and that he is worthy of the honor which is bestowed upon the greatest doctors of the Church, on Gregory and Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome; while others have not hesitated to propose St. Thomas for the exemplar and master of the academies and great lyceums, whom they may follow with unfaltering feet. On which point the words of Blessed Urban V. to the academy of Toulouse are worthy of recall: "It is our will, which we now enjoin upon you. that ye follow the teaching of Blessed Thomas as the true and Catholic doctrine, and that ye labor with all your force to profit by the same." "Innocent XII.," he further says, "followed the example of Urban in the case of the University of Louvain, and Benedict XIV. with the Dionysian College of Granada; while to these judgments of great pontiffs on Thomas Aquinas comes the crowning testimony of Innocent VI.: 'His teaching above that of others, the canons alone excepted, enjoys such an elegance of phraseology, a method of statement, a truth of proposition, that those who hold to it are never found swerving from the path of truth, and he who dare assail it will always be suspected of error.'" After words such as these, it may be well to recall the fact that we have already shown our particular author to be very free and nonchalant in his criticisms of this same great doctor, so revered by the popes and by the entire Church. It is timely also to give in contrast Pope Leo's own estimate. "Amongst the Scholastic Doctors, the chief and master of all, towers Thomas Aquinas, who, as Cajetan observes, because 'he most venerated the ancient doctors of the Church, in a certain way seems to have inherited the intellect of all.'" "Reason, borne on the wings of Thomas to its human height, can scarcely rise higher, while faith could hardly expect more or stronger aids from reason than those which she has already obtained through Thomas." Either words such as these are false, or St. Thomas should be free from thoughtless criticism on the part of Catholic writers.

Not less precise, concerning the system as a whole, are the words in which Sixtus V., likewise quoted by Leo, enumerates the special excellences of Scholastic Philosophy. "That ready and close adherence of cause and effect, that order and array as of a disciplined army in battle, those clear definitions and distinctions, that strength of argument and those keen discussions, by which light is distinguished from darkness, the true from the false, expose and strip naked, as it were, the falsehoods of heretics wrapped round by a cloud of subterfuges and fallacies." And Leo himself, referring precisely to these words, and pointing out that, though used primarily of Scholastic Theology, they "may plainly be accepted as equally true of philosophy," continues in his own name: "Those noble

and admirable endowments, we say, are only to be found in a right use of that philosophy which the Scholastic teachers have been accustomed carefully and prudently to make use of even in theological disputations." And Leo expressly excludes innovations such as those we have been noting, for he says, "But in order that philosophy may be found equal to the gathering of these precious fruits which we have indicated, it behooves it *above all things never* to turn aside from the path which the Fathers have entered upon from a venerable antiquity, and which the Vatican Council solemnly and authoritatively approved." Still again, urging the danger of *any* departure from the system, and still further pressing its *present* use, he says, "Therefore, Venerable Brethren, We think it hazardous that its special honor should not *always* remain, especially when it is established that *daily* experience, and the judgment of the greatest men, and, to crown all, the *voice of the Church*, have favored the Scholastic Philosophy." And, sad to say, men of only half-hearted obedience were not more unknown in his day than in ours; for he continues, "This new pursuit (that of novelties in philosophy) seems to have caught the souls of certain Catholic philosophers, who, throwing aside the patrimony of ancient wisdom, choose rather to build up a new edifice than to strengthen and complete the old by the aid of the new—ill-advisedly, in sooth, and not without detriment to the sciences. For a multiform system of this kind, which depends upon the authority and choice of any professor, has a foundation open to change, and consequently gives us a philosophy not firm, and stable, and robust, like that of old, but tottering and feeble." Pleading yet once more, almost as if in humble appeal, he finally says, "Our *first* and *most cherished* idea is that you should *all* give a generous and copious supply to studious youth of those crystal rills of wisdom flowing in a never-ending and vivifying stream from the fountain head of the Angelic Doctor." Nor was Leo as one ignorant of the present state of scientific affairs. "Nor will the physical sciences," he says, "which are now in such great repute, and by the renown of so many inventions draw such universal admiration to themselves, suffer detriment, but find very great assistance in the re-establishment of the ancient philosophy. . . . To such investigations it is wonderful what force and light and aid the Scholastic, Philosophy, if judiciously taught, would bring." "In this very age," he explicitly says, "many illustrious professors of the physical sciences openly testify that between sure and accepted conclusions of modern physics and the philosophical principles of the Schools there is no conflict worthy of the name."

With a continuity, therefore, recalling that of formal tradition,

and extending unbroken down to, and including, our own actually present times, the Holy See has steadily and unvaryingly reiterated the fact that the retention and cultivation of Scholastic Philosophy, in its genuine, original form, and especially as it is found in the works of St. Thomas, are matters that exercise a very profound influence upon the fruitful custody even of divine Revelation itself.

Surely, these are serious words of serious men; yet, as if these were not enough, the Councils themselves of the universal Church have, as Pope Leo points out, by their words and their actions, lent to the same philosophical system whatever of further sanction and weight human authority can give. And in all these utterances the point to which special attention should be given, as being of the most formal application here, is the *present, twentieth-century* fitness of Scholastic Philosophy as understood and advocated by these supreme ecclesiastical authorities.

Most of its bitterest enemies and all of its doubtful friends would readily concede that for its own deluded times and for its own former cramped and narrow circumstances, it might well be allowed to pass. But as for us, and for this supposedly enlightened age, the same classes of men can scarce bear the mention of its name. But, whatever particular persons may think, our present authorities must be our present standard; and our present pontiff, Pius X.—the pope with his heart in the tabernacle—after noting that Pope Leo had chosen St. Thomas, precisely because his teachings were of the exact kind required in our times, and after noting, moreover, that Leo had declared that our present weakness was largely due to our neglect of that great master, declares, in his own name, that, since the last period of his own pontificate had fallen upon times more hostile, perhaps, than ever before to the wisdom of the Fathers, he deems it of the very highest importance that Pope Leo's action in regard to Scholastic Philosophy should be most accurately observed and most sedulously extended.¹ He explicitly directs that "*All, whoever they may be, and in whatever part of the earth they may be situated, who teach philosophy in Catholic schools, should never depart from the way or the method of St. Thomas Aquinas, but should day by day more diligently and carefully follow in his footsteps.*"² Furthermore, in addressing the bishops in charge of the "Institute Catholique" in present-day Paris, in the very midst of the most advanced and determined hostility to everything Catholic, he says, "As for philosophy, we request that you should never allow in your seminaries any relaxed observance of the precepts

¹Acta S. Sedis, vol. XXXVI, p. 469.

²Ibid., p. 470.

most providentially given by our Predecessor. *This is a matter of great importance to the custody and safeguarding of the faith.*"³

Again, therefore, we repeat that it must be most distinctly remembered that Leo and Pius are modern popes speaking for their own times, and not for the Middle Ages; and that they are speaking, moreover, of real, genuine, Scholastic, Thomistic Philosophy, and not of its unintelligible fragments and distortions as manipulated at will by each comparatively obscure and wholly unauthorized compromiser in these smaller days. Both Leo and Pius explicitly exclude the idea that Scholastic Philosophy is something antiquated and thus useless for our times. They affirm the exact opposite, and openly declare its fitness for *all* times, as well as its *special* adaptation for our own. Indeed, their precise reason for its renewed study and application is given by themselves as its exquisite fitness to meet and refute *present* errors. Yet sad experience shows that even these repeated and most formal injunctions of close and rigid adherence to Scholastic doctrines and methods are by no means sufficient to restrain the flippant liberality which still presumes to concede and abandon, in the very face of the enemy, all that the greatest pontiffs have striven so earnestly to save.

III. QUOTATIONS CONTRASTED.

Having thus given in the exact words of their respective authors a general exposition of two very different views of Scholastic Philosophy, it now seems in place to ascertain the degree and the importance of their many discrepancies. It may be stated at once that the one, explicit purpose of the present paper is to formulate and record a most decided and emphatic protest against what is considered to be an altogether unwarranted and to the last degree injurious and deplorable surrendering of Scholastic ideals to the supposedly pressing, and certainly peremptory, demands of what is commonly known as modern scientific progress. No more fatal mistake could possibly be made. If there is any branch of knowledge in which Catholic apologists should use most especial care, that branch is philosophy. In the words of Leo XIII., "Whoso turns his attention to the bitter strifes of these days and seeks a reason for the troubles that disturb public and private life, must come to the conclusion that a fruitful cause of the evils which now afflict, as well as of those which threaten us, lies in this: that false conclusions concerning divine and human things, which originated in the schools

³ *Acta, S. Sedis*, vol. XL, p. 391.

of philosophy, have crept into all the orders of the state, and have been accepted by the common consent of the masses :"⁴ Words such as these from such a source should give liberalistic Catholic writers pause, and should lead to the most serious care in dealing with any important philosophical question. In this whole matter of philosophy, moreover, surely no other subject can be so important as the choice of an entire system and its custody when found. And it is precisely with this that the authors we are criticising professedly deal.

With regard, moreover, to the sources of present evil, any careful analysis will fully verify Pope Leo's words. Even the slightest examination of the numerous, widespread, and most destructive perversions of dogmatic and moral truth that now so afflict the Church and injure souls will show that profound philosophical errors lie close in at their bases, and, while not being their fully adequate cause, still do very much to strengthen and perpetuate them. It is, therefore, as has been said, of the very first importance that in any exposition of philosophical truth purporting to come from Catholic sources, and most especially in those intended for the general, non-Catholic public, Catholic writers should set forth the true mind of the Church with all possible clearness, force, and fidelity. Any other course can only result in degrading and injuring one of the most noble and beneficent of sciences and the most sacred of all causes, by subjecting them, as Pope Leo has indicated, to the merely capricious and often fantastic vagaries of irresponsible individual theorists.

Yet it is precisely here, in this most important work, we are extremely sorry to say, that many of the more recent works of Catholic writers most signally fail. A spirit of weak, servile concession, as unauthorized as it is injurious, pervades the whole course of many professedly defensive writings; with the inevitable and deplorable result of leaving the whole cause of Catholic truth, both philosophical and theological, in a condition much worse than it was before. We do not impugn the fundamentally good intention of these writers. We dislike very much to express even the slightest unfavorable criticism, and would be only too pleased to record an unvarying and universal commendation.

But we just as certainly feel that these ill-judged methods are extremely hurtful; that, so far from fulfilling the wishes of the popes, they are just what the popes have wished to avoid; and that these writers owe it to the great cause they represent to remember

⁴ *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. XII, p. 98.

that they are not their own masters, that the sacred interests of the Church are by no means in their keeping; that, unfashionable as it may appear at present, strict obedience is a first virtue in any Catholic, and that, therefore, the only right of a subordinate Catholic teacher lies wholly within the lines laid down by the supreme Catholic teacher. His whole duty is to follow humbly and loyally the wise instructions of his divinely appointed superior.

Of course, we know that neither Scholastic Theology nor, *a fortiori*, Scholastic Philosophy is by any means the same thing as the Catholic faith; and we have not the slightest intention of demanding the dignity of dogma or the standing of infallible truth for either. Likewise, we have no idea that naturally acquired knowledge has by any means reached the utmost limit of its extension; and we simply follow in the steps of the typical Scholastics, and in the explicitly expressed wishes of the great papal advocates of Scholastic Philosophy, when we eagerly welcome whatever of really new knowledge any scientific research may attain. As a corollary, it is perfectly clear that modifications must be looked for in Scholastic Philosophy, and that, in the last analysis, the real question is as to how far these changes can properly go. But, even with all these admissions of its non-supernatural and still imperfect character, it still remains that in regard to the welfare of the Church, the question of Scholastic Philosophy is very important. We have already seen the explicit declarations of many popes to this precise effect; and if any further confirmation were needed, we could secure it very easily from a very different source and with a very different motive. In the older days, such men as Beza and Bucer owned the power of Scholastic Philosophy by saying, "If the teaching of Thomas Aquinas were only taken away, they could easily battle with all Catholic teachers, gain the victory, and abolish the Church." "A vain hope," adds Pope Leo, "but no vain testimony."⁵ In our own time the same spirit is shown on a smaller scale by such incidents as that in which the "Presbyterian General Assembly" in Ireland entered a solemn protest against the action of Belfast University in including Scholastic Philosophy in the Arts Faculty and providing a lectureship therefor. These hostile utterances undoubtedly indicate a very decided fear that the old Philosophy so long linked with the Church may again prove its powerful ally; and the instincts of heresy are only less accurate than those of the faith. And in this case both are right. The popes speak ultimately from the standpoint of faith, and Protestant synods, also, have a religious object in view;

⁵ *Acta S. Sadis*, vol. XII, p. 111.

so that even though, as has been said, Scholastic Philosophy is not the faith; still friend and foe do well to recognize its central position, and to reckon with its profound influence upon every advance or regression of Catholic interests. It is clear that both Scholastic Theology and Scholastic Philosophy, though distinct, are still closely allied with the faith and with each other; and that, taken together, they form the mould in which for many centuries much of the most powerful Catholic thought was cast. It further follows that both always stand peculiarly well prepared to perform their exalted office again. The faith does not change, and the specific relations of true philosophy with it are too lofty to suffer from the minor changes affecting its lower, merely physical side. The test of the centuries rejected Plato and affirmed Aristotle as the leader in arranging the rational preliminaries to revealed truth, and Scholastic Philosophy purified, elevated, and, in a certain manner, Christianized Aristotle, leaving us an inestimable treasure of exquisitely discriminating and powerful thought closely allied to religious refinements, and thus far too precious for ill-considered treatment or thoughtless abandonment.

IV. DESTRUCTIVE.

In any case, it is perfectly certain that any system whatsoever, be it theological or philosophical, must retain its essential features, if it is to live at all and justify its name. Not infrequently, the defenders of a system, in seeking to commend it by dissecting away what they deem objectionable or useless, include the most vital parts in their complacent but disastrous surgery. Scholastic Philosophy, at least, has certainly suffered very much of late by these clumsily well-intentioned methods. Its defenders seem to have become thoroughly frightened by the persistent and peremptory clamors of second or third rate scientific writers, and they seem to feel that their only resource is to remove at once, and at any cost, all those features of the system which are especially displeasing to so-called modern minds. Their humble hope is that the lifeless remainder may be so presented to the modern world as to ensure its at least partial and precarious acceptance. Just what would be gained by this disastrously conditioned acknowledgment, is by no means clear; but it is perfectly certain that no professed enemy could injure the system to any degree approaching that inflicted by these, its inconsiderate, incompetent friends. One of these latter self-justifyingly observes that "it (Scholastic Philosophy) is irreformable, to a Catholic, only so far as its conclusions happen to coincide

with dogmas taught by the Church." This is true enough from a specifically religious standpoint; but it should be borne in mind that a certain amount of reforming, while not constituting any infringement of Catholic faith, may, nevertheless constitute a very great offence against Scholastic Philosophy; so much so, as completely to destroy the entire system.

In this case, we submit that a Scholastic Philosophy possessing no definite, presently ascertainable value, and fundamentally injured in its foremost exponent, in its Cosmology, in its Psychology, and in its Theodicy, is simply not Scholastic Philosophy at all; that the disingenuous title of "Neo-Scholasticism" does nothing to conceal its essentially altered character; that, as we have said, so far from being what the popes desire, it is precisely what they are seeking to avoid; and that the authors of passages such as we have quoted—and they are only too numerous—have no right to place the word "Scholasticism" in their title, or to declare in their prefaces that they believe in it. For our own part, we refuse just as frankly to accept them as framers of a new philosophy for the Church. Their manner and method are by no means reassuring; for they are rudely and most unwarrantably presumptuous with the friends of the system, but most thoroughly humble and abject before its enemies. As we have said, the hope of these writers is placed, not in a genuine Scholastic Philosophy, but in a meaningless "Neo-Scholasticism," which they have themselves arbitrarily and capriciously sketched at the severest expense of the older system. On the other hand, the greatest popes have been, and are, striving most earnestly for the restoration of real Scholasticism; a most questionable proceeding, if its spent and tottering infirmity and decrepitude as depicted by these later writers have any objective reality. Certainly, a Scholasticism such as they present to our view would be but a sorry and ridiculous object of such earnest zeal and such reiterated solicitude. One of these self-appointed and self-guided apologists somewhat unctuously remarks that "there is no impiety in the idea of a Neo-Scholasticism." We agree with him. It is more like homicide.

V. UNAUTHORIZED.

Perhaps the best antidote for this fear and this foolishness would be found by these writers in the reflection that they are dealing summarily with, and, as far as in them lies, disposing of by destroying, something very precious which is not their own. "By what authority," we ask, does any private writer, professing to in-

terpret Catholic convictions to the outside world, proceed, in the very face and full knowledge of so many papal decrees, to so mutilate Scholastic Philosophy that it could no longer justly bear the name? Leo XIII. knew perfectly well that mutilation would be attempted. He knew that small men with this abject, obsequious spirit of concession to imaginary modern demands would be certain, in his own and other ages, to tarnish even the inestimable work of the Church's all but inspired sages; and he did what he could to restrict and restrain their never wholly repressible activity. "But," he says in the same great Encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, "lest the false for the true, or the corrupt for the pure, be drunk in, be ye watchful that the doctrine of Thomas be drawn from his own fountains, or at least from those rivulets which, derived from the very fount, have thus far flowed, according to the established agreement of learned men, pure and clear; be careful to guard the minds of youth from those which are said to flow thence, but in reality are gathered from strange and unwholesome streams." It is perfectly certain that no man of the mental calibre of the great popes we have quoted would be at all tolerant of any surrender of the system's essential features. If Scholastic Philosophy is so very imperfect, and if it is merely tentative, these great men are inexplicably eager for its restoration. It is inconceivable that such men as the erudite Benedict XIV. or the brilliant Leo XIII. or the sternly uncompromising Pius X. would be otherwise than severely indignant at the use of their names in connection with the travesties of Scholastic Philosophy which some recent Catholic writers presume to offer their readers. The very convenient laxity which calmly assumes personal superiority and consequently interprets papal decrees according to personal bias, is really an insult to supreme authority; and it results, as it is intended to do, in a practical nullification of all the Holy See's care and all its most deeply considered directions. This practically unlimited personal independence is, indeed, very fashionable in the world of today; but that fact does not give it a place amongst Catholic scholars in our own, any more than in any other, age.

VI. IGNORANT.

But hostility and opposition to the known wishes of legitimately constituted authority is not the only undesirable feature of this spirit of excessive concession. It is really based on ignorance, and can only rest in a mind fundamentally failing to grasp the entire nature and setting of the philosophical system now known as "Scholastic." On the part of our excessively compromising advocates, Scholastic

Philosophy is so timidly brought forth, mainly because they, and the world around them, consider it an exclusively Catholic system, bound up by an accommodating, unnatural alliance with the truths of faith, and with a misty, antiquated, and wholly unphilosophical cast and habit of mind, which dogmatized where it could, and took refuge in evasive verbiage wherever definite declarations were clearly impossible. Many are at heart ashamed of it, on the vague, half-confessed ground that it is, on the whole, purely cloistral and religious, and, as such, utterly unfit for our days, and necessarily narrow and even distorted and unfair, through being thus specialized and adapted for a pre-ordained service merely as a preliminary preparation and subsequent support for Scholastic Theology.

But a little calm investigation will show that we have here a most remarkable phenomenon, and one very rare in history; that is, there is here presented a deforming effect of religious prejudice incomparably more profound and perduring than even that most acrid and acidic of narrownesses is ordinarily able to produce. Persistent, indiscriminate and quasi-synonymous condemnations of Catholic faith and of Scholastic Philosophy have so linked these two in less critical minds as effectually to obscure, if not wholly obliterate, the essential distinction which must always remain between them, and to even more completely conceal the ancient Greek origin of the latter, and the necessarily world character of a system spanning twenty-two centuries of consecutive life on the world's widest plains of philosophical thought. While, moreover, its specifically ecclesiastical affiliations do not antedate the thirteenth century, combined ignorance and prejudice have procured the sufficiently curious result of successfully representing as Catholic a philosophy which existed three times as long outside the Church, as it has within it. But history remains, and prejudice passes away; and it is at last beginning to dawn upon the minds of men that the system called "Scholastic" is, in very truth, a world-system of the most indubitable character; that it is, in fact, the *only* world-system that we really possess. In its specific, fundamental principles, it had existed three centuries before Christ came; and had thus lived a life as long as that of Cartesianism, and twice as long as that of Kantism or Hegelianism, before the Church had even begun to exist. For sixteen centuries, it flourished in the keen schools of the Eastern Arabic nations and in those of their not less acute descendants in southwestern Europe, before it entered specifically to any appreciable extent into Western philosophico-theological thought; a period and a career surely sufficient to give it a determinate character, independent of all other relations. Within the Church, its distinctively effective life may be

said to have ended with the eighteenth century; so that its whole active existence includes sixteen centuries outside of the Church and five within its schools; a ratio of less than one in three. If, moreover, we were to regard only the time in which it acquired and typically retained the name "Scholastic," we should find that this period comprises only two centuries; a ratio of only one in eight. Clearly, if origin and associations are, after the modern manner, to be taken as standards, this great system of philosophy has much greater claims upon those outside the Church than upon those within it. Aristotle was its real author, and he lived and died in the fourth century before Christ; while St. Thomas, who first brought the system to full Scholastic perfection, lived and labored within the span of the thirteenth century of our era. Even the works of Aristotle came fully into the possession of Western scholars only through a Latin translation effected in St. Thomas' time.

A most important additional consideration in this regard is the fact that in its antecedent and extra-ecclesiastical life, the great philosophy of which we are speaking was the chosen philosophy of the most acute peoples and minds of the world. It was the very flower of exalted Grecian thought, and it formed the especial delight of the subtle Arabic mind. The great Socrates and the greater Plato had preceded, and Aristotle, the prince of thinkers for all time, and one seemingly raised up by God to prove how much unaided reason can do, retained whatever of value his predecessors possessed, added the incomparably greater treasures of his own profound speculations, and, in the splendid power of his master mind, co-ordinated and synthesized the whole into the immortal system which through all the ages has borne the imperishable honor of his single name. Polished Greek, mystic Hebrew, and calculating Arab later pored and pondered deeply over the inexhaustible treasures of profoundest and sublimest thought which the world's greatest genius had thus left them; and almost equally inexhaustible derivations of utmost refinement and power were the result of their secular labors.

We do not say that all of Aristotle's ideas were true, or that all of his commentators were men free from error. Human conditions do not permit so much. We are seeking primarily here to record anew and to emphasize the undoubted historical fact that the Aristotelian system of philosophy, adequately considered, is Catholic only by adoption and adaptation; by an adaptation, moreover, that was perfective, not destructive; and that its typically ecclesiastical life may justly be deemed but an episode in its wondrously extended career. It is wholly erroneous, therefore, to consider it as even specifically ecclesiastical in its nature or origin, and any conception limit-

ing it to Catholic thought can only be held under penalty of complete mental obscurity concerning its ancient pagan origin and its long and brilliant extra-Catholic history. A further inference, therefore, and one especially desired here, is that which marks the pitifully erroneous and mistaken position of those Catholic writers who have only Catholic reasons for minimizing and excusing Scholastic Philosophy, or who even wish to minimize and excuse it at all. They are wholly oblivious, as their methods prove, of its lofty and exquisite beauty, and of its as yet unshaken world bases.

This unparalleled philosophy at once modern, Scholastic, Arabic, Aristotelian and Grecian, when adequately understood and appreciated, will be seen to be incomparably more imposing than any other conceivably rival system. Those who deride it, therefore, if they ever study it sufficiently to understand it, must reckon with adversaries who never owned any ecclesiastical allegiance, as well as with those who consistently bore religion's highest insignia; and in both they will find most formidable opponents and men wholly unaccustomed to defeat. Beside their towering intellects, our pseudo, upstart scientists of an hour are the veriest pygmies; and the magnificent philosophy of all the ages will require something more for its definite downfall than the raillery or the neglect of minds really ignorant of its true nature and history, and wholly incompetent to deal successfully with its profound investigations and results. It has borne the fiery test of twenty-two centuries of severest assay, under the merciless scrutiny of the most powerful minds. The crucible was strong, and the fires unceasing; yet the fierce trial did but purge the dross more fully away, and the indestructible gold of its truth did but acquire a purer lustre from the age-long ordeal; so that despite the shallow clamor of its enemies and the much more injurious apathy or injudicious interest of its nominal friends, this great philosophical system still stands first as man's natural verdict upon his surroundings. If Catholic writers would only more promptly and more loyally obey the Church that knows the centuries, they would become much more profiting and profitable children of their venerable, profoundly prudent Mother.

Before concluding this view of the subject, it may be well to cast a passing glance upon the history of the system in its more specifically religious surroundings; and here it will be found that a list of the great churchmen who either implicitly or explicitly possessed and developed its fundamental tenets in their own right, or perfected and adapted its already known *dicta*, would include all the greatest names in the Church. In addition to their Greco-Arabian life, the basic principles of Scholasticism had lived *in re*, though not in name,

even in the earlier, unformed, and half Platonic philosophico-theological system that has been called "Augustinianism"; and any examination of its intra-ecclesiastical efficacy would show that whether in the hands of an Augustine or a Leo its merciless logic has ever been the severely juridic tribunal before which not even the most specious of heresies could hope to stand. It has long both illustrated, and been illustrated by, the faith, its superior ally; and has thus gradually and solidly acquired a perfection of adaptation to the rational needs of the Church such as no other system can hope to possess without a similarly long discipline of centuries. The friends of the faith are, therefore, already condemning their labors to the most serious retardation, whenever, in the rational treatment of questions accompanying faith, they allow an even partial indifference or neglect to characterize their action regarding this tried and successful associate in all the greater polemical struggles of the Church.

To continue—for the chapter "On Misconceptions" will always be tediously long—the fact should be noted that Scholastic Philosophy was never as a thing formally tried upon its own merits, and as formally found wanting and condemned. The very perfection to which it had risen warned later generations that they could hardly hope to equal, and could not, in general, hope to surpass, the imposingly great masters who had gone before. The minds of men consequently and naturally turned with greater eagerness to the newer and less difficult lines of investigation made possible by ever multiplying mechanical advances. It is, moreover, a very great mistake to search for thoroughly rational and consistent causes for every human phenomenon. Neither nations nor individuals always act judiciously. We all remember that when the less noble, but more popular, Themistocles wished to banish the upright Aristides, one, at least, of the fellow-citizens of the latter voted for the decree, through mere weariness at hearing this incorruptible Athenian continually called "The Just"; and whimsical voters are never alone in this world. The decree was actually carried, and subsequent history is not without parallel records. Children, too, very often change their ideals and their occupations, not only without reason, but also against it; and nations not less than men are often but children of a larger growth and more cultured perversity. Giving the one great reason for the comparative decline in power of Aristotelico-Scholastic Philosophy in the centuries succeeding its golden age, we must turn to the fact of greater mechanical dexterity which led men to the world and the mass of matter in which we now immersed; and the comparative failure of the great system in these later days

is not our glory but our shame. It never merited this ignoble treatment. Like all human knowledge, past, present, and to come, it was certainly still susceptible of further extension and refinement; but in the hands of its real exponents it was always abreast of its times, and, properly treated, it is still equal to every advance.

In particular, it never merited the principal, because most convenient and plausible, taunt of modern critics, that, namely, of being wholly *a prioristic* and abstract, and, as such, having little, if any, connection with vital, daily, experimental fact. When the proper distinctions are made as to the real and the less typical Schoolmen, and as to the branches of study which permit or exclude physical manipulations, the real truth is that Scholastic Philosophy is seen to be, by its very nature, and in the hands of its originators and highest exponents, a science of experiment wherever experiment is possible. Aristotle differs from Plato, precisely because he subjects his mental generalizations to a closer test with nature; and it was this very fact that caused him to supplant Plato in the favor of the Church and of the Schools. It would be simply ridiculous to complain that the Scholastic did not conduct physical experimentation as we know it now. The then rudimentary condition of the mechanical arts rendered this utterly and completely impossible. He is the very poorest of philosophers, who would judge an earlier epoch by his own, and exact from it results rendered possible only by the slow advance of centuries. The true philosophical temper was present in the more representative Scholastics, and to the limited extent then possible, both physics and metaphysics had each its special field, as well as its proper relation with the other. In those branches, finally, in which ordinary, external experimentation and testing were, and are, and always will be, out of the question, and in which, therefore, the ancient and the modern investigator stand on equal ground, such as, for instance, in the higher reaches of Rational Psychology, the true Aristotelians and Scholastics are easily the superiors of any of their successors, and in these branches they elaborated systems incomparably more coherent and consistent than those of later date. Cremona violins are not the only soft-sighing reminders of the lost arts of ancient days.

Let him who cares to do so proclaim the superiority of the modern, materialistic sepulchre of thought in which we are now entombed over the heaven-piercing minarets of Italian and of Grecian intellectuality. For our part, we prefer always to remember that man's soul is nobler than his body; his mind, more noble than its material environment; and for us the sorrow shall be, not

that we lack the acclaim of the new, but that we do not more fully possess the fadeless beauty and the invincible power of the old.

VII. ILL-ADVISED.

But besides being unauthorized and ill-founded, this spirit of practically entire concession is ill-directed and ill-advised. It takes the world at its own word, and proceeds on the supposition that the Scholastic system is really understood, and that the difficulties urged against it are really and truly intellectual; whereas most of its critics know Scholastic Philosophy only by name, and in the vast majority of cases, the real obstacle is not in the intellect, but in the will. The vicissitudes of specifically Scholastic Philosophy have followed, not anteceded, those of the Church; and the historical coincidence of their various phases was not accidental. As in the case of the faith itself, the opposition to Scholastic Philosophy has, in general, been malicious, where it was not ignorant. Men determined to reject the yoke of Christ are not going to accept a rigorous philosophy which inexorably deprives them of any reason for so doing. It is folly to treat as cool and quiet judges men who are hopelessly hostile, through personal interest, to the cause that is to be brought before them. In the outer world, as in the inner, Scholastic Philosophy is not, and never will be, wholly separated from Scholastic Theology; and this will always complicate its case; for it is really the reflex, theological consequences that a bridleless world so consistently fears.

Considerations such as these will readily remove the very serious ambiguity which always lurks under the favorite formula of appealing to, and trying to win the approval of "modern science." Upon a first view and unexamined, this inoffensive seeming formula would indicate the existence of some impartial, judicious tribunal to which Scholastic Philosophy could have recourse with a solid hope of recognition for its claims, in the event of their proving true. But upon reflection it will be seen that to "appeal to modern science," in the sense intended here, can mean nothing else than an appeal concerning the highest and most difficult metaphysical questions made to the philosophically undisciplined, materialistic, and self-opinionated men whom the world of today chooses to regard as the leaders in modern physical research; to men, therefore, wholly incompetent for so difficult a task, and men, moreover, with all their own favorite theories to maintain, and with numberless extraneous prejudices due to social, political, and religious environment tending to still further warp their already ill-disposed minds, and lead them to hold aloof from, and to reject, a philosophy whose lofty and

exact requirements would at once reduce them to their proper insignificance in the real world of thought.

This present temper of the world at large may be almost palpably apprehended in the fact that even mere Theism in its most attenuated form, provided only that it retain some really intelligible meaning, is at once rejected by modern philosophers; for if there is one persistent, concordant note in present day philosophical systems, it is that which eliminates any really personal God, and thus than the most pitiable folly, verging upon complete imbecility, for destroys every idea of a being really supreme; and it is nothing less the representatives of Catholicism to stand with their heaven-aspiring, God-declaring system of philosophy, humbly begging for its recognition at the hands of men who are determined to make themselves the standard and the rule of all things, in order to be free in all. Something more than a diluted dose of Scholastic—or any other—philosophy is needed in the case of men to whom no other name is so bitterly odious as that of the One God in Three Persons whose truth forces them back to their proper subservient position. Truth, whether natural or supernatural, requires a pure and upright heart, as well as an unbiased mind, for its full and fruitful reception. "Wisdom will not enter into a malicious soul, nor dwell in a body subject to sins" is true in its proper degree, of both orders of cognition. Stern, unyielding philosophical truth will be popular, when inexorable religious realities are popular; not before. The lofty truth and beauty of Scholastic Philosophy are precisely its undoing. As long as its all but inspired maxims are as true and as noble as they are, so long shall it knock in vain at the doors of an obstinate, grovelling world; and the bitterness of the contumely sought to be cast upon it will be the measure of its hated superiority. The Church might well adapt to itself and its faithful associate the words of Christ to His disciples, "If the world hate you, know you that it hath hated me before you." The world's cancer is in its heart, not in its brain. Its lips, not its eyes, are foul, else it would not have sin, and they shall never speak in higher truth, till touched by an angel with heaven's own deep-cleansing fires. Man's real regeneration must commence in the sanctuary, not in the laboratory; and the Christian apologist who places his principal hope in his humbly tapping at the halls of modern physical research with the ulterior hope of winning the materialistic experimenters to the Church by a degraded form of Scholastic Philosophy is ridiculously unworthy of both the great causes he seeks to represent. We know that popes have desired the return and the vigor of Scholastic ideals, on the ground that their coming would aid in the great spiritual work

of the Church; and we most fully share this thought and this feeling. But these utterances must be rightly understood; and if they are, they will be seen to apply to the higher and nobler branches of philosophy, and to have but little real connection with the philosophy of matter which is now almost the only form known to the world at large. The popes have, indeed, summoned right reason to its tasks; but this has been done only in order not to neglect those human powers which God has given us, and which He expects us to use. The hopes of the pontiffs, as heads of the Church, have always regarded the heart rather than the intellect; and thus their interest in the more remote and material sciences, as such, must always remain to a great degree subordinate and secondary. As a scientist, the Church knows that, absolutely speaking, the intellect must lead in human affairs; but as a practical moral agency, it also knows that in the masses of the people the movements of the will generally determine those of the mind, and thus become the really ultimate, *de facto* arbiters of human destiny. Our author, as the reader may recall, indicated that to a great degree the hopes of the Church depended "to all appearance" upon Scholasticism; but it should be remembered that, as has been proved more than once, appearances count but for very little in the history of the Church. Divine Providence often chooses to place strength just where human astuteness would discern only weakness; and we venture to believe that none of the great papal advocates of Scholastic Philosophy ever looked to it in any principal manner for the advances of the Church.

As a result of their proper and unchangeable relation, the Church will never come second in any Scholastic revival. She will always come first. The Church will not profit so much from Scholasticism as Scholasticism will profit from the Church. It was the Church that brought Scholasticism to its highest beauty, and if it is living now, in this degraded, unthinking phase of the world's history, it owes its continued life largely to the Church. Truth always finds an easy pathway when the heart is properly disposed; and, as far as any efficient results are concerned, the salutary changing of the human heart has ever been the exclusive work of the Church. If the so-called "learned" world were to become honest tomorrow, the triumph of sound philosophy would be an accomplished fact. And until the leaders of thought do become really and humbly honest, we shall labor in vain, if we labor solely or principally with merely natural means. The first requisite for Catholic apologists is to understand the real situation, and to meet it squarely. And it seems to us that if they do, they will spare themselves the useless humiliation of paring down the merely physical

side of Scholastic Philosophy, in order to commend it to men who have something very different and vastly more important in their minds.

VIII. ESPECIALLY ILL-TIMED.

At the present time especially, it would be peculiarly regrettable and costly for Catholic writers to bend before the studiously cultivated prejudices of the later, "reform" centuries; because in the highest realms of scientific study, and in the sanest minds of the present day, many of the most striking discoveries are causing the select few amongst scientists to recall the great Schoolmen, and to treat with sincerest respect a philosophy long subject to fashionable contempt and derision, as being hopelessly antiquated and wholly effete. Anyone familiar with the present literature of even physical science must have noticed its repeated references to Scholastic formulae as being, perhaps, the most logical expression for now known facts. And it is precisely in obedience to this irresistible tendency of the most truly modern minds, and in consonance with this widely re-awakening scientific interest in Scholastic Philosophy, and under penalty, therefore, of otherwise lagging behind the times, that Oxford and other great non-Catholic universities are replacing the works of St. Thomas and the other Schoolmen more or less formally upon their lists of studies and lectureships, and are recommending their study to their candidates for special honors. It would be most stupid and costly for Catholics alone to ignore the new lustre of doctrines now again forcing their way to respect; and under present circumstances, no words could properly characterize the folly of being so eager to mutilate and surrender them. Yet this very eagerness is an undoubted, present-day fact with regard to Catholic writers. Catholics are by no means so alert as they should be in this spreading and undoubtedly forward movement in favor of the Church's philosophy, or in its renewed scientific study. Yet, even the study of strangers cannot but remove some of the blemishes with which prejudiced calumny has so long continued to disfigure it; and it may even be, as it has been before, that an alien hand will strike off the last incrustations of unjust reproach, and allow its deathless beauty to flash forth again as splendid as before.

Even if, moreover, this renewed scientific regard were absent, the merely tentative possibilities of present science renders it wholly unnecessary to surrender any even fairly well supported thesis, Scholastic or otherwise. Even the very accommodating writer whose work has seemed so completely unsatisfactory to us admits that we

"have not yet analyzed material substance into its essential components in detail"; and again—where, also, we are with him—"Even to the end of time the ultimate nature of things seems likely to remain a mystery. Who shall finally say what is electricity or what is life?" Whereupon we likewise ask, "Why, then, such haste in practically abandoning Scholastic, or any other coherent, ideas concerning these ultimate entities?" Within the limits naturally to be presupposed here, it can be securely said that we cannot say what matter is not, until we can say what it is; and if this latter is to remain forever unknown, Scholastic theories, or any others not palpably absurd, have ample time to beat an at least dignified retreat. Under the real circumstances at present existing, the unseemly haste of some Catholic philosophers to explain themselves away concerning these non-solvable matters must likewise remain a wholly inexplicable natural phenomenon.

Again—to review in haste some of the tenets noted before—what could be more confused than present-day Psychology, the professed "Psychology of the Flux?" Why, then, essay the unnecessary and utterly hopeless task of accommodating the at least approximately consistent and coherent Scholastic science of soul and mind to vague and disordered present-day ideals? It is, further, no secret, even amongst the most modern of scientists, that the real, inner nature of gravitation is wholly unknown; yet one of the authors we have in mind gravely dogmatizes, for anti-scholastic reasons, about what is, and is not, accidental in it; in order, we presume, to show his liberality, and incidentally to invalidate St. Thomas' argument from motion for the existence of God. Later on, he becomes benevolent, even towards St. Thomas, and says, "If we pass from motion to the energies of the universe, and invoke the principle of the conservation of energy—then more may be made of the argument." But we really wonder whether or not the author knows that in passing from motion to its causes, that is, to the "energies of the universe," scientific difficulties increase almost *in infinitum*. As for the principle of the conservation of energy, it would doubtless have been very interesting to the author to have sat between Lord Kelvin and Becquerel at the banquet given in honor of the latter at Florence, and to have heard the great English generalizer, incomparably the greatest, most Newton-like, and synthetic of modern world-scientists, observe that the French savant's results had placed the first interrogation point after this same "principle of the conservation of energy"; and it might interest him still further to consult Whetham's "Recent Development of Physical Science," where he would find that this interrogation point has grown into what that author calls, "Lord

Kelvin's great principle of the *Dissipation* of energy." It is true that this particular expression is limited by its context to "available" energy; but it is also true that the total dissipation of available energy would render all motion impossible, and thus eliminate the argument of St. Thomas. In any case, as the same author points out, "Energy may *seem to be conserved* in the conditions known to us. . . . *It does not follow*, however, that conditions unknown to us may not exist, in which . . . energy might disappear or come into existence." Again, "While fully recognizing the importance of these generalizations (the conservation of mass and that of energy) from the physical point of view, we must be careful how we give them any metaphysical significance." But everyone knows that the argument of St. Thomas essentially includes metaphysical considerations. To quote once more from the same author, "The conservation of mass and energy under all known conditions is a valid metaphysical argument in favour of the view that our ideas of them correspond with ultimate realities, but it is no more than an argument; it deserves due weight, but is not conclusive evidence." Clearly, Whetham, at least, would not be much impressed by the addition of the "conservation of energy" to the original argument of St. Thomas.

Le Bon, also, and Sir Oliver Lodge, men known to all, speak of both the evolution and of the dissipation of matter, in terms implying that, in the one case, energy is the terminus *a quo*, and in the other, the terminus *ad quem* of these processes; in both of which the conservation of energy, in the sense intended by our present author, would fail of verification. If we are to prop up Scholastic Philosophy with modern lumber, at least let the new beams be not more disastrously cracked than the old. Those inclined to be over obsequious towards modern "science" might well ponder the following words of the late Lord Kelvin: "One word characterizes the most strenuous of the efforts for the advancement of science that I have made perseveringly for fifty-five years; that word is failure. I know no more of electric or magnetic force, or of the relation between ether, electricity, and ponderable matter, or of chemical affinity than I knew and tried to teach my class-students in my first session as professor."

In dismissing finally this to the last degree superficial and unsatisfactory manner of dealing with most important and significant studies, we pause to record our lingering curiosity as to just what the author conceives to be "the atomic theory as it stands today," how he defends the looseness of the assertion—said to be a truism for us—that "Metaphysics . . . have absolutely nothing to do with

Astronomy"; also just "how much Suarez had to learn from the modern physicist." Some certainly modern scientists would unceremoniously say that the atomic system simply does not stand at all; that it has fallen not to rise again; and even those who accord it a modified existence have very many and very conflicting methods of explaining it. We know the author's meaning in regard to Metaphysics and Astronomy. It is the loose and, in itself, misleading form of expression that we criticise. As for Suarez, his coarser material and data would certainly need revision; but it is still to be proved that his fundamental concepts concerning matter were not fully equal to any we now possess.

Et idem dic de aliis non paucis. The same must be said of the other, and even most recent, branches of physical science. The one, ever-present, all-pervading note of ultra-modern scientific research is that of its uncertain, confused, and chaotic character. We do not here indicate a chaos of darkness and vacuous ignorance, but of an overwhelmingly numerous and baffling array of newly ascertained, but not as yet properly correlated or co-ordinated, facts. It is certain that Scholastic Philosophy offers quite as good a basis for this delayed arrangement and classification as any other. Why, then, destroy it by mutilation in our haste to be obsequious and "modern"? We know, of course, that many fancies of the Middle Ages must be forever relegated to the realms of Poetry and Rhetoric; but in this depurating process, we must remember that we are nurses, not anatomists. We repeat that non-Catholic interests have noticed and obeyed the irresistibly Scholastic trend of the times, that it would be pitifully foolish and costly for Catholics alone to ignore or oppose it, and that, therefore, the present tendency of many to do so is peculiarly uncalled-for and especially ill-timed.

IX. THE FUTURE.

But, it need not be said, the real, practical question is, "What is Scholastic Philosophy to be, what is its probable future?" In answer, we are happy to agree with those who hold that its most proper and profitable proximate task is that of allying its own deep deductive processes with the present exquisitely exact inductive investigations of modern physico-chemical research; its nobler and truer destiny still being, as before, the detection, examination, and lofty development of the great universal and ontological bases of the cosmos, and of the vast consequences of primary facts. The preliminary alliance here indicated is in every way feasible, and in the highest degree desirable. The richest scientific fruits have al-

ways been secured by the intimate union of accurate experimental research and correctly applied metaphysical principles. The present philosophical temper of the better elements of the scientific world absolutely demands this naturally suggested close co-operation of sense and intellect; and justly so, for right reason most evidently dictates the harmonious use of our entire cognitive power, wherever this is possible. We have seen, moreover, that amongst the higher and saner scientists, Scholastic Philosophy has already regained some of its lost prestige, and if we but do our part, this inestimable presage of the triumph of truth will not prove illusory.

The task awaiting the real Scholastic philosopher of our day is, therefore, as has been well said, great, indeed. Scholastic Philosophy alone constitutes a most formidable object for even the most assiduous and painstaking study; and modern physical science, like a spreading mass of protoplasm, has so multiplied its delicate articulations that no one man can hope to become an expert in all its branches. Yet the true philosopher of our day must effect an at least comparatively exhaustive analysis of each and a relatively perfect synthesis of both; an outline of labor truly Herculean in its extent and arduous character.

But though the task is great, it is not inherently impossible; and, as has again been suggested, until the great geinus shall come whose powerful grasp will force the vast, swiftly gathering masses of positive and negative scientific data into their naturally intimate union, and shall thus elicit, in one splendid instant, the wide white flash of truth from their reciprocal reaction, and with it illumine from pole to pole the whole vast firmament of human cognition, and explain much that is veiled to us now—until he shall have come, it will, indeed, be well, as a recent writer suggests, for all real lovers of learning to work honestly and fearlessly together, and thus supply to some extent that which nature has so long denied to any one, individual brain. All Catholic scholars, however, engaged in **this great work** should be most careful never to forget the primary principle that, **whatever his other qualities may be, the soldier who is not generously and sincerely loyal to his chief is always a menace and a peril to the entire army and to even the most sacred of causes.**

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HOW ENGLAND BECAME PROTESTANT.

THE question is often asked, and, to many Catholics appears, humanly speaking, unanswerable: How did England, which, for a thousand years, not counting the British period, had been conspicuous for her loyalty to the Holy See, become, in half a century, or even less, the bitter enemy of the Catholic Church? What were the causes which led the whole nation, for it amounts to that, to change its spiritual allegiance from Pope to King; to defame the Vicar of our Lord as Anti-Christ, the man of sin; the True Faith, to which England owed her glory, her greatness, her very existence, as "Popish idolatry," hateful to God and men; the Church of the living God as the mother of abominations? Chiefly, and above all, how came the leaders of this revolt to persuade men and women, honestly to believe their teaching as the very Gospel of God?

The question, in some one of these forms, is, like so many others, more easily asked than answered. To the majority of Catholics, to those, especially, who have not, consciously, come under the influence of the so-called reformation, it appears, as I have said, simply insoluble by any human method of reasoning. It is, for them, as, indeed, for all of us, a mystery of Divine Providence. I will go further still, and admit, Englishman as I am, that it was a manifest judgment on the national pride and self-will, on the cowardly love of life, of those who, from whatever motives, suffered themselves to be led or driven from the one fold into the desert of heresy and schism. Most of all, is it a manifest judgment on the spiritual and temporal leaders of the English people, to whom the great mass of the nation looked, confidently, as their natural guides, and who so flagrantly betrayed their trust. "As for these sheep, what have they done?"

I shall not, as I need hardly say, attempt an answer that can, in any sense, be accepted as such. That has been done, so far as it is possible for a non-Catholic to do it, by Professor Gardner, in his "Lollardy and the Reformation in England." I shall, however, take as a primary principle, even as he has, that England did not deny, but was forcibly robbed of her ancient faith. For the rest, I shall content myself with endeavoring to suggest some, at least, of the causes which must be taken into account; some of the reasons which may, humanly speaking, be assigned for what is essentially a mystery of Divine Providence, even as it is held to be.

What here follows is, therefore, rather an attempt to give the general impression conveyed, to my own mind, by a careful study of

the work just referred to, and of such other literature of the subject as has come within my reach, than the series of quotations, and of references to authorities, which any fuller or more exact treatment of the subject would necessarily involve.

The predisposing causes, then, as they may be called, of such a change of spiritual allegiance, must be sought not merely in the politico-religious conditions of the times in which it occurred, in what is commonly termed the reformation period, still less must the search for them be confined to those conditions as existing in England only. The revolt of England from the divine authority of the Holy See, was, in the first place, part of a general movement, affecting many nations and countries; the ultimate causes, to define them somewhat more exactly, being the same in all cases. The immediate, differential causes, fall, so to speak, into the second place, modified, as they were, by racial characteristics and political exigences. How important these were, however, may be judged by comparing the origins and course of the movement in England, with those evident in the case of Scotland. Still more, one may say, by comparing the reformation in England with the reformation in Flanders or Germany.

Among the ultimate remoter causes, the most important was, unquestionably, the State of Christendom in the century preceding the reformation. The rival claims, the intrigues, excommunications, and counter-excommunications of two, and sometimes three, aspirants to the Chair of Peter, the assertion, by a General Council, of jurisdiction over the Vicar of Christ, of the members over the head tended inevitably to lower the dignity of the papacy in the eyes of a wondering and distracted Christendom. How could an office be of divine appointment, concerning which none knew who was the rightful holder of it? How could it be divine in the persons of some who exercised it?

To this primary source of all the evils that were soon to fall on the Church, must be added the laxity of morals which affected clergy and laity alike, bringing religion itself into contempt. "The whole head is sick, the whole heart is faint; from the sole of the foot unto the crown of the head, there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises and putrefying sores." Indeed, I would almost venture to say that the degradation of the papacy was as much an effect of this condition as a cause of it. If it be true, as Carlyle says, that men always have the rulers they deserve, is it not true of the Church, as consisting of ordinary men and women?

The testimony on which all this is founded is, it may be said, that of prejudiced and unreliable witnesses, such as Erasmus, or

of over-zealous reformers, in the real sense. If so, how account for all that occurred? God's chastisements, it is true, fall no less heavily on those He loves, as on His enemies; often, so far as we can see, even more heavily. Yet we may surely assume that He sees sufficient cause; that the best of His loved ones need to be called back to Himself. "As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten; be zealous, therefore, and repent."

It is well, then, that we should take for granted the conditions described as affecting the Church immediately prior to the reformation; since the very summoning of the Council of Trent shows how clearly the Church recognized the need of real reform. When, therefore, men prized orthodoxy of profession over personal piety or purity of life; when they "took tithe of mint, anise and cummin, and neglected the weightier matters of the law, justice, mercy and truth," the decay of faith followed, as surely and as inevitably as night follows day. "Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax faint." If the thirteenth century was, indeed, the greatest age of the Church, the fourteenth certainly witnessed her utmost degradation. Her losses in the fifteenth and sixteenth were but her purging, "so as by fire," whence she has arisen, purified, humbled, yet strengthened, with a promise of even greater glory than of old.

These two causes, the decay of morals and the degradation of the papacy, were common to the reformation movement, as a whole. They were, as I have said, the sources whence it sprang; which made it spiritually possible. A corrupt, unchaste priesthood, a relaxed monasticism, a temporal papacy, striving and striven for like any earthly monarchy, what better charges could the ingenuity of Satan himself have devised to lead weak, doubting souls to believe that Christ's promise to His Church had come to naught and that the gates of hell had prevailed against her? When the shepherds turned to hirelings, what should the sheep do, but wander and be scattered?

Coming, now, to the causes which specially affected England, we must, at the outset, take into account one which, perhaps, had been lost sight of or not sufficiently weighed, till Abbot Gasquet drew attention to it. This is the losses suffered by secular and regular clergy alike, during the fourteenth century, through the epidemic known as the Black Death. To this visitation, the like of which is beyond our comprehension, except vaguely, as happening in India or China, causing, as it did, a mortality of some forty per cent. of a population of less than three millions, must be assigned, not only an irreparable death of properly trained clergy right down to the breach with Rome, but also chiefly, if not wholly, any laxity that may have existed among the smaller monastic communities, whose

numbers, reduced so woefully in ministering to the sick and dying, were never made up again. And moral laxity, be it noted, is, curiously enough, a not uncommon concomitant of widespread plague or disaster, leading, as it so often does, to recklessness and despair. From without and from within, therefore, by the Black Death which killed men's bodies and the leprosy of lax morals which killed their souls, the Church in England had been grievously assailed, even before the last and deadliest assaults of Schism and Heresy, overwhelmed her and her children.

Causes like these must, as I said just now, be taken into account when seeking to assign a reason for a national falling away from the faith. Men do not, as a matter of fact, lightly give up long-cherished beliefs, whether religious or political, the final decision is either forced upon them by a power they are practically incapable of resisting, as first schism, and then heresy, were forced on the English people by Henry and Elizabeth, or is come to as the only possible solution of an intolerable situation, as a choice of the seemingly lesser of two evils. And that Henry deliberately fostered and encouraged a propaganda of calumny against the Pope, for his own purposes, and of revolt against ecclesiastical authority, there can be no question whatever. It is the merest truism to say that England's separation from the Holy See, in 1534, was the result of fraud no less than of outrageous tyranny. Into the causes that helped to serve Elizabeth's purpose, in 1559 and later, I hope to enter, briefly, in due course.

Another cause which is fairly entitled to rank next in importance to the supremacy of royal authority, tacitly, if not expressly acknowledged, even in spirituals, if only because of its utter unlikeness to any ecclesiastical conditions with which we are familiar, is what may—under correction—be termed the larger measure of autonomy necessarily employed by local bishops at the period in question. Where there was but one Christendom many things were tolerated which a state of warfare with heresy has rendered impossible. The fact, moreover, that good and pious Catholics were to be found in doubt as to whether the Vicar of Christ was, or was not, subject to a General Council, tended, inevitably, to make the submission of primates and metropolitans to the Holy See a matter of theory and profession, rather than of actual practice.

What may, however, be called the physical circumstances of the time are, of course, to be held chiefly responsible for this tacit autonomy of local Churches. When it took weeks, if not months, to convey news to Rome, and to receive a reply, it became necessary that the local ordinary should decide all but the gravest questions on

his own responsibility, with a possible appeal to his metropolitan. Further than this, few, and only the most powerful appellants would be willing even if able to go. The case and the circumstances may, I think, be adequately realized by means of two homely illustrations. As to appeals, how many of us would take a case beyond the Supreme Court to the Privy Council, even with all our modern facilities of travel? Travel, in the age with which we are dealing, meant a **journey on foot**, for the man of moderate means, on horseback for the rich and powerful. You have only to read the story of some ancient pilgrimage to Rome, in order to understand why so few were willing to undertake it. As to the local autonomy of the bishops and metropolitans in all countries north of the Alps, we can only compare it to that possessed by governor-generals in the days before, as one of them expressed it, they were tied to the apron strings of Downing street by an electric wire. All comparisons halt, somewhere, but the illustrations will at least serve our purpose. The main point is, however, that a condition of ecclesiastical government, a localization of authority, a certain inevitable narrowness of spiritual horizon, of national churchliness, with all of which we have long since ceased to be familiar, prevailed at a time when they were most pregnant with danger to the unity of Christendom.

Add to this, as we must, a certain indefiniteness, a certain conflict of jurisdiction between a Church and a State, each of which contained the whole nation and were but aspects of one national life, a tacit recognition of the sovereign as the source and fountain of all honors, even ecclesiastical; a certain unwillingness, on the part of Kings and princes, to admit even the professedly-spiritual claims of one who was both a spiritual and a temporal ruler, claiming an overlordship which was not always, nor wholly, in the latter sphere, only; of one who might be, and often was, a political rival and antagonist; and we arrive at a stage of political-ecclesiastical conditions in which literally, anything, humanly-speaking, may be expected to occur. The wonder, indeed, one may say, with all reverence, is not that so many nations fell away from the unity of Christ's Church, but that so many remained faithful. Nor can these latter, highly favored as they were, boast themselves over their less fortunate fellows. "What hast thou that thou hast not received?"

All this, I would ask the reader to bear carefully in mind, when seeking to account for the lapse of one nation from the Commonwealth of Catholic Christendom. It is, I think, wholly beside the question to insist, as was done by a preacher, not long ago, that England produced no Saints in the century preceding the breach with Rome, such as France produced in the seventeenth. We should

rather count the price she paid, and not in vain, to preserve her ancient glory as the Dowry of Our Lady, the Saints and Martyrs, lay and religious men and women who sealed their loyalty to Peter's See and to Peter's primacy with their blood. It is a true word, also that they were in a very real sense the first martyrs to the sacrament of matrimony.

But we must consider chiefly the condition of that Commonwealth of Catholic Christendom from which Henry's will and tyranny rent England in 1534. It was a Commonwealth, be it noted, hardly recovered at best from the distractions of internecine strife and rivalries; hardly, one may say, assured in its own mind as to the rights, privileges and prerogatives of its traditional and divinely-appointed head. We have, therefore, to take into account, uncertainty as to the respective limits of papal and conciliar jurisdiction; confusion between the spiritual and temporal claims of the Vicar of Christ, and a tendency by no means inexcusable to oppose the former as not infrequently a cloak for the latter; a tendency of which Kings and princes, jealous of their own real or asserted rights, were by no means slow to avail themselves and to resist as the aggression of an enemy that which in itself was the exercise of a lawful, divine authority.

Again the national churchliness just referred to, must be given due place among the causes conducive under given circumstances, to schism, if not to actually heresy; was as likely, that is, to issue in Anglicanism as in Gallicanism. The flock in England, as in all countries north of the Alps, looked, as we have seen, for all ordinary guidance, rather to their local bishops and clergy, than to a distant, not clearly realized personality who, while spiritually Vicar of Christ was very often the active ally of the King's enemies, French, German or Spanish, as the case might be. The inferior clergy and this applies to the religious communities as well, looked naturally to their immediate superiors on whose favor and good will they were to all intents and purposes wholly dependent. These superiors, in their turn, bishops and abbots alike, peers of parliament had equally every human reason for wishing to stand well with a King to whom they owed their advancement, who could and did at his mere will and pleasure deprive themselves of their temporalities and their flocks of their pastoral care; who could and did banish or condemn them to death on an easily-devised and more easily "proved" charge of treason against "this realm of England and the King's Grace." Truly, it is ill arguing with the master of thirty legions of life and death. It is no less true that the King, whether in England, France, or Spain, was in all but name supreme head of the Church in his

dominions long before Henry assumed the name of Louis and Philip assigned very effectual if temporary limits to papal jurisdiction in their several Kingdoms.

We have, therefore, a national entity, spiritual and political, that which is practically a national church subject professedly in spirituals, to the Apostolic See and not lacking in a very genuine loyalty thereto, in the sphere of conscience. This national church, however, was one and the same with, being composed of the same individuals, a national state, subject in temporals and so far in conscience to a King who might be and often was lawfully at war with the Vicar of Christ.

This national entity, nowhere so clearly defined and realized, and in no other country of so long duration, as in England, wherein spirituals and temporals, if not identical, must often, to the ordinary man, have seemed indistinguishable; this two-fold unity which appealed alike to men's consciences and to their patriotism; lay in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, at the absolute mercy of the strongest and most self-willed yet possibly at the beginning of his reign at all events the most popular monarch who ever sat on the English throne. The long civil wars which had devastated the country and broken the power of the old feudal nobility, were at an end; the country was prosperous at home and respected abroad. "Bluff King Hal," a typical sixteenth century Englishman, learned and pious, yet not without capacity for brutal cruelty, could do no wrong in the eyes of his subjects, whether nobles, clergy or common people.

And the King's Grace, as wiser and better men have done before and since, set his proud, self-willed heart on that which it was not lawful for him to have. Unused to opposition, he fretted, chafed and finally raged at the obstacles set in his way; obstacles which, to him, must have seemed the result of policy on the pope's part, not of inflexible adherence to his duty as Supreme Shepherd of God's flock. Henry, indeed, would have small difficulty in persuading himself that the pope's reluctance to accede to his wishes was due to fear of offending Spain: "Is not the hand of Joab in this?" We, who see the matter in all its bearings, its motives and its results, know that in the mind of the pope, officially speaking, there could have been no moment's doubt as to the rights of the matter, whatever expediency there might be in postponing a decision fraught with such momentous consequences. Catherine was Henry's wife before God and the Church; death, and death only, could undo the bond. But the mind of the pope, as a temporal sovereign, may have been, and doubtless was, influenced by con-

siderations of policy. He was anxious, in his temporal no less than his spiritual capacity, not to antagonize either England or Spain. The one meant schism, as, indeed, the event was to prove. The other a second Babylonish captivity, the sack of Rome by Spanish troops. And the latter danger was the nearer of the two, the more immediate and the more personal. Had it been otherwise, the pope, as Christ's Vicar, would assuredly have done his duty at all costs. Policy and duty, however, in the Providence of God, were at one. Henry's marriage with Catherine of Arragon was confirmed, and Henry, not unnaturally, as we have said, attributed the decision to policy and fear of Spain. Catherine of Arragon, it will be remembered, was Philip's aunt. We may note, also, that the decision may be taken as the first count in England's indictment of Spain and Spanish influences.

The crisis, therefore, in the history of the English Church, as of the English people, had come. Both lay, as we have seen, at the King's mercy. Henry broke with Rome, and proceeded to make himself head of the spiritual, as he was of the temporal, state of England. The change, if you will think of it, was, but for the name and manner of it, by no means so violent or so startling as it seems to us, to whom its inevitable consequences are clear; even Sir Thomas More, we are told, had for a time doubts as to its possible lawfulness "so far as the law of Christ allows." The King in England—it is well to repeat it—had been, as in all Catholic countries, as he was in France down to the Revolution, the immediate, the real source of honor and advancement, in Church as in State, ever since the Conquest. Theoretically, the pope was Supreme Head of the whole Church; kings, convocations and parliaments had professed as much, in all honesty and sincerity, time and time again. But practically, and so far as the great majority, clergy and laity, could discern, the King's Grace was the head of the Church in his own realm of England, just as the Most Christian King of France and his Catholic Majesty of Spain were in theirs. The question, in any case, since it affected neither belief nor practice, was too abstruse for the ordinary man to decide. Moreover, a decision other than that come to by the King's Grace involved consequences which few cared to face—the rack, the hurdle and the gibbet at the worst; at the lightest, banishment and loss of all that men value most—more, possibly, than their own souls. As to that, they may have reasoned it was a question for theologians to settle; it was for plain men to follow the King's Grace, the nobles and the bishops in these matters, as in all others.

For the nationalism of which we spoke, the practical autonomy,

the sense of oneness in spirituals as in temporals, which characterized the local Church and State, as aspects of the national life in England as elsewhere, and in a very special manner and degree, produced their inevitable effect, once the time was ripe for them, and schism could appeal to the good qualities of Englishmen, their respect for constituted authority, their patriotism, no less than to their national pride and self-will, their too great deference to the great and powerful. Martyrs there were; men and women of all ranks; laity and clergy, Bishops and Abbots, simple priests, monks and nuns; the Lord Chancellor of England himself, doubtful no longer, one and all cheerfully laid down their lives for the rights of Christ's Vicar, the unity of His Church, the sacrament of matrimony. But, though the nation as a whole followed its accustomed leaders into the wilderness of schism, yet the Church of the English people, you must remember, remained, in doctrine as in ritual, to all outward appearance, the same as she had always been. Certain names, as of the "Bishop of Rome" and the "traitor, Thomas Becket," were erased from her service books. Otherwise, so far as plain men could discern, there was no difference between their present state and their past. The King had quarrelled with the Pope? That was his Grace's affair, not theirs; a matter of policy, not of religious belief. If it pleased his Grace to call himself head of the Church within his realm, what concern was it of theirs? It was a new name, and no more, to which they attached no greater significance than to his lately acquired title of Defender of the Faith. He had always been head of the Church except in name. The parish priest sang Mass last Sunday as he did the Sunday before this rumor reached them. His Grace had left their ancient customs as they were. True, there was talk of driving out the monks, who had always been kindly landlords, but doubtless his Grace needed their lands for other uses. So the nation went on its way, unconscious for the most part of its new spiritual condition, content, where conscious, to make the best of things till times should change again; to leave such high matters to its betters, as is the Englishman's way, or was till Radicalism taught him otherwise.

Here we may note, incidentally, the entrance of a new factor, destined in due course to play no small part in making England religiously, and not merely politically, Protestant and anti-Catholic. The Scriptures in the vernacular had, on the authority of Sir Thomas More, been widely used in England with the consent and approval of the ecclesiastical authorities. They were now, however, to be put to a new use, even as they had been by the extreme "reformers" on the Continent, for whom, by the way, Henry had no love, though

willing to use them as instruments in breaking down the lawful authority of his own bishops when it suited his purpose. It was, moreover, in pursuance of this policy of exalting his own ecclesiastical supremacy by all available means that he set about providing his Church and people with a royally authorized version of the Scriptures in English, which go just so far as he chose and no farther. Without going into details, we may say that this policy was the real beginning of religious Protestantism in England, the setting loose of a force which even Henry could not control, which, in its form of the King James Bible, has been the strength and glory of English Protestantism for over three centuries. It is being wounded, as we know, if not annihilated, in the house of its friends; but it must most assuredly be taken into account as influencing very definitely the religious life of the English-speaking races, in forming a type of Protestantism which is characteristically national, but which is no less certainly passing away with the old reverential belief in the divine authority and inspiration of the Book itself.

Coming back, however, to the English Church under Henry VIII, it is of the utmost importance to note that, as I have elsewhere ventured to point out, England's spiritual state, after Henry's breach with the Holy See, was one of schism rather than of formal heresy. But the barrier against heresy, as Henry was not long in discovering, had been removed; and the instruments he had used for his own evil purpose of bringing his bishops into contempt were turned against himself. A church cut off from the divinely appointed centre of truth and unity had no claim to immunity from the assaults of hell. And hell, as we shall find, soon prevailed against it.

Henry, indeed, as head of his own Church, and in defence of his arrogated authority, did his best to keep out the incoming tide of Continental Protestantism which he had been so ready to use when it served his ends. But the men whom he chose to do the work—it cannot be said that he trusted them—played him false even as he had played false to God, to the Vicar of Christ and to his own conscience. Cranmer, whom he had made Archbishop of Canterbury—the words may be taken in their most literal sense—was secretly in sympathy with the foreign extremists, now furious with a king who had first used and then checked them. During Henry's lifetime, however, a wholesome regard for his own safety kept him from openly showing his zeal for the new religion, a zeal which, it may be said, was always, until his final blunder, tempered by a shrewd discretion, and never, except at the last, found incompatible with a skillful trimming of sails to the prevailing wind of royal favor.

But with Henry's death the last barrier to "reform" was re-

moved, and the new Gospel was to work itself out in England as on the Continent. It is in Edward's reign, therefore, that Protestantism as a spiritual force becomes a definite factor in the national life. It is, consequently, at and from this point that the religious enthusiasm of which it was both the cause and the effect must be taken into account. Let our opinion of the leaders in this great revolt against the divinely constituted authority of the Church be what it may, there can be no doubt as to the sincerity of large numbers of their followers. The whole subsequent history of the religious system commonly called Protestantism is, otherwise, inexplicable. How, except on such an admission of the reality and fervor of their faith and enthusiasm, shall we account for the piety, the heroism, the patient endurance of suffering and martyrdom shown by the Camisards of France, the Waldensians of Northern Italy, the Covenanters of Scotland? Men do not die for the sake of a known lie; they cannot. They endure and die for the truth—as they know it. No religion, whether false or true, ever lived, in the sense of shaping men's lives, except in so far as men believed in it and proved their faith by their lives, by their deaths, rather than deny it. Is this a hard saying? I do not doubt that it is. Yet it is of the essence of this question of England's change of faith that we should see facts as they are, not as we conceive they ought to be. Men do not consciously exchange truth for a lie. It is because the old truth has ceased to influence their lives, and the lives of those who should be their leaders, that they seek the new truth, which is, though they know it not, a lie. And if there is any one fact in connection with this period more certain, perhaps, than all others, it is this: that the new religion was to countless thousands a veritable Gospel of God.

It is this fact, I might even say this fact only, which explains the success of Protestantism, namely, that so many accepted it in good faith as the Truth of Christ. Men had, we must remember, to an extent only now again exemplified in France and other Latin countries, lost all faith in the Church, all respect for a clergy so many of whom had never tasted that the Lord is sweet. Belief throughout Christendom had been so long divorced from conduct, in popes, in bishops, in the great and powerful, that men turned in sheer despair to a message which spoke of better things. The new prophets, indeed, prophesied falsely; men, eager to escape the restraints of divine authority, believed readily in a religion which asked faith only, and not works; but it was, nevertheless, in the fervor of its first preaching, a message to "deceive, if it were possible, even the very elect." It was at least a message infinitely better than that of anarchism, socialism and license proclaimed by the

preachers of the devil's latest gospel. Zealots there were among the reformers, self-seekers, evil livers; but the great mass of converts to the new faith were—as they must have been—honest, misguided, simple folks, to whom it was, as I have said, “glad tidings of great joy.” Nor must we forget, in making this admission, that the law governing the life of a religion as a spiritual force is also the law of death, except for God's own; and that if Protestantism is dying, it is because men have ceased to believe in it, have found it to be a lie.

Heresy, as Newman has somewhere said, consists, at first, in over-insistence on some one aspect of truth. In the case of Protestantism, the over-insistence was on the subjective aspect of religion, a protest against the prevailing formalism of the age, wherein objective religion, outward observances, had grown to be of apparently greater importance than the realities signified: “It is iniquity, even the solemn oblation.” The new preachers, by laying undue stress upon the exclusive need of a direct, personal, conscious intercourse between the soul and God, left no room in their scheme of the spiritual life for any efficacy of God's appointed ordinance and sacraments, still less for the priesthood, whom they accused of standing between man and his Maker. This need of personal, intimate relationship between the soul and God was one which saints, mystics and religious founders had preached in all ages, but which the Church had, it seemed, for the most part ignored. But it is in this getting back to the very basis of all soul life, the life hidden in Christ, the Christ-life in the soul; in this similarity, which does really exist between the message of the true and the false reformers, that we trace the beginning of a spiritual kinship between Puritan and monk, between St. Bernard, let us say, and John Bunyan, St. Ignatius of Loyola and Charles Wesley, between St. Francis of Assisi and “General” Booth, which both sides alike have been slow to realize and slower still, in this valley of mists and shadows, at least, to admit Mysticism, it has been well said, is the love of God. A common cause, a common source of soul-life, has inevitably produced a like effect in all who come under its influence, namely, personal, fervent devotion to that Lord in whose life all His true lovers share.

This, again, if I may be forgiven for thus dwelling on it, is something which we must take into account in estimating the causes which led to England's change of spiritual allegiance. The “reformers” in England, as elsewhere, appealed to this need of men's souls no less than to the baser instincts which, after all, do not count for so much as we are sometimes disposed to imagine. It was a need which, in the Ages of Faith, had founded religious orders which

now, unsatisfied with forms, with an orthodoxy apparently powerless to affect the lives and hearts of men, led earnest seekers after holiness—or so I read the matter—into the wilderness of heresy and schism. And, strange as it may seem, many, if spiritual signs and tokens have any real meaning, found there the nourishment which the unfaithful shepherds of the flock had withheld from them; for who shall set limits to the grace and mercy of God? Yet, if this be so, what shall their punishment be, who were, directly or indirectly, responsible for such a scattering of Christ's sheep?

With Edward's reign, then, we first come in contact, so far as England is concerned, with that religious Protestantism commonly known as Continental, which, modified by racial conditions as well as by political exigencies, and imposed by authority rather than democratic, was to leave, under the quasi-churchly forms of the new communion, so profound an impress on the spiritual life of the nation, and to differentiate Anglicanism from all other systems of state Protestantism except, possibly, Swedish Episcopal Lutheranism. We come also upon evidence of that respect for constituted authority which has always hitherto been the Englishman's most marked characteristic; a respect which, given the politico-religious entity of Church and State, that had existed as a twofold expression of the nation's life for over a thousand years, making other ideals simply inconceivable, induced a reverence for law, as expressing the will of the people amounting to an obligation not only of outward, but of conscientious observance. This respect for authority, again, and for its lawful or actual possessors, a respect often misunderstood accounts for the readiness with which the nation as a whole acquiesced in the innovations made by King and Council, by their "betters," to whom—it is well to repeat it—they had always looked for guidance in spiritual as well as in temporal matters. "As for these sheep, what have they done?"

These innovations, moreover, it must be remembered, were made gradually and in matters of doctrine to begin with, rather than of ritual. At most, it was but one more "use" added to or taking the place of the many which had always prevailed in different parts of the country. Where there was open revolt, as in Cornwall, it was probably due to excess of reforming zeal on the part of some local authority, spiritual or temporal; the country as a whole fell in with the new order of things simply because it was an order. England, one may say, was being made Protestant by Act of Parliament, almost without consciousness of the fact. It was, at all events, a fact which did not and could not concern the great mass of a population untrained to think for itself, of serfs, artisans and human

chattels, denied for centuries all semblance of choice or initiative, unpossessed, indeed, of the faculties necessary to either the one or the other. As unfit, that is to say, for self-government, in religion or in politics, as the Russian serfs of half a century ago.

Bearing in mind, then, what we have noted as to the practical autonomy of the local ecclesiastical authorities throughout Catholic Christendom north of the Alps; the interdependence, we might almost say, the identity of Church and State; the very real supremacy of the King, since the Norman conquest, over "all causes and persons, spiritual and temporal," within his dominions, even prior to Henry's open claim to headship over the Church in England, we have, together with English conservatism and respect for constituted authority, all the conditions favorable to Cranmer and Somerset's "reforming" policy. The wonder is, in fact, humanly speaking, of course, not that it was so successful, but that so much that was Catholic rather than Protestant—which the Scottish and Continental zealots plainly condemned as sheer Papistry—was allowed to remain. Comparing the "Reformation" in England, that is to say, with the corresponding movement north of the Tweed, we see how far policy led Cranmer and Somerset to take Luther and Sweden as their models rather than Calvin and Geneva. How far, in other words, they were themselves under those influences of conservatism and respect for authority which made their "reforms" possible and yet what it proved to be; gave it, in fact, both its existence and its form.

With the accession of the ill-used and much-maligned Mary Tudor we note an apparent ebb in the tide of change; a momentary return to ancient and better conditions. We note also that the respect for constituted authority which was so largely responsible for England's lapse into schism and heresy, was equally the cause of its willing return to Catholic unity in that memorable reign. But the mistakes of Mary's policy are no less evident; not so much the persecutions, which, as a recent writer in the "Downside Review" has pointed out, only began after her marriage, but the marriage itself. That, indeed, may justly be termed her one fatal, irremediable error; the cause to which unquestionably may be traced more than any other—I speak advisedly—the subsequent revolt of the English nation against a religion which had become identified with the most justly hated of foreign tyrants, Philip of Spain. Those three words, as I honestly believe, give the answer to our question, What, or who, made England Protestant? Miss Strickland, a Protestant writer, is responsible for the statement that "documents afford incontestable proof that Philip of Spain, not Mary of England, was the reigning

sovereign after their hands were united." (*Lives of the Queens of England*, Vol. III, p. 554.) It is Philip, therefore, and not Mary, who must be held responsible for the persecution of those who professed the new religion, for the "martyrdom" of Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, which inevitably won more converts to Protestantism—since men do not die for a known lie—than any other incentive could possibly have done. It made Catholicism hateful in the eyes of Englishmen, not because it was persecution—7,200 persons had been put to death for religion in less than twenty years of Henry's reign—but because it was the outcome of foreign tyranny. Mary, had she remained unmarried, might, had she felt disposed—which there is every reason to believe she did not—have acted in this matter as her father had done and as Elizabeth did afterwards, without loss of popularity. It was the hated Spaniard who set England against her ancient faith.

With the fatal Spanish alliance, therefore, we come a step nearer to the immediate and most active cause of England's apostasy, to the circumstances and conditions which, one may say, made it easy for those in authority to lead the nation astray by an appeal to the instinct of self-preservation. Spain, indeed, as we have seen, was implicated in the English "reformation" from the divorce of Catherine of Arragon to Philip's final attempt to make good his shadowy claim to the crown of England as the sole Catholic representative of the House of Lancaster. This national and very natural enmity must, as I said just now, be, of all other causes, chiefly taken into account; the enmity between Anglo-Norman and Latin, aggravated as it came so be by Philip's avowed intention of reducing England to the condition of a conquered province. Two quotations from an author who, whatever his bias may be held to be, gives his authorities for such historical statements as are here referred to—the late Father Ethelred Taunton—appear to bear this out. As to Philip's real motive he writes: "If there is anything clear in the diplomatic correspondence of the day, now at our disposal, it is that Philip's sole idea in attacking England was his own personal advantage, and that religion was made a cloak for malice." (*Hist. of Jesuits in England*, p. 113.) As to the religious consequences of the attempt, the same author writes, quoting from a paper drawn up by the famous Jesuit, Father Parsons: "The very fact of the Spanish claim being made would greatly aggravate heresy in England . . . on the ground that the enterprise was undertaken for reasons of state, and not for the sake of religion." (*Ibid.*, p. 118.)

Elizabeth, in whose reign England became definitely a Protestant nation, had certainly no cause to love the Catholic religion as

represented by a political pope and by her brother-in-law, Philip of Spain. To both, as it must have appeared to her, she owed the stigma of illegitimacy; her only chance of recognition by the former lay in consenting to marry the latter. This, of course, she had not the slightest intention of doing. Whatever her faults may have been, it is inconceivable that she should have been guilty of so grave a folly, fatal, as she knew it must be, not only to her own popularity, but to the welfare of the country itself.

For that she was popular with the vast majority of her people, with Catholics no less than with the reform party, there can be no question whatever, as England's answer to the Armada, the ships under the Catholic Lord Howard of Effingham, showed to all the world. It is a fact which we must recognize and admit to the fullest possible extent if we would understand and account for the success of her religious policy. We must regard her, that is, as she was in fact, namely, as perhaps the greatest woman sovereign who ever sat on any throne; greater, certainly, than any of her contemporaries; more than a match, as she proved, for the cunning, Machiavellian world-master Philip of Spain. Great servants she doubtless had, such as Cecil and Walsingham, but her greatness lay in her ability to use them to the greatest political and temporal welfare of her country. And it is the fact of this popularity which bears out what was said just now concerning the endurance by her people of her masterful, relentless methods, of her pitiless persecution not less of her ultra-Protestant than of her "Papist" subjects. She was, in a word, the idol of Englishmen, queen by the best of all rights, the free, willing consent of those over whom she ruled. This, I know, will appear a bold statement for a Catholic to make, but if it is not an accurate presentment of facts, on what other theory can we account for the failure of every attempt to wrest the throne from her? Even barring Philip as hopelessly impossible, Mary of Scotland was Elizabeth's own cousin, with an immeasurably better claim to the crown, and a Catholic. That very circumstance shows how far, in less than fifty years, England had drifted from her old attitude towards the Holy See. It was Mary's Catholicism more than anything else that made her unacceptable to a nation, forty per cent. of whom were still Catholics.

Personally, Elizabeth was indifferent to religion, but if she had no love for Catholicism, which set bounds to her authority, she had even less for the extreme Continental type of Protestantism, which set all authority except that of conscience wholly at naught, and aimed at a theocracy more arbitrary than that of which any pope could be accused. The party of "reform"—a noisy minority at her

accession—was, however, in the ascendancy, thanks to national hatred of Spanish tyranny. While, therefore, her own leanings would probably have been towards a “national Catholicism” such as had prevailed in the latter years of her father’s reign, circumstances, as she clearly saw, together with the refusal of the Marian bishops to acknowledge even a qualified Royal Supremacy, made it inevitable that she should revert, instead, to the religious settlement of her brother, as embodied in the second prayer-book of 1552. The Pope’s refusal to recognize her as lawful Queen of England except on what may be called Philip’s matrimonial terms, and the latter’s personal enmity, once she had refused to marry him, tended to confirm her in the policy she had chosen. The Catholic powers, following the lead of Spain, were against her; not even by a French marriage, almost, if not quite, as unpopular as a Spanish one, could she hope to ensure the tranquil possession of her throne and the welfare of her country. There remained only the Protestant princes of Germany, the growing power of the Low Countries, and the Huguenots of France, any or all of whom she could play off against her Catholic rivals. One more, therefore, it was Philip of Spain who settled England’s religious policy. His personal enmity made Elizabeth’s choice inevitable. And, the Queen’s choice once made, she pursued her course to the only end possible under the circumstances—the creation, namely, of a new politico-religious entity which should embrace Church and State as completely and as exclusively as they had been united from St. Augustine to Cardinal Pole, but which should be subject in spirituals not to “the Bishop of Rome,” but to herself and to her successors. It was the policy which began, continued and accomplished the separation of England from the unity of Catholic Christendom. Yet it was, as I have elsewhere endeavored to show, a policy which bore within itself the seeds of its own undoing, if, and when, in God’s time and God’s way, those seeds shall ripen and bear fruit a hundredfold.

To the question, therefore, as to how England became Protestant, what has been here said, while in no sense an answer, may at least serve as some sort of explanation. The causes, in the Providence of God, were the general state of Christendom, the appeal to the national character at its best and at its worst; but the person chiefly responsible was Philip of Spain. So, at all events, I read the history of the most momentous and most curious phase of the movement commonly known as the Protestant Reformation.

FRANCIS W. GREY.

Ottawa, Ontario.

A TYPICAL JESUIT.

A TYPICAL Jesuit! What a different impression these words convey to different minds! To the ultra-Protestant or bigotedly non-Catholic mind they suggest a type which malignity and prejudice have long made familiar to the world: the incarnation of craft and subtlety of dissimulation brought to the perfection of a fine art, of a Protean personality veiling under various disguises a character wily and insinuating, what the French call *très fin*; with a passion for tortuous intrigue, pursuing by dubious methods a fixed policy which aims at nothing less than an *imperium in imperio* in the ecclesiastical domain and a dominant influence in the State and in the family; not over-scrupulous as to the methods to be employed in attaining that object, holding that the end justifies the means. This is the Jesuit of fiction. His pen-portrait has been drawn by many literary polemicists and romancists from Pascal and Molière to Eugene Sue, plagiarized and paraphrased by obscure scribblers in a subsidized and suborned literature which reproduces the type satirized in the *Lettres Provinciales*, *Tartufe* and *Le Juif errant* without the talent that has secured notoriety for those classic libels. The head of the Society he represents has been called "the Black Pope," and the Society itself "the Black International": a secret society with world-wide ramifications, a kind of moral octopus grasping every rank and class in its tenacious tentacles; a nightmare disturbing the dreams of statesmen and stifling human liberty under its oppressive weight. It is a spectre more fearful than that of the Brocken, haunting the imaginations of those old ladies of both sexes who frequent May meetings at Exeter Hall and suffer more or less acutely from that mental malady diagnosed by Joseph de Maistre as "Papaphobia," of which it is a phase that may be designated "Jesuit-on-the-brain." Certain authors and publishers find it profitable to pander to this prejudice, this hallucination. Protestantism of the old-fashioned school or anti-Catholicism of the Continental type have made the market for these kind of literary wares; and in a commercial age like ours, the supply is proportioned to the demand.

Look at that picture, and then on this. Contrast the Jesuit in fiction with the Jesuit in fact; the counterfeit presentment with the living reality; the impalpable creation of morbid imaginations, wrought upon by romance-writers and no-Popery lecturers, with the actual personality daily encountered in various walks of life: the model town missionary, ministering to high and low, to rich and poor in crowded cities; the foreign missionary traversing and toiling

in untrodden wilds, in the Church's uttermost borderlands or outposts; the intrepid pioneer of civilization among savage races; the zealous apostle shedding the light of Faith on continents and islands darkened by idolatry; the skilled educationist; the keen-witted scientist, reaping, in a rich harvest of knowledge, the long results of time; the daring explorer; the voluminous writer who has increased the wealth of philosophical and theological learning, the common property of the whole Catholic world, and the gifted *litterateur* who has made the printing press, the chief offensive weapon employed by the Reformation, one of the most powerful and effective weapons of the Church's intellectual armory for the defence and propagation of Catholic Truth.

A good specimen of the type-Jesuit of real life, as known to and esteemed by men who live and breathe in a wholesome atmosphere unclouded and untainted by passion or prejudice, was the late Father Schomberg Kerr, whose active, well-filled and exemplary life as a sailor and a Jesuit has been interestingly narrated by his cousin, the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell-Scott, of Abbotsford.¹ The special characteristic of that life was devotion to duty. Prompt obedience to the word of command, which he unfailingly practiced as a naval officer, was the dominant note of his character and conduct as a Jesuit priest. That naturalness, unaffectedness, total absence of "side," that *bonhomie* which pleasingly characterize the English naval officer were equally observable in the priest. Without any tendency to rigorism or any pretence of pietism, as a layman and as a priest, wherever he went he left behind him the impression of a man of well-balanced mind and character, of courage and constancy and wholesouled devotion to duty. He was essentially a manly man, whose manliness was based upon and sustained by solid virtue.

Henry Schomberg Kerr, R. N., S. J., second son of Lord Henry Kerr—son of the sixth Marquis of Lothian and of Louisa Dorothea, daughter of General the Hon. Sir Alexander Hope, son of John, second Earl of Hopetown—was born on August 15, 1838, at the Rectory, Dittisham, Devonshire, and baptized on September 24 by Lord Henry, then rector of the parish, a living presented to him by his cousin, Lord Mount Edgcumbe, and which was his home from 1830 till he resigned in 1851. A partiality for "a life on the ocean wave" was hereditary. His father, when a boy, wanted to be a sailor, but, in compliance with paternal wishes, lived the humdrum life of a country parson in place of the breezy, bustling life he would

¹ Henry Schomberg Kerr, Sailor and Jesuit. By Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott of Abbotsford. Longmans, Green & Co., 1891.

have preferred. They were good Christians according to their lights. The mother, although always more or less an invalid, devoted her unfailing energy and charity to aiding her poor and sick neighbors. She was the doctor for all the illnesses in the parish, and as soon as her children could walk she would send them to carry medicines and food to the sick poor, insist on their looking at the wounds, withered limbs or deformities of the suffering people, and taught them to make themselves useful in the cottages they visited. She trained them also to charity by encouraging them to set aside a portion of their meals in order to have more to take to the sick, and to choose Fridays and vigils for this mortification.² With such dispositions as these, it is not surprising to find that the Rome-ward movement, initiated by Tractarianism, captivated and captured them. While Schomberg was spending his last two years of school life at Winchester, his father, relates Mrs. Maxwell-Scott,³ was passing through the crisis of his religious life. Although by no means so high a Churchman as Newman, Pusey, Hurrell Froude and others, Lord Henry was deeply interested in their writings and opinions, and gradually adopted many of the changes brought about by them in the Anglican ceremonial. Cardinal Newman's conversion was at first a great shock to him, for as yet he felt little attraction to the Catholic Church, although he was unconsciously advancing towards the truth, aided, no doubt, by his unselfish work for the souls under his charge, and his own sincere and earnest endeavor to do God's will in all things. The Gorham judgment in 1849 was to him and his brother-in-law, Mr. James Hope, the event which finally shook his confidence in the Church of England; and from that moment he began to entertain thoughts of resigning his living and becoming a Catholic. He left Dittisham in 1851, spending the next few months in study and prayer for guidance. At length he was received into the Church at Clifton on August 24, 1852, and his reception was followed shortly by that of Lady Henry and five of his children. Schomberg was just going to sea when his father took this great step, a step he himself did not take until May, 1855.

Schomberg joined the navy on the eve of stirring times, when England was about making history. It was still the epoch of the old "wooden walls" which contributed so much to its naval supremacy, and long before "Dreadnoughts" were dreamed of or anticipations of German competition on the seas, then ruled by Britannia, entered into the calculations of British statesmen. It was the last of what he calls the poetic days of masts and sails and volunteer crews.

² *Life of Madame Henrietta Kerr.*

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

When, as naval cadet, he joined, in 1852, his first ship, *H. M. S. Vengeance*, the Mediterranean Squadron was in the zenith of its power and prestige. George Tryon, destined later to win renown as Admiral Sir George Tryon, was then a midshipman on board the same ship, of which Sir William Robert Mends, whom he describes as "one of the smartest officers that ever graced the quarter deck," was commander. As a school of discipline the navy was an excellent preparation for the life he was destined to lead. But it was a hard school and meant roughing it. To be brought before the Captain on Thursday mornings, he says, was a terrible thing, resulting generally in "four dozen" or a "week's cells"—the time being spent "one or both legs in irons." What with mastheading, leave-stopping and extra watch on deck, and frequent cobblings in the gun room below, the middies were kept well in order, and lost more of their angles, but not their spirit. Writing in 1895 of this early phase of his life, he says: "On going to sea I had often heard my father and my elders say, 'It all depends on his first ship,' little knowing what it meant. But now, after the lapse of forty years and more, I can say that, as an officer and seaman, those few months with Mends had the greatest effect on me, and, indeed, shaped my career. He formed us to love order and active habits, and besides gave us a taste for our profession."

The Russian war was brewing in the East, and next year the combined squadrons anchored in two long lines of battle in Besika Bay. When in Beikos Bay it fell to his lot as midshipman of the jolly-boat to turn out each morning at 3.30 o'clock and take the stewards across to Therapia, where the ambassadors dwelt, upon which he remarks: "It was a cold job, especially when the north wind made a funnel of the Upper Bosphorus; but it was better than washing decks, with lanterns and bare feet, on a frosty morning." After war was declared and the invasion of the Crimea decided on, they all put to sea, numbering about 800 vessels, perhaps the largest Armada, tonnage as well as numbers considered, that the world had ever seen. On the memorable 20th of September, 1854, the fleet, anchored off the Alma, watched the battle; but the volumes of smoke—smokeless powder being yet unknown—and the broken ground marred the view. The October 17 operations by sea and land commenced, and there was a general bombardment of Sebastopol, in which all the ships took part. On November 5 they got glimpses of Inkerman from the Katcha, but could not follow the battle. Of Sir Lewis Tobias Jones, captain of the *Sampson*, one of the vessels engaged, he says: "I have reason to be grateful to this brave old salt, for, on the passage out, he put me into a canvas rig, dipped my hands

into the tar bucket, and sent me aloft." Admiral Pollard, a brother officer, writes of Schomberg: "We served together from 1852 to the end of 1854, on the *Vengeance*. It was then our lifelong friendship was formed. He was about four years younger, and so I had it in my power to help him in various ways. His straightforward and courteous disposition made him a general favorite, and to myself he was most loving and kind. I remember well at the attack of the allied fleets on Sebastopol my dear friend two or three times came to my quarters to see if I was all right. He was full of courage and perfectly calm."

When he returned, in May, 1855, a pleasant surprise awaited his family in their Scotch home, Huntlyburn, near Melrose. As early as February, 1853, he had felt drawn towards Catholicism, but his return to his ship gave him, at that time, no opportunity for serious study. During his two years' absence he had evidently thought out the subject until conviction was reached, for he came back with the intention of becoming a Catholic. But he kept his mind to himself, and his reception came upon the family as a joyful surprise. On Wednesday, May 21, they were astonished to meet him returning from early Mass at Galashiels when they were driving thither for the High Mass. Very early next morning he was received into the Catholic Church at Galashiels by Father Egan, the priest in charge of the mission, whom he had visited several times for instruction. On his return he said, "I am now as much a Catholic as any of you." Lady Henry wept for joy, and the whole household repaired to the domestic chapel to thank God for the great grace bestowed upon Schomberg, who made his first Communion there on May 29, and was confirmed by Bishop Brant at St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, on June 5, before rejoining his new ship, H. M. S *Sphinx*, which proceeded to the Crimea. In the spring of 1856 Lord and Lady Henry Kerr, having gone abroad for some months, accompanied by their eldest son, William, before the latter entered on his career in the Indian Civil Service, met the neophyte at Venice by what his mother called "a special Providence," which she piously attributed to her *Aves*. Just as he was ready to start from Scutari, the smallpox broke out in his ship and necessarily cancelled his leave; but, by apparent accident, he unexpectedly turned up while they were at Venice. A young brother officer narrates an incident which occurred about this time at Portsmouth, where they spent a fortnight aboard the *Victory*, and which brings out a characteristic trait. "When going to Mass on Sunday with Schomberg," he says, "he asked me what I intended giving at the offertory. I said sixpence, and that I generally gave that amount.

'Be generous,' he said, 'give a shilling, give a shilling,' in his charming coaxing way. I did give a shilling, and his remark at that time, I have always felt, has colored my offerings ever since."

For over two years he next served on H. M. S. *Indus*, flagship on the North American Station, under its commander, Vice-Admiral Houston Stewart, first as midshipman and then as acting mate and mate. He had already, by his attention to duty and the manliness and earnestness of his character, won the entire trust of his superiors, and at Halifax was permitted to take not only the Catholics of his own ship to Mass on Sundays, but those of the other men-of-war that might be in harbor, having leave, as a special privilege, to march them up to the cathedral, a mile and a half from the dock-yard, instead of going to the chapel. This involved proceeding through the principal streets of the town, when the sight of the men and their youthful leader created much interest. He maintained strict discipline, and never lost a man from the ranks.

During his absence his parents, accompanied by his sister Henrietta, went to Hyères, where he rejoined them on his return to England in February, 1859. A lady, recalling those days, relates the impression he made on her. "My reminiscences of him," she writes, "are centred in his admirable practical love of duty. There was a serious earnestness in everything he did. I remember during that first winter or early spring at Hyères, where he spent a few weeks on leave, the fervor of his growing faith, for he had not long been received into the Church. At the evening Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament he would walk up that dear old church of St. Louis and kneel during the service at the altar rails, unconscious of doing anything unusual." It was at this time he paid his first visit to the shrine of Notre Dame de la garde, at Marseilles, to which he ever after had a special devotion.

In April he joined H. M. S. *Exmouth* for a short time, and went out to Malta, and in August was appointed to H. M. S. *Cyclops*, then cruising in Suez Roads. Schomberg, now Lieutenant Kerr, spent the next two years in the East. After his return to England in 1861, he spent some time with the Hope Scotts⁴ at Dorlin, their beautiful property on Loch Shiel in Scotland. "In spite of the pleasant family gatherings and visits," writes Mrs. Maxwell-Scott,⁵ "these months must have had a certain sadness for Schomberg, as they were the last that he and Henrietta were to spend together at home. As

⁴ Early that year Mr. Hope Scott had married Lady Victoria Fitzalan Howard, eldest daughter of Henry Granville, Duke of Norfolk, and sister of the present Duke.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

early as 1856 Henrietta had spoken to him of her dawning wish to live only for God, and in her childish way she had mapped out a plan of life both for herself and Schomberg." "The first time she ever heard of hermits," records his sister's biographer,⁶ "she determined to lead a life like his, and this hermitage, which, by the way, was to be shared by this same brother, became a kind of dream to her as the ideal of happiness. They were to take a farmhouse by the sea, very far north, and live there together, doing all the work themselves, and hardly ever speaking, 'serving God like the ancient hermits.'"

Brother and sister united also in longing to be martyrs, and mutually agreed to pray for this grace. "In reading such things," observes Mrs. Maxwell-Scott, "it is difficult to avoid thinking of St. Teresa and her brother, and their youthful desires of serving God; and if Henrietta's ideal was to change somewhat, she, like St. Teresa, in the end obtained the wish of her heart, a grace shared by Schomberg later on. In these last home-days the brother and sister probably often talked together of Henrietta's growing vocation, and as, even earlier than this, Schomberg himself seems to have had some idea that his own path in life was not finally fixed, he would no doubt speak of this to her."⁷ He was at Barbadoes, on board H. M. S. *Phaeton*, when his sister entered the novitiate of the Sacred Heart Order at Conflans, near Paris, on September 8, 1863; whereupon he wrote to his mother: "You can fancy with what interest I looked forward to receiving your last, and though, as I expected, you had not time to say much, yet enough to show me how all had been blessed, and how happy Henrietta must be, now she has realized wishes that have been uppermost in her heart for years. The idea carries me back to the time when she and I first talked of it, which, I think, must have been about November, 1856, though I have no distinct remembrance till early in 1859, when we were at Hyères, and then even I thought it would prove more a dream in 1863 (like my case) than an accomplished fact. I must say I did not bargain to see her no more in the world when I left in 1861; but better as it is; God and Our Lady are sooner pleased, and Henrietta herself is happier, and will pray for us all the more, and for what is right for me, so *Deo gratias*."

The concluding words give us the first glimpse or foreshadowing of his own still latent vocation. His cousin, in endeavoring to give an idea of his character and characteristics at this time, says:

⁶ *Life of Madame H. Kerr*, p. 35.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 44, 45.

"In features and natural temperament he perhaps most nearly resembled his mother and his sister Henrietta, and the boy of the 'bright eye and open countenance' had now become a man of noble appearance, with a singular charm of manner. Unfortunately for us, Schomberg's portraits—especially the later ones—give only the rather stern and even sad expression which characterize his features in repose, the result, probably, of his early initiation into the graver experiences of life, and of his own earnest, resolute soul; but all who knew him will recall the way in which his face would light up in conversation, his beautiful and winning smile; while his intimates were well aware of the affectionate, sensitive nature that lay beneath the habitually calm and grave exterior. They recognized and loved what one of his old friends calls his 'rare sunny nature,' with his 'warm-hearted love for his family and friends.' We have seen how thoroughly Schomberg devoted himself to the duties of his profession, and we have had glimpses of his zeal for all the practices of his faith and of his care for the souls of others manifested in a mature degree unusual for one so young. In fidelity to his spiritual duties, he thus set an excellent example to all the Catholic members of the crew, and took care that those under his charge should have the fullest opportunity of practicing their religion. Some notes of a very intimate nature, and which show his spirit of prayer and self-denial, remain to us. They are jotted down in pencil in a little French book of devotions, and although it is now impossible to give the exact date at which they were written, the resolutions which they record probably formed a part of Schomberg's daily life for years. The notes are as follows:

"*Rosary* (to say) five sorrowful mysteries every first and middle watch.

"*Meditation*, on the sufferings of our Lord, daily.

"*Wine*, abstain from on Wednesdays and Fridays; value of allowance, 2 s., to be given in charity.

"*Second course*, abstain from.

"*Entrées*, do., on Wednesday and Friday.

"*Fish*—Eat fish, when able, in preference to meat.

"*Meat*—Not to eat meat oftener than twice in a day.

"*Fish and Meat*—Never at the same meal.

"*Milk and Sugar*—Abstain from milk and sugar on Wednesday, Friday and Saturday."

These little revelations of Schomberg's inner life help us to understand his constant aspirations after a higher state, as well as his devotion to his daily duties—God's present will for him—and his unselfish spirit, which was, among other things, often shown by his

taking the duties of his brother officers, thus freeing them for more congenial occupations. "Oh, Kerr will do it!" was an expression often heard when the question arose of a party of sport or pleasure which might come in contact with certain duties on board—"and so he did."⁸

Admiral Ernest Rice, who had been his fellow-lieutenant for nearly three years on H. M. S. *Duncan*, the flagship of a near relative of Kerr's,⁹ Admiral Sir James Hope, K. C. B., in command of the North American and West Indian Station, writes of the time they spent together in Nova Scotia: "We often shared the same room, and I remember how much I admired his simple and unostentatious goodness; he always knelt at his bedside at night, however long and tiring a day we had had. On one occasion, when I said I was too tired to say my prayers, he replied, 'God knows that as well as you, and does not want long prayers; kneel down and thank Him for all His blessings.' In these days, when the exercise of a man's religious duties is provided for and protected by those in authority, this may not seem anything worthy of remark, but thirty years ago a young man who had determined, as Schomberg Kerr had, never to be ashamed of confessing his faith and hope in Christ Jesus, publicly and privately, had often to undergo much covert ridicule and many hard sayings. The last time we met was in 1888, at Southsea, where he had come to see on his way to Bournemouth. In the course of conversation I said, by way of a joke, 'They ought to have made you a bishop by this time, Schomberg.' He answered, to my astonishment, 'They did offer me Bombay, but I preferred missionary work.'¹⁰ And so he went on to his glorious and happy end. I say happy, because he bore it in his face. When he left the room my wife said, 'I never saw perfect peace and goodness so plainly on any man's countenance.'"

During the summer of 1866 he took an active part in the successful completion of the laying of the first Atlantic cable—

Linking two worlds by a chain that sages
Forged in the heat of a science dream,"

—having been given command of H. M. S. *Lily*, the ship Sir James Hope had been instructed by the British Admiralty to place at the service of the expedition, and was one of the first to send a tele-

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 50-52.

⁹ Sir James Hope, born 1808, died 1881, was son of Sir George Hope, and by his mother, Lady Jemima, grandson of James, third Earl of Hopetoun, and thus second cousin to Lady Henry Kerr.

¹⁰ He was then a Jesuit.

graphic message by the cable, addressed to his parents at Huntlyburn. He was then senior naval officer of the Newfoundland Division, and accompanied the *Great Eastern* down Trinity Bay when it proceeded to recover the lost cable of the previous year.

It was during the stormy homeward voyage of the *Lily* in the autumn of 1866, it is surmised, that he finally resolved to become a priest, believing that Our Lady had heard his prayer and promise on that occasion. "Possibly also," Mrs. Maxwell-Scott comments, "the statue of Notre Dame de la Garde, which Schomberg sent to the church at Halifax, was a thank-offering for the safety of the ship. This seems probable from Schomberg's special reference to Our Lady under that title in his letter, and from his making in the following spring a pilgrimage to the shrine at Marseilles, for which he had a peculiar affection." In a letter to his father, written on board the *Lily*, he said: "There have been moments on the passage when, was it not for my faith in Notre Dame de la Garde, I doubted the little ship surviving to reach the old country."

During his sojourn at home after this, his old desires and aspirations, his cousin notes, were maturing and taking shape, and that in spite of his early and well-earned promotion, and of the promising future it opened to him, in spite still more of his affectionate attachment to family and friends, he was very seriously occupied with the thought of that higher life and sacrifice of himself to Almighty God, to which he was beginning to feel he was actually called. On his way to Rome in 1867, in company with the Duke of Norfolk, he visited the shrine of Notre Dame de la Garde in thanksgiving for his safe voyage back from Newfoundland. On April 13, the travellers had an audience of Pius IX, who gave a special blessing to his sister Henrietta's crucifix¹¹—she was then at the convent of the Trinità di Monti—and on the 17th they were present at the Pope's Mass and received Holy Communion. He frequently consulted her on the subject which then absorbed his thoughts—his future life and the disposal of it. "It was indeed," writes his biographer, "a time of great mental anxiety for Schomberg. On one side he could not but be conscious that he had not only won success in his profession, but that it afforded him many opportunities of working for God and for the welfare of others; while on the other hand his wish to give up the world and devote himself wholly to God's service in the priesthood was becoming stronger. It seems clear, also, that he had already felt drawn to the Society of Jesus."

By an appropriate coincidence his sojourn in Rome synchro-

¹¹ This crucifix, her constant companion in life and on her death bed, she bequeathed to her brother, who used it till his own death in 1895.

nized with that of a clever young Catholic lawyer from Halifax, Mr. Kenny, who had been educated at Stonyhurst, who had had personal experience of Kerr's work amongst the Catholic sailors on the Newfoundland Station, when he saw him act like a most zealous missionary, keeping a list of all the Catholic sailors, looking after their wants spiritual and temporal, leading them to Mass and the sacraments, and taking care of them generally. Both were then meditating becoming, what they afterwards became, Jesuit priests. "It frequently happened," writes one of the Fathers of the Society, then in Rome, "that Mr. Kenny and Mr. Kerr called on me the same day. Kenny asked me, 'What is bringing Kerr here so often? Every time I come to see you I meet him coming or going away.' Oddly enough Kerr had just asked the same question in the same words about Kenny. At the time, neither of them had ever spoken directly of the question of vocation, but both seemed much interested in the details of our life at the Roman College, and in the life of the Jesuit generally. Kerr especially was particular in his questions about two English naval officers, Captain Wood and Lieutenant Augustus Law, who had become Jesuits. I had lived at St. Acheul with Mr. Law, and was able, therefore, to answer for him and for his enthusiastic love of the Jesuit life—the only enduring alternative to which, as he often declared, was the life in the British navy; the same obedience, the same manly contempt of bodily comforts, the same indifference to place or surroundings, being found in both. In fact, to the end of his days a martyr to missionary zeal in South Africa (where Father Kerr himself also gave his life), Father Law bore the stamp of the sailor as clearly as that of the priest. It was only at my last meeting with Father Kerr in Rome that it flashed across my mind that he was in doubt about his vocation. I remember it as if it were yesterday. I was going to pay a visit at the convent of Trinità di Monti, and just outside the door I met Schomberg. He seemed much agitated, rushed over to me and said: 'Oh, Father Delaney, I have bad, bad news! I have just been summoned to go back to my ship.' I had heard that he had been appointed commander of the *Bellerophon*, and I replied, 'Well, I was just on the point of congratulating you, but you seem to think it not a matter for congratulation.' 'No,' said he, 'it disarranges all my plans. I had counted on six months leave at least' (I am not sure if he did not say a year), 'and I wanted it all to look about me. You must pray and say Masses for me that God may guide me to do what is best.'" He did what was best when, six weeks after joining, he left the *Bellerophon* and the service, and, at the close of a retreat at Dalkeith, having consulted two Jesuits, Fathers Amherst and Whitty, he joined the Society of

Jesus on the feast of the Sacred Heart. Father Kenny, when he heard of it, called to mind that, when in Rome, Schomberg used to visit the shrine of Mater Admirabilis, Our Lady of the Lily, at the Sacred Heart Convent of the Trinità, and fancied Our Lady under that invocation might have had much to do with his happy decision. He himself made no mystery about the genesis and development of his vocation. In some notes jotted down relating to his retreat he says: "In 1859 I made a sort of promise with my sister that we would both serve God in religious life. I have never forgotten it. She never wavered, and has been in the convent of the Sacred Heart four years already, and has since been praying daily for me. I cannot allow her to beat me in heroism for God. I believe if any of my messmates in the last five years' cruise were told that I had become a priest they would say, 'I always thought so,' or at any rate would not be at all surprised. And I write this with all humility."

What most attracted him to the Society of Jesus was its refusal of all ecclesiastical dignities, and the hatred borne to it by the world. His parents acted as Catholic parents should act on such momentous occasions. "Lord and Lady Henry," records Mrs. Maxwell-Scott, "with all the generosity of their fervent faith and unselfishness, gave their full consent to his wishes." His sister in a charming congratulatory letter wrote: "What can I say to you? I am too happy either to write or think. This morning we were renewing our vows at Mass at 5.30 (which we generally do on the Feast of the Sacred Heart, but which was deferred this year on account of the bustle and crowd), and my chief thought was, 'How happy I should be if old Schommy were one day to be doing as I was.' I could scarcely think of anything else. I fancy our Lord must have smiled to see my anxiety, knowing as He did that in the course of the day I should get your letter. How I do thank Him, and that good Mater Admirabilis! . . . Our Lord, now your sole Master as He is mine, will crown His other graces by the greatest of all—perseverance. How thankful I am to think that every instant of your life is going to be employed in His service!" A supernatural as well as natural affection seems to have united these two souls. The good nun's letters, into which she put her whole soul, reveal her as a woman of well-balanced mind and character, of sound sense, clear-headedness and spiritual insight, who constituted herself a kind of anciliary spiritual director to her brother. To his cousin and future biographer he wrote: "On the Feast of the Sacred Heart (June 28, 1867) I offered my life to God in the Society of Jesus, through the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, and on the 8th of September I enter the novitiate. This may or may not astonish you, and you may be sorry or glad;

but in any case I know you will thank God with me and so share my happiness. I have had the idea for many years." When, a little later, his brother entered religion, his mother wrote: "Our two eldest sons, William and Schomberg, the sailor, were both called by God last year, and both entered the Jesuit novitiate; he on September 8, William on St. Stanislaus Day, November 13, and so both have now half proved their wonderful vocations." The novice-master of Roehampton, Father Fitzsimon, when he heard that his name was Schomberg, remarked, "Why, there is no saint of that name." "Then it is your business to make one," Schomberg promptly replied. If there is such a thing as a short and direct road to sanctity, St. Ignatius discovered it in that absolute obedience, that perfect self-surrender and complete detachment which he exacted from his subjects, which extinguishes exaggerated self-assertiveness and individualism and is a wholesome antidote to what the French call *la maladie de moi*. He was already half-formed in the spirit of the Rule when, as a probationer, he went through the Spiritual Exercises; "ready," as he declared "to go where duty calls," and with a "fixed determination to strive to the end in the high avocation to which God had been pleased to call him." He underwent successfully the six experiments or special tests through which every Jesuit candidate must pass in his two years' novitiate, at least such as are practicable in England. He retained and applies to his new sphere of action not only the sense of duty so strictly inculcated in the British navy, but the seafaring phraseology so familiar to him and upon which he frequently drew to supplement the official Latin to which he was not so accustomed. Indeed, his biographer observes, he never either could or would unlearn the language of the sea, and to the end of his life what landsmen call "upset" was for him "capsize," a bout of temperature was "dirty weather," and although it might "blow heavy guns" he was resolved to "stick to the ship" to the last. Their "navy brother" was a universal favorite among his fellow-novices, although their previous lives had been very dissimilar. "They," comments Mrs. Maxwell-Scott,¹² "had given up no career, for they never entered one; they had not drunk deeply of the cup of worldly pleasure; and they had been mercifully shielded from the world's most fatal lures; they were, after all, hardly more than schoolboys. But here was a man in the prime of life, who had thrown up an honorable profession in which he had already distinguished himself, and left it just at the moment when a brilliant prospect opened upon him. With a full realization of what the sacrifice involved, he had ex-

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

changed liberty for restraint, fame for obscurity, a position of authority for one of unquestioning submission." He used to speak of the navy as an excellent training for religious life, although he never tried to underrate its dangers for weak characters; it taught men, he said, obedience, and the endurance of hardship, and resource in difficulties and courage and loyal to superiors. The highest praise a captain can give one of his crew is to describe him as a "smart" man. Kerr's ideal of a Jesuit was that he should be a "smart" man, and he lived up to it. In a letter to his old friend, Colonel Colthurst, he describes himself as "happier and jollier than ever having "at last found the life he had been hunting after for many years." In a letter to his mother he says: "I am a bad hand at writing, but I could write volumes on God's mercies to me—If I was to trace them right through till they culminate in vocation to the Society of Jesus. Much as you think you know of Jesuits, your knowledge of their interior life is yet small. What virtues &c., these good fathers practise, who, to the exterior eye, calmly come and go to Huntlyburn almost unnoticed, is perhaps only known to God, and partially to a chosen few, and will be rewarded with crowns exceeding great hereafter." The Jesuits did not impress outsiders so favorably as he soon realized. He and some other scholastics happened one day to be strolling by a band of natives at work on the drains or pipes at Wimbledon. As the meek-looking scholastics passed, one of the workers said to his fellow: "Who be them chaps, Bill?" "Them," said his companion, "them's the chaps they make the parsons of." "Lor," said the other, "what duffers!" Naturally, sensitive to appearance and the opinion of others, he felt very keenly this depreciatory criticism, but he suppressed himself, his desire for humiliation being insatiable. Father Conmee, his fellow student in the Juniorate, who relates this and other incidents that bring into relief his patient characteristics, concludes his fragmentary recollections with the remark: "I think of him always as one thinks of the saints. I think of his humility, his exact observance, his patience, his mortification, and behind it all the sacrifice he made in all he gave up for God. Not that anything of this latter ever escaped him. On the contrary, he counted it as the most singular of favors to have been allowed to enter the Society of Jesus. Often have I heard him on this theme, and often have I noticed his glowing admiration for St. Ignatius, whose career in some points he was privileged to imitate. But, after all, my highest and holiest memories of him are those that show him to me before the tabernacle, praying to that Master whom, as all who ever knew him, will testify, he so deeply and so tenderly loved. How well can I recall

the Holy Thursday night of 1870, when he petitioned to be let spend the night watching before the altar of repose. Those that came and went throughout the night found him motionless there, the faithful, silent servant of the Lord." His invariable rule was to do everything "with his whole heart." Writing in October, 1874, from St. Beuno's, where he and his brother William studied theology; he says: "Now that I have entered the last year of my preparation, the dignity of the priesthood and the grandeur of that wondrous act of religion reveal themselves more clearly." His anxiety to make up for what he called the deficiencies of his early education, which induced him to put off his ordination for a year, led to the two brothers being ordained together on Sunday, September 19, 1875, the feast of the Seven Dolours of Our Lady, forming a portion of a group of twenty-five ordinati, the largest number of priests ordained at one time in Great Britain since the Reformation. They celebrated their first Masses in the little chapel at St. Asaph, served by their father, wearing vestments embroidered at their sister's convent, their happy family being their first communicants and receiving their first blessings.

After spending two years as minister of Beaumont College near Windsor, Father Henry Kerr, as he was now called, was sent in 1877 on the mission to Garnet Hill, Glasgow, from whence he was transferred the next year as military chaplain to Cyprus, almost as soon as it had been acquired by the British Government. His sense of order and discipline revolted against many things there of which he became cognizant and which drew from him the remark: "These soldiers are great bunglers. There is such a lot of red tape and nonsense. A regiment ought to be like a ship, complete in itself, whereas there are half a dozen departments, all pulling against each other and independent, and costing the country thousands. The number of staff and departmental people looking after this handful of troops is simply ridiculous. Four hundred sailors or marines would not cost a third, and would be twice as efficient. May the Lord save the British Army!" Though he found it hard "to stir up the British soldier," the inevitable red-tape raising obstacles to getting hold of the men who always seemed on duty, he was consoled and edified by the attention of some, like barrack-sergeant Watts "a holy and mortified man, in the Church by 5.30 every morning regularly" and by the readiness with which twenty men, "all for love," worked at putting up a sanctuary of Our Lady of Mount Troodos, the altar and predella of which were from the ruins of St. Epiphanius' Catholic Chapel. Fever prevailed but he escaped the contagion, which drew from him the observation: "God has preserved me, a priest

propter alios, and if I could only stir up a zeal for souls, who knows that He would not spare me still."

He had recourse to the Jesuit's favorite method in pursuing his apostolate. He set up a school. There was then not a single English man or woman teaching in Cyprus. The Civil Commissioner, Colonel Warren, spoke to him in no measured terms of the degradation of the Greek clergy and their exactions and how he was striving to enlighten the people and raise them from their state of ignorance and misery. Having vainly urged education on the Greek clergy, he turned to Father Kerr and said: "You are first in the field and you have virgin soil. I promise you plenty of opposition. The Greek clergy will be furious, but I don't care whether you make five converts or fifty thousand, as long as you raise them from their state of ignorance and abject misery. Talk of the nations of India and the East! These poor people are ground down far worse." Father Kerr assured him of the interest of the Holy See and the Society. Three poor French nuns were trying to promote female education, and to supplement their efforts he proposed to his Provincial the establishment of a college at Limassol, asking for "an Englishman fresh from his Greek," and "a foreigner able to write and preach well in Greek, French or Italian." It awakens sad and regretful thoughts to learn that the Englishman was Father (then Mr.) Tyrrell, who closes some interesting reminiscences of Father Kerr with these words: "Though I never wrote to him or heard from him, I always remembered him distinctly and affectionately, as I do now; and I owe more to the impression made upon me by the first Jesuit of my acquaintance, my self-constituted novice-master, and kindest of despots, than perhaps would be fair to others for me to state explicitly." It would have been well for Father Tyrrell if he had been always faithful to the teaching of such a master.

The college was short-lived, and, after a fortnight's pilgrimage to the Holy Land in company with the Provincial, he went to India as Chaplain to the Viceroy, Lord Ripon; though, were he free to consult his own inclinations, he would have preferred to accept Gordon's invitation to join him in the ill-fated Khartoum expedition, to evangelize the natives, a task after his own heart; for, as his cousin observed, between Gordon's lofty, chivalrous and deeply religious character and his own, there was much similarity. Gordon resigned his position of private secretary to the Viceroy, declaring that "he would not, could not stay amid all this splendor and luxury, while so many millions had not daily bread." In vain Bishop Meurin, S. J., of Bombay, urged the good he might do in ameliorating the condition of 150,000,000 and more. "Gordon's heart" wrote

Father Kerr "was elsewhere, and as he spoke of his African boys he became quite excited and the tears rolled down his cheeks. The Bishop was much interested in him. Not unnaturally his lordship thought he was troubled in mind, possibly about faith. But Gordon, alas, has made a religion to himself, and seems firmly fixed. A little book of Scripture maxims is his guide. In doubts and difficulties he opens, read and acts accordingly. He is a sincere Christian; this morning he said to me: 'The Viceroy came to me before seven o'clock with a paper, which won't do, for if a man does not get through his prayers before breakfast the whole day goes wrong.' He has a contempt for money—as I write not possessing £80—most disinterested, very just, liberal-minded, and large-hearted, loving Catholic missionaries because for the most part he finds them men of sacrifice and principle."

During his stay in India he fell ill, so ill that his case seemed hopeless and Dr. Anderson, the Viceroy's physician, was asked by a member of the staff at what hour the funeral had better be fixed, interments taking place shortly after death in that climate. It was one of the most critical cases of typhoid fever that came under that doctor's observation. One night, feeling that the patient could not live twenty-four hours, in a lucid interval the latter looked at him imploringly and said: "Don't deny me the Sacraments." He at once sent for Father Patrick,¹³ and, though it was the middle of the night, called up the Viceroy, and the last Sacraments were administered, his Excellency being present. After his recovery, which his sister Henrietta ascribed to prayers to Our Lady, invoked as *Mater Admirabilis*, he made a tour of the Himalayas along with the Viceroy and Lady Ripon and their suite. Among the many *notanda* in his diary of this tour we read: "People at home little know the trials of conventual life in the plains and bazaars of India—if they did they would be more generous with the subjects." Among the ecclesiastical notabilities he met was the Capuchin Bishop Pesci, Vicar Apostolic of Patna, to whom the Christian colony at Bhopal was causing anxiety, a mission which owed its origin to a French adventurer, who by military service and by marriage became connected with the State and acquired wealth. It was then in great danger, for the Begum's Consort was a bigoted Mussulman was trying to make Bhopal the chief Mahommedan State in India. His counsels prevailed, and the Christians suffered accordingly. There was then a crisis owing to the death of the venerable Madame Doolane, the chief of the colony, and the Nawab was doing his best to

¹³ Rev. P. F. Knaresboro, O. S. F. C., who died some years ago immediately after celebrating Mass.

break the entail and banish church and school, hoping, no doubt, by that way to banish religion too. Of Rangoon he notes: "The Patronage of St. Thomas does not extend thus far, as there is no trace of the saint's footsteps here, yet up country on the confines of Western China (Singanfu), there is a remarkable Christian monument, a cross with a lengthened inscription of the eighth century, set up by the Nestorians." Another notability was Bishop Bigandet, Vicar-Apostolic of Southern Burmah, who had spent the greater part of his life in the East, and was quite the father of modern Burmah. Deeply versed in Oriental literary and speaking many languages, he had made Buddhism the study of his life, spending twenty years in Upper Burmah, unravelling the mysteries of Gautama and his teaching, laying bare the errors of this extraordinary religious system in a work, entitled "The Legend of Gautama," the standard book on Buddhism, then exciting much interest in Europe. He found the Bishop "very interesting—a man of reason with a well balanced judgment and practical, generous views, meting out merit for good done to all, even to those not of the household of the faith. And this is a spirit," he adds, "much wanted in the East, not only among those without the fold, but *within*. Would that we could destroy false gods and false worship like the Israelites of old; but as that can not be (now at least) the lamb must lie down with the lion, and the sheep graze with the goats (though they need not fraternize), and in the end God will sever them. This charity Archbishop Goethals is doing his best to sow, or perhaps I should say nourish, for we must not think it does not already exist. May God give, and give speedily the increase, for at present many lambs seem neither to suckle nor even to lie down with their mother. A reception by the Viceroy of the Burman elders prompted the following reflection: "Here there is no aristocracy, but the people reverence the King without measure and offer him 'shiko' the highest homage. This we are checking, but as we teach them nothing in its place they at present make a mixed ungraceful act of homage, and rising generations will probably do nothing. Our ideas of civilization are certainly queer; we wink at gnats and swallow camels. Why don't we make them adore the true God and let stay their patriarchal government, picturesque dress and simple customs? No; we tyrannize over them in trifles, and, as far as we are concerned, prepare them for everlasting tyranny hereafter. If we encouraged them to follow God half as much as we do loyalty to ourselves, municipal government and the like Western notions, we should do well." He thus sums up his impressions of Burma: "It is an interesting country, so different from India. All so light and gay,

chiefly owing perhaps to three causes, as compared with India; the emancipation of womankind; the absence of any practical degradation in their religious worship; temporal prosperity. There are no rich and no poor, and the people so generous that even a stranger is welcome in every house, and may travel through the land without a penny and without being even questioned." This reminds one of Longfellow's description of Acadia, "where the richest were poor and the poorest lived in abundance;" where there were no "fierce extremes" accentuating progress and poverty, no *auri sacra fames*, no vast accumulation of wealth in the hands of a comparative few, disarranging the moral, social and commercial equilibrium.

One of the aspects of Anglo-Indian life that struck him was that there was very little of Christmas to be seen or heard outside the walls of the Church. "In another decade of years," he wrote despondingly, "there will be nothing, and the generation after that won't know what it means, so fast is indifference and forgetfulness of God covering the face of Christmas, in spite of mince pies and Christmas cards." He discussed the religious question in season and out of season with high and low and gave them books on Catholic doctrine. The Hindoos frequently remarked that theirs is a sacrificial, ceremonious worship, and they are attracted to us. "Half a dozen preachers" he says, "who could speak fluently the native tongue, posted in the different centres of the north, would, I doubt not, get a hearing; not only for their cause, but because so few Europeans make the language *their own*." Of his five years work in India the late Marquis of Ripon wrote: "Of course I who knew him so well and owed him so much, loved him truly, but all who came within his reach were attracted to him, and I have seen many men, soldiers, civilians and travellers, who have all spoken in terms of the highest praise of him and his work." A friend high in office said of him: "He seemed to me one of the most attractive and lovable characters I ever met in a man. This world can ill afford to lose such examples." Sir Donald Stewart thus sketches him in outline: "To me Father Kerr was an impressive personality; in bearing and conversation he was wholesome and manly, with charming manners. His conduct as the chaplain of a Catholic Viceroy was prudent and circumspect to an extraordinary degree, and as I was a member of Lord Ripon's government during the whole of his Viceroyalty, I had special opportunities of observation in regard to matters ecclesiastical."

Before he returned to England in 1885, Lord Ripon's term of office having ended in January of that year, Father Kerr's father and mother, his brother Francis, and his sister Henrietta had passed

away; the last word addressed to him on earth by the sister whom he loved and by whom he was beloved with more than a natural affection, whose saintly death terminated a lingering illness, being this appropriate verse: "Expecta Dominum, viriliter age, et confortetur cor tuum et sustine Dominum." His character and piety were essentially virile. Though the *Times of India* described him as "the most unpriestly-looking of Catholic priests," he was none the less a true priest because he did not obtrude his "priestliness" upon the mixed company in which he frequently found himself. "With Father Kerr" says Lord William Beresford, "was exemplified that it is not what a man says which carries the conviction of the higher, the spiritual life, being the ruling guide and power, but what he *does* and what he *lives*. He was not a great talker, and seldom talked on so-called religious subjects unless invited to do so. But it was impossible to be with him without feeling his own personal goodness; and he carried charity and piety with him. He was never a damper to healthy and wholesome conviviality and sociability, but his very presence ensured that both these adjectives would be ensured, and at the same time would not be felt to be irksome."

On his return to England, Father Kerr after officiating for some time at the church in Farm street, London, went to Manresa House, Roehampton, for his tertianship or third year's novitiate which all Jesuit priests have to go through before making their final vows. He was next appointed to the church of the Holy Name, Manchester, during the autumn of 1886. It was at this time he heard of his selection by the Holy See as the first Archbishop of Bombay. By his rule every Jesuit is bound to decline ecclesiastical dignities, unless under a special order from the pope. His health, weakened by the climate of India, rendered it impossible for him to return to that country and he was excused. In 1888 he regretfully left Manchester, an active sphere of work which resembled Glasgow, for Bournemouth, which he regarded "as a preparation for death." But the end was not yet, and there was still much work before him. He found the Bournemouth Mission in a sadly disorganized state; he left it in perfect order. One who often co-operated in his parish work says: "There was a strong heroic element in Father Kerr's character which would have made its mark in life, no matter in what line. His grand faith, as well as strength of character, always seemed to me to belong to another century. If St. Teresa had known him, I think she would have seen in him one of those apostolic men whom her great heart, so passionate in its love for God's Church, used to pray for in burning words." His special devotions were to the Blessed Sacrament, the Sacred Heart, and Our Lady, whom he loved with child-

like simplicity. "This simplicity," says the writer¹⁴ just quoted, "the simplicity of a true, strong nature was about all his spirituality; to love his Master, to work for Him, and to die to self more and more. . . He seemed as pleased if any other mission, or any other religious order, got on or prospered as if it had been his own; one felt that the best love of his heart was given to God and to the Catholic Church, the rest was but means to an end. On one occasion only did I see his soul slightly unveiled, as it were. He was speaking about a retreat, and suddenly he began to walk about the room with an unwonted light on his face, and he said, 'Oh, is it not beautiful—does one not feel God so wonderfully near at such times.' His greatest wish seemed to be to keep his personality out of sight. . . He left Bournemouth without bidding any one good-bye. Very early one morning a member of the congregation happened to enter the church alone and noiselessly. There was some one there already. In the dim light, lying prostrate before the picture of the Sacred Heart, was Father Kerr. . . It was no doubt there, that he was saying his 'Sume Domine,'¹⁵ for himself, and there bidding his flock good-bye by placing himself and them in that loving heart forever. An hour or two later he was gone, never to return, knowing, as he wrote to a friend that 'the Cross was before him, but that he went in peace and confidence in answer to the will of God, made known to him through holy obedience.' " Father Delany, his friend of Roman days, who visited him at Bournemouth after an interval of twenty years, saw little change in him. "There was still," he says, "the stamp of the soldier in him—the earnestness, the directness, the simplicity, the firmness of resolve and promptness of action that are the characteristics of the good soldier—and perhaps still more of the good sailor—were plainly visible in the Jesuit, making him all the better representative of his soldier founder, Ignatius."

The cross to which he alluded was his appointment as superior of the Zambesi Mission, which, while it enabled him to realize his spiritual day-dream of devoting himself to the foreign missions, meant severance from country and kindred for the rest of his life. He thus wrote of it to a friend: "We should welcome the particular cross that is given to us. To each it is sent in a different way. Things were too smooth for me at Bournemouth; it required a great effort to keep up to the mark. It is better to have a great trial, and then the consolation of God which always comes to support us in the trial."

¹⁴ The late Baroness Pauline von Hugel.

¹⁵ St. Ignatius' prayer.

He left England on March 4, 1891, for the Cape. True to his love of poverty and mortification, relates his biographer, he had purposely taken his passage by one of the intermediate boats of the Castle line, which seemed to depend more on cargo than passengers; for on reaching Tilbury at what he had been told was the time for departure, he found that the *Warwick Castle* had gone in the early morning, and that the passengers were expected to join her by crossing in the night boat for Queensborough. "This, however," writes Father William Kerr, who was with him, "gave the brothers a long day together, and I shall never forget the parting at the close of it, when Schomberg, in his humility, knelt down in a corner of the cold, dreary custom-house shed to make his confession and receive absolution from me before the midnight train arrived."

The Zambesi Mission dates back to the saintly Jesuit Father Silveira, who, on March 15, 1561, shed his blood in propagating the faith in the vast tract of Africa which lies between the Limpopo and Zambesi rivers, and whose body was traditionally believed by the natives to have been miraculously preserved on an island in the latter river. In 1875, Dr. Ricards, Vicar-Apostolic of the Eastern District of Cape Colony handed over St. Aidan's College, Grahamstown, to the Society, the first step towards the Christianization of the interior by forming the basis of a great missionary system. The limits of the Zambesi Mission or Apostolic Prefecture were defined by Pope Leo XIII in December 1878 and fixed by the Rescript of Propaganda dated February 7, 1879. It comprises an immense area of 250,000 English miles. The work assigned to Father Kerr was two-fold; the college and mission work in Cape Colony and the Zambesi Mission proper. He reached South Africa after a long series of misfortunes had almost annihilated the missions—Matabele domination having ruined all previous efforts—until the development of the Chartered Company afforded an opportunity to the missionaries of accompanying the pioneer expedition into Mashonaland and enabled them to make permanent establishments at Salisbury, Victoria, and other stations. Father Kerr's prudence and zeal gave the work a fresh start, so that ever since the missionaries have stood well with the administration and the settlers alike, two things indispensable to ensure success. Writing from Vryburg he says: "Africa is a blighted continent. The shadow of Ham still covers the country and its crew, nor is it easily dispelled, but we must persevere." Later on he wrote: "This is a benighted country, and there is not much piety even among the faithful, and the Kafirs are less inclined than most to care for any religion at all. Under these circumstances a missionary's work is without much fruit. By God's grace we may

sow, but we shall not reap. We sailors do a good deal of roughing it in our time, but it is child's play to pioneering in tropical Africa." He set a high value upon the work of the nuns, which is invaluable. "A solitary priest," he says, "can do little, and much valuable time and many lives have been lost in consequence. Now, it is an acknowledged principle that to found a mission in South Africa without a convent is useless, and in every station they are to be found." He is equally broad-minded and generous in his recognition of the wonderful work accomplished by the Oblates under Dr. Jolivet, and by the Trappist monks and Dominican and Trappist nuns. One who met him at Vryburg in 1892 says: "I shall never forget his face. It then bore the marks of hardship and cares. But it was the expression that so impressed me with its strength and calm determination. It was the resolute face of one who says, 'It is hard, but I will go through with it to the end, come what may!' It was the face of a martyr." In his long and wearisome journeys, trekking over the veldt, he found the Kafirs docile enough and apt to take on the manners of their masters; they all stood up and blessed themselves round the campfire before and after meals, and were very attentive at Mass on Sundays. "A taste and talent for language," he again declares, "is of the greatest importance. Every hour we feel the want, and it is sad to think of so many opportunities passing by." The scarcity of proper food was one of the chief trials they had to undergo in those long, weary journeys. It struck Father Colley as very wonderful that a man in mid-life, like Father Kerr, could face such a life as this. "Young men," he writes, "find it very trying to live long out in the wilds in this way, and here he is travelling backwards and forwards, and never seeming to think of himself, in order to know the mission and make the most prudent arrangements for the success of the work." Constant attacks of fever coming on an already enfeebled system, with the depression induced by the South African climate, made the work very difficult for him, but never for a moment was his bodily weakness allowed to interfere. "His ill health," writes one of his brother priests, "prevented him from bringing out his *natural* qualities to their best, but perhaps it brought out in stronger relief his acquired virtues, which were especially prayer and a love of poverty." No primitive Franciscan was ever more devoted to poverty. All the world knows how the Saint of Assisi revered and cherished his "Lady Poverty," which he spiritually espoused. This modern Jesuit's love of holy poverty was on a par with that of the thirteenth century saint who infused his spirit and teaching into the mediæval world he reformed. Father Kerr proclaimed himself "a thorough believer in Mother Poverty." In his

letters to one of the mission fathers he says: "We can only do good according to our constitutions by humility, self-contempt, self-sacrifice. God will not bless good done in any other way. We must commence silently and quietly with much prayer and self-denial. Good must be done according to the spirit of the exercises; good done in any other way is false and fickle, and to be despised by us. Our weakness is our strength. *Viriliter* age A thousand miles *on end* in a wagon will turn out a man either a sinner or a saint." Another time he said to his companion: "We ought to live mortified lives to draw God's blessing on our work. Why should we not be other St. Francis Xaviers? I propose that we live on native food." One who worked under him says: "He was a religious not only when he preached, or when he gave an exhortation to his community, or when he offered the Holy Sacrifice, but also in the everyday routine of life, in his intercourse with his brethren in religion as well as in his dealings with people of the world with whom his duties brought him in almost daily contact. Add to this, also, an intense missionary spirit, a spirit which was always on the watch, and seemed never to be satisfied unless it was communicating some of its own warmth to hearts as warm, or altogether grown cold. . . . An inflexible consciousness of duty governed his every action." Another fellow-Jesuit says: "Father Kerr appeared to me a remarkable illustration of the manliness of sanctity. He was a thorough *man* in his vigor, his power of command, his force of character, his power of endurance, his intense straightforwardness, his superiority to all human respect, his overpowering sense of duty; and to all this he joined what is also a necessary element in perfect manliness, a strong power of sympathy, a profound humility and an unswerving obedience to his superiors. He was one of the most loyal men I ever met, one of the most unselfish, one of the heartiest and most sincere. He had a beautiful face—one that told of a noble character—not beautiful with any remarkable physical beauty, but deriving its attractiveness from the beautiful soul within."

During the last year of his life he spent his time chiefly at Salisbury and Buluwayo. He suffered much from ill health and insomnia, and hoped to be relieved of his office as superior and allowed to work as a simple missionary, but always desiring, as he said, "to lay his bones in South Africa." To one who suggested that it would be well if the missionaries were sent home to England every year to recruit, he replied, "When we come out we make the sacrifice of our lives. We must work until God calls us." He was wishful of leaving the world on the day on which he had entered it—the Feast of the Assumption, which in 1895 fell on a Thursday—but the "one

clear call" did not come until the Sunday within the octave, when he passed away without a struggle, ceasing to breathe so gently that Father Ryan, superior of St. Aidan's College, was praying with him, as he thought, for five minutes after his last breath before he felt sure that he was dead. He was laid to rest in Grahamstown Cemetery, alongside Father Weld, who had received him into the Society. "Martyrdom," says St. Jerome, "does not consist only in the shedding of blood, but also in serving God the Lord with an irreproachable and fervent spirit." In this sense Father Kerr was a true martyr, as he was a truly typical Jesuit. In the words of one of his naval friends, "He sacrificed a promising career for that which seemed to him 'the better part,' and gained a martyr's crown in the dismal land to which duty had devoted him"—thus realizing a desire he had in common with his saintly sister when they unitedly prayed for the grace of martyrdom.

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THE BATTLES OF THEOLOGY.

I.

SOME years since a far-seeing English statesman-philosopher wrote: "The decisive battles of Theology are fought beyond its frontiers. It is not over purely religious controversies that the cause of religion is lost or won. The judgments we shall form upon its special problems are commonly settled for us by our general mode of looking at the Universe; and this again, in so far as it is determined by arguments at all, is determined by arguments of so wide a scope that they can seldom be claimed as more nearly concerned with Theology than with the philosophy of science or ethics. . . . With the growth of knowledge Theology has enlarged its borders until it has included subjects about which even the most accomplished theologian of past ages did not greatly concern himself. To the Patristic, Dogmatic and Controversial learning which has always been required, the theologian of to-day must add knowledge at first hand of the complex historical, antiquarian and critical problems presented by the Old and the New Testament, and of the vast and daily increasing literature which has grown up around them. He must have a sufficient acquaintance with the comparative history of religions; and in addition to all this, he must be competent to deal with those scientific and philosophical questions which

have a more profound and permanent bearing on Theology even than the results of critical and historical scholarship."¹

Even a cursory survey of modern thought shows plainly that the heyday of Renanesque flippancy has passed, and that religion has little to fear from openly blasphemous utterances. Non-Catholics, and even determined adversaries of all religion, have become quite tolerant of our claims. From the realm of coarse abuse and stinging irony the fight has been transferred to the field of calm reasoning. And when a W. James, on whom, one would at times believe, a part of Renan's mantle has fallen, proclaims in true Voltairian style, "A God who can relish such superfluities of horror (the evils of this world) is no God for human beings to appeal to. His animal spirits are too high,"² we shrug our shoulders at the gratuitous insult, and care little to argue with him further, because he puts himself outside the pale of reason and calm judgment. The battle has been transferred to the field of science and philosophy. And if this change of front allows of a more manly attack and defence, it also calls into play more skillful tactics on both sides. It demands a clear vision of the weak points in the enemy's serried ranks; he is intrenched in a position he has chosen himself, and we are to meet him on his own ground with weapons at least equal to his own.

As Balfour remarks, scientific and philosophical questions have just now a more profound and permanent bearing on Theology than even the results of critical and historical scholarship. Proofs of this contention could be adduced in great number. Let one striking example suffice.

Loisy's critical and historical conclusions in the domain of exegesis are in the last analysis grounded on Kantian ideology. The resurrection of Christ, *e. g.*, cannot be admitted as a historically valuable fact, because the human mind is constitutionally unable to know objective phenomena with certainty. The laws that govern the mind's operations do not allow it to go beyond or outside of itself, in order to assert anything objectively with a positive absence of doubt. Hence, historical facts such as Christ's resurrection may well be an object of belief, but they can never be objects of scientifically provable knowledge. No quarrel is had with the methods or conclusions of modern historical criticism; they are valuable in the field of phenomena; they prove that certain facts have taken place. But underlying both these facts and the historical methods that establish them there is an ultimate problem embracing them

¹ Balfour, "Foundations of Belief," pp. 2, 3.

² W. James, "Pragmatism," p. 143.

both: the problem of knowledge itself, its nature and its limitations. And if you admit Kant's solution of it, Loisy's theories are thoroughly consistent.

Philosophical theories akin to those underlying Loisy's historical criticism have more and more come to be made the basis of Theology. Every other science has its own method of investigation and its own established basic principles, which no scientist would think of controverting. Witness the inductive method in natural sciences; witness the atomic laws in chemistry, the principles of gravity and the law of inertia in physics. But with Theology it is no longer thus; and a great many thinkers of our day, when speculating on problems of religion, approach them in an aprioristic fashion, in the light of their own personal world-view. Reasoning from their inner consciousness, they establish the conditions and limits of religious truths, in harmony with the system of philosophy they happen to hold. Hence the manifold vagaries whose bewildering array unsettles the minds of the multitudes. President Eliot's "Religion of the Future" is a conspicuous example of this disregard of all scientific methods. Even to a superficial reader it must appear as a concoction of mere glittering prophecies. He has reduced religious truths and practices to all too simple and primitive formulas to make any effective and lasting appeal to cultured minds. After the first enthusiasm his pronouncements may have elicited will have died away.

In contrast with this arbitrary Theology of President Eliot stands the attempt of Professor Boyce, of Harvard, at interpreting "what is vital in Christianity."³ His is at least an earnest effort at ascertaining fundamentals, that gives proof of sober thinking and no prophesying. And the representative position he has for many years occupied in the fields of American philosophical speculation gives weight to his utterances as the expression of a school of thought the adherents of which fairly control the non-Catholic university teaching in this country.

II.

When Kant gave to the world his two great Critiques, he laid the foundation of a new world-view destined to become as far-reaching and as influential in shaping the thought of man as scholasticism was in the heyday of its power.

Positivism started out as a reaction against his and his successors' extravagant claims; it called the mind back from wild metaphysical speculations to the exclusive study of concrete facts. But

³ *Harvard Theological Quarterly*, October, 1900, p. 408, ff.

by pointing out the only conditions under which knowledge is supposedly possible, idealism was enabled to influence positivism to such an extent that it became tainted with phenomenism; the concerted strength of the two movements gave rise to an idealistic and subjectivistic monism, dominant in the intellectual atmosphere of the day.

It is as a follower of this philosophical creed, under its inspiration, and with its principles as guide, that Professor Royce elaborates his system of Theology. "Most of you," he writes, "have heard of some such doctrine as the theory of Divine Immanence. Some of you are aware that such an interpretation of the nature of God is called philosophical idealism."⁴ According to this doctrine "God is indeed a spirit and a person, but He is not a being who exists in separation from the world, simply as its external creator. He expresses himself in the world, and the world is His own life, as He consciously lives it out. . . . The distinction between God and the world implies no separation. Our world is the fragmentary phenomenon that we see. God is the conscious meaning that expresses itself in and through the totality of all phenomena. The world, taken as a mass of happenings in time, of events, of natural processes, of single lives, is nowhere, and at no time, any complete expression of the divine will. But the entire world, of which our own world is a fragment—the totality of what is past, present and future, the totality of what is physical and of what is mental, of what is temporal and of what is enduring—this entire world is present at once to the divine consciousness as a single whole, and this whole is what the absolute chooses as his own expression, and what he is conscious of choosing as his own life. Like the Logos of the Fourth Gospel, this entire world is not only with God, but is God God and His world are one. And this unity is not a dead natural fact. It is the unity of a conscious life, in which, in the course of infinite time, a divine plan, an endlessly complex and yet perfectly definite spiritual idea gets expressed in the lives of countless finite beings, and yet with the unity of a single universal life."⁵

Our philosophical conception of God and His nature is the common meeting ground on which all Theology builds its systems of religious doctrines and practices. This point, therefore, established, we can go on to ascertain accordingly what these doctrines and practices shall be.

Idealism as a philosophical theory sets out to establish the conditions under which knowledge becomes possible and valuable. Ap-

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 439-440.

proaching Theology in this same attitude of mind, it consistently sets out to inquire with Professor Royce "What sort of faith or practice is it that can be called vital to any religion; what are to be distinguished as the vital elements of Christianity?"⁶

Taking for granted that all religion is a man-made institution, Professor Royce sets out to answer his first question, "What sort of faith or practice is it that can be called vital to any religion," by investigating the genesis of various primitive and higher religions.

In primitive religions, he holds, the religious practices seem in general to be more important, and more vital for the whole structure of the religious life, than are the conscious beliefs which accompany these practices. Men come to believe as they do regarding the nature of some supernatural being, largely in consequence of the fact that they have first come to follow some course of conduct, not for any conscious reason at all, but merely for some instinctive tendency which by accident has determined this or that special expression.

On the higher levels of religious development—higher because more self-conscious—where the inner life comes to be emphasized, the term "dissenter" often means, in popular use, a person who will not attend this church, or who will not conform to its practices. Nevertheless, upon this higher level conformity of practice is no longer enough; the religious body itself also requires the acceptance of a profession of faith, and this acceptance must be not only a formal act, but a sincere one. Here, then, in the life of the higher religions, belief tends to come into a position of primacy. Now, these higher religions, especially as represented in their highest type of teachings, are deeply concerned in overcoming and in reducing to unity this conflict of formal observance with genuine faith wherever this conflict arises. And what this solution supposes to be most vital to the highest religion is the union of faith and works through a complete spirituality.⁷

But this proposal of a solution thus stated appears to the modern mind rather as the formulation of a new problem than as the end of the whole matter. For if this higher unity of faith and practice is indeed the goal of the highest religions, how far are many of us from seeing our way toward adapting any such solution to our own cases. The modern world is full of suggestions of doubt regarding the articles of the traditional creeds. The moral problems of our time, full of new perplexities, confuse us with regard to what ought to be done. The Church is no longer one visible institution with a single authoritative constitution, but a variety of social

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

organizations, each with its own traditions and values. The power of religion to unify the whole man is no longer so presented to us by any one body of religious teaching that we can simply accept it from tradition (since in the modern world we must both act and think as individuals for ourselves).

How, then, to interpret this program in terms which will make it of live and permanent meaning for the modern world, this is precisely the religious problem of to-day. Now, with regard to the second question, "How does this problem regarding what is vital to a religion appear when we turn to the special case of Christianity?" Why Professor Royce should single out Christianity is not apparent, because he has already put it on a level with other "higher religions" or "world religions" that lay especial emphasis upon the inner life, such as Buddhism and Mohammedanism.⁸

But the answer is interesting,—and twofold.

The first answer consists in holding that what is vital about Christianity is simply the spiritual attitude and the doctrine of Christ as He Himself taught this doctrine and this attitude in the body of His authentic sayings and parables, and as He lived all this out in His own life. All in Christianity that goes beyond this, all that came to the consciousness of the Church after Christ's own teaching had been uttered and finished, either is simply a paraphrase, an explanation or an application of the original doctrine of Christ, or else is not vital, is more or less unessential, mythical, or at the very least external. Grasp the spirit of Christ's own teaching, interpret life as He interpreted it, and live out this interpretation of life as completely as you can, imitating Him, and then you are in essence as Christian.⁹

But this solution is unsatisfactory. To assert that only that is vital to Christianity which is contained in the recorded sayings of Christ, to return to a purely primitive Christianity, is obviously to view Christ's doctrine as He Himself did not view it. His recorded sayings are in the Master's mind only part of a program which, as the events showed, related not only to the individual soul and its salvation, but to the reform of the whole existing and visible social order. He certainly meant the kingdom of heaven to include the inner transformation of each soul by the divine love; but He also certainly conceived this spiritual transformation in terms of some sort of Messianic mission which was related to a miraculous coming transformation of human society. The spiritual kingdom of heaven the transformation of the inner life which the sayings teach, is in-

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 422-423.

deed a genuine part, yes, a vital part of Christianity, but it is by no means the whole of what is vital to it.¹⁰

The second answer seems to Professor Royce to be more to the point. It holds that what is vital about Christianity depends upon regarding the mission of the life of Christ as an organic part of a divine plan for the redemption and salvation of man. While the doctrine of Christ is indeed an essential part of His mission, one cannot rightly understand, above all one cannot apply the teachings of Christ, one cannot live out the Christian interpretation of life, unless one first learn to view the person of Christ, its true relation to God and His work, as an entirely unique revelation and expression of God's will. The work of Christ culminated, however, in His death. Hence, as the historic Church has always maintained, it is the cross of Christ that is the symbol of whatever is most vital about Christianity.

Moreover the work of Christ was essential to the whole relation of His own teaching to the life of men. The needed transformation of human nature, the change of life which, according to Christ's sayings, is necessary as a condition for entering the kingdom of heaven, is made possible through the effects of the life and death of Christ. This life and death were events by which man's redemption was made possible, whereby the atonement for sin was accomplished. In brief, what is vital to Christianity includes an acceptance of the two cardinal doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement.¹¹

But we must be on our guard lest we accept this answer in the spirit of "the historical Church." It "must be rightly interpreted, for the modern mind has come to be unwilling to accept as literal reports of historical facts, certain well-known legends. But if the tale is not literally true, its deeper meaning may be absolutely true; and it is the genuine and eternal truth which lies behind the symbol that constitutes what is indeed vital to Christianity."¹² "I personally regard the supernatural narratives in which the Church embodied its faith, simply as symbols, the product, indeed, of no man's effort to deceive, but of the religious imagination of the great constructive ages of the early Church. The truth which lies behind these symbols is capable of perfectly rational statement; this truth is independent of the legends; it relates to eternal spiritual facts¹³ which never merely

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 434.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

happened but are such as to determine anew in every age the relation of the faithful to God."¹⁴

We have seen already how from a philosophical standpoint we must conceive the existence and nature of God: God and this world are one, and this unity is not a dead natural fact; it is the unity of a conscious life, in which in the course of infinite time a divine plan gets expressed in the lives of countless finite beings and yet with the unity of a single universal life.

But here the question at once arises—the centuries-old question which has never been solved by human reason—Why, if the world is the divine life embodied, is there so much evil in it; why is the world as we know it so full of the unreasonable, while we remain all the time conscious of the reasonableness and the unity of the divine life?

Professor Royce has his own solution of the problem: The value of suffering lies in the spiritual triumphs that the endurance and overcoming of evil can bring. And of all the spiritual triumphs that the presence of evil makes possible, the noblest is that which is won when a man is ready not merely to bear the ills of fortune tranquilly if they come, as the stoic moralists required their followers to do, but when one is willing to suffer vicariously, freely, the ills that he might have avoided, but that the cause to which he is loyal and the errors and sins that he himself did not commit call upon him to suffer in order that the world may be brought nearer to its destined union with the divine.

And the true doctrine of the atonement is, in its essence, simply the conception of God's nature which this solution of the problem of evil requires.

"First, God expresses Himself in this world of finitude, incarnates Himself in this realm of imperfection but does so in order that through finitude and imperfection, and sorrow and temporal loss, he may win in the eternal world (that is, precisely in the conscious unity of His whole life) His spiritual triumph over evil. In this triumph consist His highest good and ours. I do not say that we, just as we naturally are, are already the true and complete incarnation of God. No, it is in overcoming evil, in rising above our natural unreasonableness, in looking toward the divine unity, that we seek what Eckhart so well expressed when he said, 'Let God be born in the soul.' Hence the doctrine of the incarnation is no doctrine of the natural divinity of man. It is the doctrine which teaches that the world-will desires our unity with the universal purpose, that God will be born in us and through our consent, that the whole

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 435.

meaning of our life is that it shall transmute transient and temporal values into eternal meanings. Humanity becomes conscious God incarnate only in so far as humanity looks Godwards—that is, in the direction of the whole unity of the rational spiritual life.

“And the true doctrine of the atonement seems to me simply this: We, as we temporally and transiently are, are destined to win our union with the divine only through learning to triumph over our own evil, over the griefs of fortune, over the unreasonableness and the sin that now beset us. This conquest we never accomplish alone. When you sorrow, remember that God sorrows—sorrows in you, since in all your finitude you are still a part of His life; sorrows for you, since it is the intent of the divine spirit, in the plan of its reasonable world, that you should not remain what you now are; and sorrows too in waiting for your higher fulfilment, since indeed the whole universe needs your spiritual triumph for the sake of its completion.

“On the other hand, this doctrine of the atonement means that there is never any complete spiritual triumph over sorrow which is not accompanied with the willingness to suffer vicariously; that is, with the will, not merely to endure bravely, but to give one’s life as a ransom for one’s cause, to use one’s bitterest and most crushing grief as a means towards the raising of all life to the divine level.”¹⁵

“To sum up in two theses: First God wins perfection through expressing Himself in a finite life and triumphing over and through its very finitude. And secondly, our sorrow is God’s sorrow. God means to express Himself by winning us through the very triumph over evil to unity with the perfect life. These two theses express, I believe, what is vital in Christianity.” Thus Professor Royce concludes his expose. But while applauding his candor and dispassionate treatment of his subject, Christians in general, and Catholics especially, will strongly disagree with his conclusions.

That these conclusions are the outcome not of any anti-religious bias, not of any wilful juggling with historical data, but the logical result of a particular philosophical world-view, is evident from the outset, and Professor Royce is at no pains to conceal the fact. For many years past he has been in this country one of the influential exponents of Idealism, the philosophy which, under various guises and names, is undoubtedly the leading system of thought outside of the Catholic Church.

To the coarse materialism of the eighteenth century Kant dealt a deadly blow. Vogt, Buchner and their disciples made an attempt to rehabilitate it on a more scientific basis towards the middle of the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 444-445.

nineteenth century, but Idealism finally asserted its superiority and won the day.

But at the price of a glaring inconsistency Kant had admitted as a matter of belief—the existence of a personal God. It is even possible that, as some have maintained, he sought thus perpetually to safeguard this cardinal doctrine from all attacks of speculative reason. His disciples, however, Hegel and Fichte conspicuously among them, soon realized that consistently there could be no room for such a being in his philosophy, and they were driven to adopt the theory of divine immanence. Hence all post-Kantian and neo-Kantian Idealism is tainted with monism, thus doing away with the “supernatural” in the old meaning of the word.

God is immanent in the world; God and the world are one; all manifestations of life and being are but realizations of the divine in its evolution towards an ultimate perfection. And manifestly, miracles become impossible in as far as they imply the intervention of an extra-mundial being. The historical reality of happenings known by that name need not be questioned; they need not be explained away as delusions of ignorant minds; whether they happened or not, their supernatural character is out of question, but their true value for us is none the less real, and is to be found in the teachings they embody, and which we need to interpret and to live out.

Christ's life and teachings, judged in this light, must consistently be brought down to the level of the natural, and whatever cannot be thus compressed within the limits of this given philosophy is readily considered as an extraneous accretion to pure Christianity. In return, the fascinating doctrine of Christ, than which the world never produced one more perfect, His high ideals of morality, His vicarious suffering for sinful humanity, are exalted as sublime and inspiring ideals in the midst of the evils and trials and disappointments that surround us in this world. “The true and highest value of the spiritual world consists in the triumph over suffering, over sorrow and over unreasonableness. Sorrow, wisely encountered and freely borne, is one of the most precious privileges of the spiritual life. There is a certain lofty peace in triumphing over sorrow, which brings us to a consciousness of whatever is divine in life in a way that mere joy, untroubled and unwon, can never make known to us. Perfect through suffering—that is the universal, the absolutely necessary law of the higher spiritual life.”¹⁶

Nay, it would seem even that the historical person of Christ is called into question since the incarnation is viewed as a “timeless

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

fact" which is not necessarily true, but which, under the form of a symbol, conveys a deeper meaning, which is absolutely true. "We certainly know little regarding the life of the historical Christ; He is a being whose nature and whose reported supernatural mission seem to be involved in doubtful mysteries."¹⁷ But whatever the modern mind may admit or reject with regard to the historical Christ, the birth, the incarnation of God occurs in every soul and eternally. Christ coming into this world means our becoming aware of the eternal birth; that is, the eternal relation of the real soul to the real God.

It is readily seen that a criticism of Professor Royce's views involves a criticism of the fundamental tenets of Idealism. If the human mind is a law unto itself, and in every way independent of the objective realities of an external world, theological certitude also is ruled by the inexorable laws of the categories, and religious truths are only subjectively valuable. And Professor Royce's views are a confirmation of the position taken by Professor Eucken, of Berlin, some years ago, when, in the revival of scholastic philosophy as a successful opponent of Kantism, he saw "*Kampf zweier Welten*," and appealed to all Idealists to rally around the banner of Criticism in a defence of Protestant orthodoxy. For no philosophy fits in better with the primary Protestant principle of private judgment than Kantian subjectivism, although if carried to its logical conclusion it must ultimately destroy even Protestant Christianity. And thus, Professor Royce is fully justified in putting Christianity on a level with Buddhism and Mohammedanism; if subjectivism is the basis of all knowledge, and private judgment the only criterion of its truth, if religion has no longer any historical foundation, we cannot consistently limit the application of the principle to Christianity alone; anyone is, on the strength of it, entitled to his Buddhistic or Mohammedan beliefs.

Professor Royce expresses his final conclusions in terms of Christian theology, but even an orthodox Protestant will scarcely agree with his interpretation of either the doctrine of the incarnation or the atonement. Moreover, instead of meeting the problem of creation, monism does away with it. Faith, as the belief in things unseen, has no longer any meaning. And surely, when Professor Royce calls the divine being of his philosophy "a spirit and a person," he is merely juggling with words: the "personification" of a monistic cosmos is not "a person"; a spirit that is "the totality of what is physical and of what is mental," is at best a contradiction *in terminis*.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 433.

There is no room here for a lengthy discussion of idealistic monism. Our principal aim was to show on what field the battles of Theology are fought at the present day. Much has been written on the subject from the non-Catholic side; it has been brought before the public at large in popular form. No matter how strenuously the destructive utterances have been denied or explained, the issues become clearer every day, and to an interested onlooker it appears undoubtedly as a "Kampf zweier Welten."

Over against this monistic world-view of contemporary Idealism and all the consequences it drags in its wake, stands the scholastic interpretation of the universe as the only reasonable system of thought. It offers a consistent and plausible explanation of the material cosmos, of man, of God; its principles are broad enough to take into account all scientific discoveries, and pliable enough to avoid apriorism and to leave to every science its own particular method.

It is the inherent weakness of Kantian Idealism to be incurably aprioristic. And this weakness appears in the very statement of the problems Professor Royce attempts to solve: What sort of faith or practice is it that can be called vital to any religion; what are to be distinguished as the vital elements of Christianity?

Obviously no scientist ever inquires, What data are vital to the science of chemistry or physics? All data as such are valuable to him; he studies the various phenomena that come under his observation, and by careful induction he builds up the principles and laws that govern his particular science. The data of Christianity are to a certain extent in the nature of scientific facts, the value of which is to be determined, not in the light of an underlying philosophical system, but by scientific historical methods.

This aprioristic method incontinently calls to mind an analogous case in the domain of natural history.

Yves Delage, professor at the Sorbonne, created a sensation some years ago when he wrote,¹⁸ anent the Evolution hypothesis: "I readily admit that we never saw one species produce another, nor transform itself into another; that we have no conclusive observations that such changes ever took place. And by species I mean a true species, fixed as are the natural species we know, and maintaining itself as they do without the interference of man. And this is all the more true of the genus. Yet *I hold evolution by descent to be as certain as if it were objectively demonstrated*. For outside of it there is nothing but the hypothesis of spontaneous generation or

¹⁸ *La structure du protoplasme et les theories sur l'heredite*, Paris, 1895, p. 184.

the hypothesis of creation, and both are so plainly foreign to science that we cannot afford to honor them with a discussion. . . . I speak here in the first person in order to make it clear that I speak in my own name and not in the name of the transformists, many of whom no doubt will be shocked on reading this declaration. *I am firmly convinced, however, that one is or is not a transformist on account of his philosophic opinions, and not on account of any reasons derived from natural history.*"¹⁹ And we may readily add, one is or is not a believer in the vital theses of Christianity only on account of his philosophical opinions. Hence the intellectual confusion, the despairingly dreary outlook on life and eternity which are the outcome of them call for an adequate remedy—the spreading and up-building of a sound and modern Catholic philosophy.

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Moline, Illinois.

PIUS VII AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THOUGH Napoleon may not have sent a formal order to arrest Pius VII and carry him away from Rome, Murat and General Miollis apparently considered themselves justified in placing that interpretation on the instructions they had received. It would seem as though the Emperor intended his decrees to be executed only in case the Holy Father refused to submit and sought to incite an insurrection, and it was left to General Miollis to execute them whenever he should think fit.¹ General Radet, in his report to the Minister of War on July 13, 1809, boasted of having contributed to hasten his decision. He felt indignant, he said, on seeing the contempt in which the Imperial Government was held, for the resistance of the Holy Father had augmented his influence to an alarming degree, and there was every fear of a general insurrection. The mountainous districts near Rome were almost completely in the power of bands of insurgent peasants, who were en-

¹⁹ *Italics ours.*

¹ Correspondance de Napoleon I. publiee par ordre de Napoleon III. Paris, 1864, t. XIX, No. 15,383. Au General Comte Miollis. Schoenbrunn, 19 Juin, 1809. "I have entrusted to you the care of maintaining tranquillity in my Roman States. You must tolerate no obstacle . . . you must arrest, even in the Pope's house, all those who should plot against public tranquillity and the safety of my soldiers."—No. 15,384. A Joachim Napoleon, Roi des Deux-Siciles. Schoenbrunn, 19 Juin, 1809. . . . "No resistance can be tolerated under any pretext. If the Pope, contrary to the spirit of his state and of the Gospel, preaches revolt, and wishes to take advantage of the immunity of his house to have circulars printed, he must be arrested."

couraged in their struggle against the French by the appearance of an English fleet off the coast; and in Rome, where there were but few French troops, the excitement was so great that the new government had thought of withdrawing to Spoleto. Radet placed this gloomy picture of the state of affairs before General Miollis, ascribing it to the opposition made by Pius VII, and demanded that he should be arrested. After the fall of the Empire and the restoration of the Bourbons, Radet drew up a more detailed account of the assault on the Quirinal, for presentation to the Minister of War of Louis XVIII, a copy of which he also sent to the Pope. In this report, dated September 12, 1814, in which he sought to extenuate as much as possible the part he had taken in the arrest of the Holy Father, he states that General Miollis sent for him on July 4, 1809, and told him that, on account of the alarming condition of Rome, he had resolved to send away the Pope, and that he (Radet) had been chosen to execute that plan and should receive written orders to that effect. Radet remonstrated, but his remonstrances were listened to, and he found himself, as he says, placed in the painful alternative of infringing the most sacred rights or of disobeying the orders of his superiors.²

The General made his preparations for taking the Quirinal as carefully as though he were about to attack a fortress instead of a palace inhabited by an aged Pope and a few Cardinals, whose guards had received orders to offer no resistance. To avoid exciting any suspicion, the French garrison was confined to barracks on Wednesday, July 5, and at ten o'clock that night Radet assembled his men, to the number of six hundred, on the Piazza Santi Apostoli, and at the barracks of La Pilotta. Some were sent on patrol round the palace, or were stationed at various posts in the neighborhood, while other detachments, provided with ladders, crowbars and torches, were to give the assault. About eight hundred Neapolitans under General Pagniatelli-Cerchiarro, sent by Murat, had arrived in Rome on the night of the 4th, and to them was assigned the duty of holding the bridges over the Tiber, to guard against any movement on the part of the inhabitants of the Trastevere. General

² *Memoires du General Radet d'apres ses papiers personnels et les Archives de l'Etat, par A. Combiér.* St. Cloud, 1892.—The description of the taking of the Quirinal is derived from many sources.—Cardinal Pacca, *Memorie Storiche*. Orvieto, 1843, t. II.—General Radet's reports published in his *Memoirs*.—An inedited document from the Vatican Archives, published by Padre Rinieri in "*Napoleon & Pio VII.*" and two inedited documents, also from the Vatican Archives, published by the "*Courriere d'Italia*" of July 6, 1909.

Miollis assisted at the operations from one of the buildings of the Palazzo Colonna.³

The attack was to have begun at one o'clock, but Radet was informed that an officer of the Papal Guard watched every night until dawn on the circular tower which projects like a bastion close to the great door of the palace. He waited, therefore, until the officer had retired, and gave the signal to advance at 2.35 A. M. The assault was given at three places. One band, guided by a man who had been sent to the galleys for a theft committed while in the Papal service, and who had been pardoned by the Holy Father, scaled the walls of a small court known as the *Cortile della Panetteria*, while another crossed those of the adjoining gardens. General Radet, who led a detachment of forty men, tried to ascend to the roof of *La Dataria* and thus reach the tower, but his ladders broke and he then attempted to force the strongly barricaded wicket in the great door of the palace. One of his subordinates, Colonel Siry, had, in the meantime, broken open a window in the second story of the long line of buildings facing the *Via di Porta Pia*, inhabited by the Papal household. He thence entered the great court with fifty men, threw open the gates and admitted General Radet, who led the detachment up the great staircase and into the private apartments of the Pope, breaking down all the doors which had been closed. In one of these antechambers were assembled the Swiss Guards, who laid down their arms, as the Pope had forbidden them to offer any resistance, and, after forcing open three more doors, the General entered a room separated only by a small corridor from that in which was the Holy Father.

Cardinal Pacca, who had watched all the night, had lain down towards dawn, believing that then there was no longer any danger. He was aroused almost immediately by the news that the French were entering the palace, and from his window he saw in the gardens a number of armed men carrying torches, while others were scaling the walls of the *Panetteria*. He sent at once his nephew, Mgr. Tiberio Pacca, to awaken the Holy Father, who dressed hastily and entered the private audience room, where were soon assembled Cardinal Pacca, Cardinal Desping, Archbishop of Seville and Pro-Vicar of Rome, as well as some secretaries and other members of the Papal

³ General Miollis then gave Radet in writing the order which he had previously given him only verbally: to arrest Cardinal Pacca, and, in case the Pope resisted, to arrest him also, and bring them both to Florence.—“Vous ferez partir sur-le-champ le Cardinal pour France en prenant la route de Florence; dans le cas d'une resistance absolue du Pape vous le conduirez avec, si vous ne pouvez parvenir a le detacher du Cardinal et du parti violent qu'il paraît vouloir obstinément garder.”—From the facsimile published by Combier. *Memoires*, p. 318.

household. As the noise made by the breaking open the doors drew near, the terror and confusion of those who surrounded the Holy Father increased; he alone remained perfectly calm. He had brought to him the ring which Pius VI wore when he was carried away from Rome, and he took the seat which he usually occupied when giving audience. When the door of the last antechamber which gave access to the passage leading to the Pope's room was attacked, Cardinal Desping suggested that it should be opened, lest the assailants should rush tumultuously into the presence of the Holy Father. The Abbate Mauri threw the door open, and General Radet, followed by about twenty officers, some gendarmes and some Roman insurgents, entered the apartment. He found the Holy Father seated at his table, the two Cardinals stood beside him, the secretaries and the other officials were grouped in the background. Badet confesses in his report that he felt exceedingly embarrassed and did not know what to say. To gain time, he ordered the soldiers to retire into a neighboring room, and patrols to be sent through the palace to prevent pillage, while he sent a messenger to ask General Miollis what he should do. The answer came in five minutes, that the Pope and Cardinal Pacca were to be arrested and carried away from Rome at once. The General then advanced respectfully towards the Holy Father and said that he had a painful duty to fulfil, but he was bound by his oath of obedience to the Emperor. He therefore, in the name of the government, asked the Holy Father to give up his temporal power. The Pope in a mild tone replied, "I cannot." "If your Holiness," said the General, "would consent to this renunciation, I have no doubt but that everything can be settled and that the Emperor will treat you with every consideration." The Holy Father then rose, and with the majestic dignity of a sovereign and of the Vicar of Christ, said: "I cannot; I must not; I will not. I have promised God to preserve the State belonging to the Church, and I will not break my oath." "I regret, Holy Father," replied the General, "that your Holiness will not consent to this request, as that will expose you to further trouble." The Pope answered: "I have said that nothing shall make me change, and I am ready to lose my life this moment, and to shed the last drop of my blood rather than break the oath which I have made to God." "This resolution, Holy Father," said Radet, "will cause you much inconvenience." "I am resolved," replied the Pope, "and nothing shall turn me aside from this resolution." "If that is the decision of your Holiness," said the General, "I regret the orders which I have received from my sovereign, and my errand." The Pope then said to him in a paternal and compassionate tone, "This errand, my son, will not merit you the blessing

of Heaven." These words seemed to make some impression on Radet, but he said that he had to bring away the Holy Father. "And that," said the Pope, "is the gratitude which your Emperor shows for all that I have done for him, and the reward for all the concessions which I have made to him and to the Church of France."

After some more words from the General, expressing the hope that an interview with the Emperor would settle everything, Cardinal Pacca observed that the Pope required to be accompanied by the persons whose assistance was necessary for the administration of the affairs of the Church, and Radet consented that the Holy Father should draw up a list of names, which he would submit to General Miollis. The list was given to an officer, who returned in a few minutes with the answer that, by the Emperor's order, the Pope and Cardinal Pacca should leave Rome at once with General Radet, and the other persons should follow later. Such was the consternation of the Papal servants, that they were unable to collect the clothes and linen required by the Holy Father, and make any preparations for his journey.

The shattered beams and planks with which the doors had been barricaded still littered the rooms, and the Pope, supported by the two Cardinals and followed by the soldiers and the rabble which had invaded the palace, made his way over them with some difficulty. On arriving at the great gates which open on the *Piazza di Monti Cavallo*, the Holy Father stopped and gave his blessing to Rome. It was then nearly four o'clock; the troops which had patrolled and guarded the environs during the night were drawn up in line and received the Papal blessing with respect, but no Romans were to be seen on the piazza. Before the palace was a small carriage with the blinds drawn down; the Pope and Cardinal Pacca entered it; a gendarme locked the doors, General Radet and another gendarme mounted the box, and, accompanied by an escort, it drove rapidly out of Rome by the *Porta Salara*, and along the walls guarded by pickets of cavalry, to the *Porta del Popolo*. There post horses were in waiting, and from thence it took the road towards Florence.⁴

In spite of the grief which the Holy Father and Cardinal Pacca felt on being thus torn away from Rome and led into captivity, they could not refrain from laughing when, on examining the contents of their purses, only a *papetto* (20 cents) was to be found in that of the Pope, and in the Cardinal's three *grossi* (15 cents). As they

⁴ Radet, *Memoires*, p. 239. Extract from a letter from Murat to Napoleon, 8th July, 1809. "According to the orders of your Majesty which I had forwarded to General Miollis, the Pope and Cardinal Pacca were arrested yesterday morning, and sent away to Florence. One could not be arrested without the other."

had also come away without other clothes than what they wore, they were travelling, as Cardinal Pacca remarked, in truly apostolic fashion. The Cardinal, however, felt some anxiety lest the Holy Father might regret having published the Bull of Excommunication, on account of the fatal consequences it might entail for the Church, and accuse him of having advised that measure. He was, therefore, much relieved when the Pope said to him, with an air of satisfaction, "Cardinal, we did well to issue the Bull of Excommunication on the 10th of June, for otherwise, what should we do now?"⁵

General Radet hoped that by travelling very quickly he might reach Florence before the news of the arrest of the Holy Father became generally known, and thus avoid all danger of disturbances among the people. But the rapid movement caused such suffering to the Pope, that he was allowed to rest at Radicofani, on the Tuscan frontier, where he arrived about ten o'clock that night, until the evening of the following day, by which time most of the persons whose names he had given to General Miollis had arrived from Rome. This delay allowed the news of his captivity to spread through the country, and at the towns through which he passed the people assembled in thousands to ask his blessing. To extricate himself from these menacing crowds, which did not conceal their hostility to the French, General Radet adopted the plan of making them kneel down on one side of the road to receive the Papal benediction; then, while the Holy Father was giving it, the postilions were ordered to start at full gallop, and the carriage was far away while the people were still on their knees. La Certosa, the Carthusian monastery near Florence, where Pius VI had been detained eleven years previously, was reached about ten o'clock on the night of July 8, and General Radet consigned his prisoners to the charge of a Colonel of Gendarmes and of a commissary of police. The Holy Father was so exhausted that he could not reply to the chamberlain whom the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, Eliza Bacciocchi, Napoleon's sister, sent so visit him. But her courtesy was of short duration. The next day was Sunday, and the Pope might have hoped to be allowed to rest, but he had hardly slept a few hours when another messenger came with the order that he should leave at once. The cause of this sudden departure would seem to have been the dread which the Grand Duchess felt of incurring such a heavy responsibility as the custody of the Holy Father, especially when she had received from the Emperor no instructions on the subject, and she therefore hastened to transfer it to Prince Borghese, the husband of Pauline Bona-

⁵ Pacca, *Memorie*, t. I, p. 220.

parte and Governor-General of the departments beyond the Alps.

The Grand Duchess decided that the Pope should be sent to Turin by way of Genoa, and Cardinal Pacca by way of Bologna. The Holy Father was worn out by pain and fatigue, but he merely remarked to the Cardinal, "I perceive that these people wish to kill me with ill-treatment, and I foresee that I cannot long undergo such a life." In order to avoid any demonstration on the part of the inhabitants of Florence, the Pope was hurried away at four o'clock in the morning, without being allowed to hear Mass.

Travelling through a mountainous district by unfrequented roads, over some of which he was carried in a litter, the Holy Father reached Chiavari, on the Gulf of Genoa, on July 12, where he was under the jurisdiction of his former subject, Prince Borghese. The Prince, who was also without instructions from the Emperor, was as anxious as the Grand Duchess not to incur any responsibility by detaining the Pope, and resolved to send him to France as quickly and as secretly as possible. The officers charged with the execution of this plan thought it prudent to avoid passing through Genoa, and made the Holy Father embark at night near a villa called Castagna, and land at San Pier d'Arena, on the other side of Genoa, where a carriage awaited him to take him to Alessandria.⁶ Cardinal Pacca had already arrived there, but during the two days of repose granted to the Holy Father, both he and the Cardinal were closely guarded and were not allowed to see each other. Turin was avoided as carefully as Genoa, by making a long circuit through Mondovi, where the Holy Father was met by a large number of confraternities, and crowds accompanied him for several miles, to the great displeasure of General Boissard, the officer of gendarmes, then charged with his custody.

The Pope reached Grenoble on the evening of July 21, in the midst of enthusiastic demonstrations of affection on the part of the people, and was lodged in the prefect's palace. The prefect of the department, M. Fournier, a distinguished scientist and a good administrator, was then in Paris, and his authority was exercised in his absence by one of his councillors named Giraud, a secret agent of Fouché.⁷ The Holy Father was treated with respect, but still guarded like a prisoner, and though allowed to walk in the gardens of the prefecture, and give his blessings to the people, he was again

⁶ British Museum, Additional MSS. 8389. *Lettere e documenti relativi alla deportazione di Pio VII.* A description of the Holy Father's journey to Savona, by his Ajutante di Camara (valet de chambre) Giuseppe Molrighi, one of those who were allowed to rejoin him at Radicofani.

⁷ St. de Mayol de Lupe. *Un Pape prisonnier, d'apres des documents inedits* —In "Le Correspondant," vol. 138, January, 1885, p. 596.

separated from Cardinal Pacca and no communication was possible between them. Giraud, like the Grand Duchess and Prince Borghese, had received no orders with regard to the Pope; he considered himself, therefore, obliged to exercise a rigorous supervision over his prisoners, and though some laymen were admitted every day to assist at the Masses said by the Holy Father and Cardinal Pacca, no priest could visit them, and the Mayor of Grenoble was reprimanded for having allowed Cardinal Pacca to see a confessor.⁸

Napoleon was then at Schoenbrunn, near Vienna; when he learned, on July 18, that the Pope had been carried away from Rome, he wrote to Fouché that he was sorry that the Holy Father should have been arrested; that it was a great act of folly: "But there is no remedy for it; what is done is done." He ordered that, if the Pope were still near Genoa, or had entered France, he should be sent to Savona. He might even be sent back to Rome, "if his madness were to come to an end. But Cardinal Pacca was to be sent to the fortress of Fenestrelles and warned that if a single Frenchman were assassinated at his instigation, he should expiate it with his life."⁹ Fouché gave his orders in consequence, and on August 2, at two o'clock in the morning, Pius VII left Grenoble, and, still guarded by Colonel Boissard, travelled by Valence and Avignon to Nice. There he rested for three days, and thence, by a long circuit through the mountainous districts of Tenda, Mendovi and Cera, he reached Savona, where he was lodged in the bishop's palace on August 17. The journey of the Holy Father from Grenoble to Savona had been like a triumphal march; it had been a succession of enthusiastic popular demonstrations. At Avignon, which still looked on him as its lawful sovereign, the entire population had come forth to greet him; the town of Nice was illuminated every night during his stay, and the mountaineers of Tenda were ready to rescue him if he had expressed the wish.¹⁰

About an hour after Pius VII left Grenoble, Cardinal Pacca was brought away by an officer of gendarmes to the fortress of Fenestrelles, situated in the Alps which form the frontier between Piedmont and France; an intensely cold region, where the winter lasts several months. Napoleon, who knew his talents and his fidelity to Pius VII, had always feared and hated him, and looked on him as

⁸ While Cardinal Pacca was saying Mass, the freemasons of Grenoble held a meeting in the room above his, in order to admit into their society, or to promote, the envoy of Prince Borghese, Colonel Boissard, who had escorted the Holy Father from Chiavari to Grenoble.—Pacca, *Memorie*, t. II, pp. 58, 59.

⁹ *Correspondance de Napoleon I.*, t. XIX, No. 1555. *Au Comte Fouché*. Schoenbrunn, 18 Juillet, 1809.

¹⁰ Louis Durante, *Histoire de Nice*. Turin, 1824, t. III, p. 365.

"an enemy of France who deserved no consideration."¹¹ The Cardinal was at first treated with great harshness. Though allowed to keep his servant and to assist at the Mass said by one of the priests then confined as State prisoners, he was not allowed to write a letter or to see a confessor. Once only by eluding the vigilance of the sentinel who watched his room, was he able to confess and to receive Holy Communion; but it was not until the following year (1810) that he could obtain leave to confess and to say Mass.¹² His imprisonment lasted three years and a half, until February 5, 1813, when he was allowed to rejoin Pius VII at Fontainebleau.

The prefect of the department of Montenotte, Count Chabrol de Volvic, was chiefly responsible for the care of the Holy Father at Savona, but the immediate supervision over him was entrusted to General César Berthier. A Piedmontese nobleman, Count de Salmatoris, was also specially sent from Turin to organize the Papal household on the same footing as that of a sovereign. Its expenses were to amount to 100,000 francs a month (\$20,000), and three carriages with the Imperial liveries were also to be provided. But Pius VII refused to accept the Emperor's gifts; he told his servants to take only what was necessary, and the carriages, which had been used only by General Berthier, were soon sent back to Turin. As a matter of fact, the furniture of the Pope's apartments was poor and insufficient; it had been lent to the bishop by the inhabitants of Savona; there were no carpets, the beds were wretched and insufficiently provided with coverings.¹³ A very close supervision was exercised over the Holy Father and all persons who came to visit him; his letters and those of his household were read by the prefect or by Prince Borghese. His confessor had been arrested in Rome and sent to Fenestrelles.¹⁴

General Miollis was instructed in the month of July to send all generals of religious orders to France, where they were to be lodged in small country towns; the Cardinals who had no diocese were to

¹¹ Correspondance de Napoleon I., t. XIX, No. 15,615. Au Comte Fouché. Schoenbrunn, 6 Aout, 1809.

¹² Pacca, *Memorie*, t. II, p. 142.

¹³ H. Chotard, *Le Pape Pie VII a Savone*. Paris, 1887, pp. 18, 24. M. Chotard's work is founded on a manuscript now in the Archives of France, containing the minutes of the letters written every day by General Berthier to Prince Borghese, and giving an account of the captivity of the Holy Father. The second part of his work, referring to the mission of von Lebzeltern to Pius VII., is derived from von Lebzeltern's inedited Memoirs in the possession of his daughter, which M. Chotard was allowed to study.

¹⁴ Leon Lecestre. *Letters inedites de Napoleon I.* [An viii, 1815.] Paris, 1897. No. 514. Au Comte Fouché. Schoenbrunn, 22 Aout, 1809. [These are letters which were not inserted in the official publication of the letters of Napoleon I., as not being calculated to do him credit.]

be sent to Paris. He does not, however, seem to have obeyed at once, for in December he received a peremptory order to send off within twenty-four hours all the Cardinals still in Rome, and the archives of the Vatican were also to be brought to France.¹⁵ Napoleon's idea of transferring the Holy See to Paris was gradually becoming more developed. In August he had asked Fouché's opinion on the subject: whether it might not be advisable to bring the Holy Father to Fontainebleau, and the French and Italian Cardinals to Paris.

"It would be an advantage to have the head of the Church in Paris, where he would cause no inconvenience. If he created some sensation, it would be as a novelty. . . . His fanaticism would gradually come to an end."¹⁶

Pius VII had refused to acknowledge any right on the part of the Emperor to nominate bishops to the French and Italian Churches until he had made reparation for the outrages he had committed against religion by the seizure of Rome, by the expulsion of the Sacred College and by his capture and deportation of the head of the Church.

Napoleon ordered Cardinals Fesch, Caprara and Maury, as well as the Bishops of Nantes and of Casale, to write to the Holy Father and to ask him in the name of the Minister of Worship to confirm the prelates recently named by the Emperor, and thereby avoid the danger of creating a schism in the Church. It would not be necessary to mention the Emperor's name in the Apostolic Bulls. In his reply to Cardinal Caprara the Pope remarked that, as the Minister of Worship, a dignitary not recognized by the Catholic Church, represented the Emperor, such a step would be equivalent to acknowledging the Emperor's right to make the nominations. He then enumerated the outrages which he and so many members of the clergy had suffered on the part of the Emperor, and he asked how could the author of these outrages be allowed to exercise the right which he claimed? Would not such a concession scandalize the faithful? Moreover, though he much desired to fill the vacant sees, how could he act in a matter of such importance without consulting his advisers, the members of the Sacred College, and all communication

¹⁵ *Lecestre*, No. 481. Au Comte Gaudin, Ministre des Finances. Schoenbrunn, 18th July, 1809.—No. 552. Au Comte Bigot de Priameneu, Ministre des Cultes. Trianon, 18 Decembre 1809.

¹⁶ *Lecestre*, No. 498. Au Comte Fouché, Ministre de la Police générale. Schoenbrunn, 6 Aout 1809.

with them had been stopped? He had even been refused the help of a secretary.¹⁷

In November, 1809, the Emperor assembled a committee of bishops, whose opinions with regard to the questions pending between him and the Pope might, he hoped, give an appearance of legality to his acts. It was composed of Cardinal Fesch, the president; Cardinal de Maury; de Barral, Bishop of Tours; Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes; Bourlier, Bishop of Evreux; Mannay, Bishop of Trèves; Canaveri, Bishop of Vercellis; the Abbé Emery, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and Père Fontana, the General of the Barnabite Order.¹⁸ Three series of questions were laid before the Ecclesiastical Committee. The first related to matters which interested Christian society in general; the second to what specially concerned France, and the third to the affairs of the Churches of Italy and Germany, and to the Bull of Excommunication. The council returned its answers to these questions and closed its proceedings on January 11, 1810. In the preamble of its report it courageously expressed the sympathy and the affection it felt for the Holy Father in the painful situation in which he was placed. It expressed the hope that the Emperor would hasten to "bring about a much desired reconciliation between the Holy Father and himself, by the complete liberty of the Pope, surrounded by his proper advisers, without whom he cannot communicate with the Church entrusted to his care or solve any great question or provide for the wants of Catholicity."¹⁹

The council was very cautious in its replies, as it feared to irritate Napoleon and drive him to a complete rupture with the Holy See, but even Talleyrand, who has given an epitome of its transactions, and in whom one could hardly have expected to find a defender of the Holy Father, regrets that it should not have made greater efforts to convince the Emperor that before making any accusations against the Pope, he should grant him as much liberty as he himself should consider requisite for the issue of Bulls,²⁰ and ask him, therefore, what he would consider indispensable for that purpose.

One of the Emperor's questions related to the convocation of a

¹⁷ Pacca, *Memorie*, t. III, p. 22. Brief to Cardinal Caprara. 25th August, 1809.

¹⁸ M. Emery, who probably saw that Napoleon intended to make use of this Ecclesiastical Council as a mask to conceal his despotic aims, rarely assisted at its meetings and refused to sign its replies. Padre Fontana resisted only at its first meetings; and having, shortly after, incurred the imperial displeasure, he was imprisoned in Vincennes from 1811 until 1814.

¹⁹ *Memoires du Prince de Talleyrand*, publiés par le Duc de Broglie. Paris, 1891, t. II, p. 52.

²⁰ *Memoires de Talleyrand*, t. II, p. 72.

council on the pretext that the affairs of the Church are examined and managed in Rome by only a small number of theologians. The reply was that a general council could not be held without the Head of the Church, as otherwise it would not represent the universal Church, and that the authority of a national council would not suffice for the regulation of matters which interested the whole Catholic world. In replying to other questions they agreed, however, with the Emperor that the Consistory should be composed of prelates chosen from among all the Catholic nations, and that he united in his person all the rights with regard to the nomination of Cardinals which had been possessed by the sovereigns of the States which he had added to his Empire. The council was also of opinion that the Pope could not complain of any essential infraction of the Concordat; for, as to the *Articles Organiques*, many of them were only applications or consequences of maxims accepted in the Gallican Church, others might be considered as only temporary, and it was to be hoped that they should be soon revoked or modified.²¹

In reply to the question whether the state of the clergy had been improved by the Concordat or not, the council enumerated with much eloquence the benefits which had been conferred on the Church. Chapters had been endowed, scholarships had been founded for the seminaries, students presented by their bishops were exempted from conscription, the religious orders employed in gratuitous teaching and the assistance of the poor and infirm had been re-established. But the most difficult question to answer was, If the French government has not infringed the Concordat, can the Pope arbitrarily refuse to confirm the archbishops and bishops who have been named, and thus ruin religion in France? The council maintained that the Pope was bound by the Concordat, and it proceeded to examine the motives which the Holy Father had given for his refusal, in his letter to Cardinal Caprara. It maintained that the innovations of which he complained had been beneficial to religion, and would not acknowledge the invasion of Rome could be a motive for refusing to grant canonical institution to the bishops who had been named, although the Holy Father had only spiritual arms for the defence of his State. With regard to the third motive given by the Holy Father, namely, that he had been separated by violence from his proper advisers, and deprived of all free communication with them, the council was obliged to reply that it could only place it

²¹ *Memoires de Talleyrand*, t. II, p. 50. Three of the articles indicated by the Council; that which related to the authorisation by the Government of briefs from the *Penitencierie*; to the income which a priest required to possess before being ordained; and to the termination of the powers of vicars-general, were revoked by a decree of February 28, 1810.

under the eyes of his Majesty, who would perceive how just and strong it was.

To the question as to what ought to be done for the good of religion if the Pope refuses to execute the Concordat and the Emperor considers it as abrogated, the council suggested that it might be looked upon as suspended. It then recapitulated the various modes of nominating bishops which had existed in France down to the Concordat of 1516 between Leo X and Francis I, by which the nomination of bishops was granted to the King and the confirmation or institution was reserved to the Pope. But these modifications in the mode of election required to be approved by the Church, and one of the chief defects of the *Constitution Civile du Clergé* was that the *Assemblée Constituante* was incompetent to re-establish rules of discipline which had been abolished by the Church. The council thought, therefore, that the wisest course to follow would be to convoke a national council, which should examine the question. Napoleon was not pleased with the answer, as he thought that the Gallican Church had the power to establish the ancient usages abolished by the Concordat of 1801, but the council persisted in its opinion that a national council could alone solve the difficulty. It would either draw up provisional disciplinary regulations on the subject, if it considered itself competent to do so, after remonstrating respectfully with the Pope, and finding that its prayers were not listened to, or, if it thought itself incompetent, it would appeal to a general council. If that were impossible, the national council might declare that the canonical institution given by the metropolitan to his suffragans, or by the senior bishop of the province to the metropolitan, should take the place of the Papal Bulls.

Talleyrand, in his commentary on the proceedings of the council, remarks that it seemed to believe that the faults were all on the side of the Pope; he asks was it from a desire to please or from pusillanimity, and he blames it for not insisting every day on the necessity of setting the Pope free before thinking of a council.

To the question of what the Emperor as "Suzerain of Germany, heir of Charlemagne, true Emperor of the West, and Eldest Son of the Church," ought to do to re-establish religion in Germany, where the churches complained of having been abandoned by the Pope, the council could only reply by expressing vague hopes that Napoleon, as Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, might come to some agreement with the Sovereign Pontiff, and provide a remedy for these evils. Here Talleyrand draws attention to the dishonesty and bad faith manifested by Napoleon in attributing the religious troubles of Germany to neglect on the part of the Holy Father, and he

observes that with regard to this point the reasoning of the council was very feeble and insignificant.²²

In the last question Napoleon denounced the Bull of Excommunication as being "contrary to Christian charity, as well as to the honor and independence of the throne," and he asked "what steps should be taken in times of trouble and calamity to prevent the Popes from thus abusing their power." The council replied that no one was named in the Bull; that the French bishops had refused to admit and to publish the Bulls issued by Boniface VIII against Philippe-le-Bel, by Julius II against Louis XII, and by Sixtus V against Henry IV. It also expressed an opinion that if the Bull of June 10, 1809, had been addressed to the bishops of France, they would have declared it to be "contrary to the discipline of the Gallican Church, and to the authority of the sovereign," and there was no doubt that if a national council were assembled, it would appeal against it to a general council.²³

Napoleon thus brought to end by a decisive measure all further discussion with regard to the independence of the Sovereign Pontiff. The Papal States had, it is true, been already annexed by the Imperial decree of June 10, 1809,²⁴ but the Emperor considered that a *Senatus-consulte*, a law enacted by the Senate, would impart greater solemnity to the fact. A report drawn up by M. de Champagny, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was therefore presented to the Senate. It recapitulated all the false and absurd accusations of harboring brigands and conspiring with the enemies of France, which Napoleon, since the coronation, had so often flung against the Court of Rome.²⁵ It asserted that, in spite of the benevolence and the moderation of the Emperor, the ungrateful Papal Government had at last fallen a victim to the disorder and anarchy of which it had been the cause. "The Imperial eagles had again taken possession of their ancient territory; the dominion of Charlemagne had

²² Talleyrand, *Memoires*, t. II, p. 69. "La raison du Concile sur ce point est bien faible et bien insignifiante."

²³ Talleyrand, *Memoires*, t. II, p. 70.—Cardinal Pacca calls this answer a humiliating proof of the great influence which the spirit of flattery and of excessive ambition can exercise even over persons distinguished by their high rank and great learning. Pacca, *Memorie*, t. III, p. 34.

²⁴ See the July number of the *Review*.

²⁵ Even Napoleon thought that his Minister's report was unfair, and he wished that the Pope should be treated with, at least, some semblance of justice. In a note to de Champagny, he told him that the collection of documents added to his report was incomplete; that besides the notes of Alquier, those of the Pope's ministers and of the Legate should be added to it. Otherwise the public would not be able to judge, and doubt would prevail instead of conviction. He requested him also to moderate the tone of his language.—*Correspondance de Napoleon*, t. XX, No. 16,244. A. M. de Champagny. Paris, 6 Fevrier, 1810.

again come into the hands of a worthier heir," and the Senate was asked to decide as to its future destinies. The Senate therefore decreed that the State of Rome divided into the departments of Rome and of the Trasimene, should thenceforth form part of the French Empire; that the City of Rome should be the second city of the Empire, that the Prince Imperial should bear the title of King of Rome,²⁶ and that the Emperors, after being crowned in Paris, should be crowned in Rome, in St. Peter's before the tenth year of their reign. It also enacted that the Popes on their election should take an oath never to do anything contrary to the four propositions of the Gallican Church accepted by the assembly of the Clergy in 1682, and that the same propositions were to be common to all the Catholic Churches of the Empire. Finally it decreed that the Pope should have a palace in Paris and another in Rome; that he should enjoy a revenue of 2,000,000 of francs (\$400,000) from land situated in different parts of the Empire and that the expenses of the Sacred College and of the Propaganda should be paid by the imperial treasury.²⁷

Napoleon had already begun to make preparations for the establishment of the Sovereign Pontiff in Paris and to make of that city the seat of the government of the Church. Millions were being spent on enlarging and embellishing the Archbishop's palace, to adapt it for the reception of the Holy Father.²⁸ Orders were given to bring to Paris all the archives of the Vatican, of the *Dataria* and of the *Penitenzieria*, at the rate of one hundred carloads a week, as well as the Pope's tiara and the other pontifical ornaments.²⁹

Nevertheless, the inflexible resistance of the Holy Father, who, though isolated and guarded as though in a prison, refused to yield to the imperial demands, caused the Emperor much embarrassment. Accustomed to be surrounded by servile flatterers, and to overcome all opposition by brute force, he could not understand how a feeble old man, deprived of all worldly assistance, could still persist in asserting his independence and in maintaining the rights of the Holy

²⁶ It was only on February 6, 1810, that Napoleon, after declaring the nullity of his marriage with Josephine, had decided on marrying an Austrian instead of a Russian princess.—Correspondance, t. XX, No. 16,211. A M. de Champagny. Paris, 6 Fevrier, 1810.

²⁷ Correspondance de Napoleon, t. XX, No. 16,263. *Expose des motifs du Senatus-Consulte sur la reunion des Etats de Rome a l'Empire.* Paris, 17 Fevrier, 1810.—No. 16,264. *Senatus-Consulte. Palais des Tuilleries, 17 Fevrier, 1810.*

²⁸ *Memoires documents et ecrits divers laisses par le Prince de Metternich.* Paris, 1880, t. II, p. 341.

²⁹ Correspondance de Napoleon I., t. XX, No. 16,196. Au Comte Bigot de Preameneu. Paris, 2 Fevrier 1810.

See. The Emperor's marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa seemed, at last, to present a solution of the difficulty, for it gave the Emperor of Austria the opportunity of acting as intermediary between the Holy Father and Napoleon, who seemed well pleased to accept his offer.

The Chevalier von Lebzeltern, councillor of the Austrian Embassy in Paris, was, therefore, sent to Savona in May, 1810, ostensibly for the purpose of discussing with the Holy Father some questions relating to the Ecclesiastical affairs of Austria, but he was also instructed to seek the means of bringing about a reconciliation between the Holy Father and the Emperor.³⁰ He carried an unofficial document containing a summary of the Emperor's views. It showed no intention on his part of making the slightest concession to the Holy Father, with the exception that he would allow him to reside at Avignon, instead of at Paris, but he could not be permitted to return to Rome, unless he renounced his temporal sovereignty, and "sincerely recognized the union of Rome to the Empire." The Emperor remarked in a rather contemptuous manner that he did not seek the Pope, and that he could do without him; for the bishops could grant dispensations; the chapters could name capitular vicars who could govern the Sees, and if the Pope persisted in refusing to give canonical institution to the bishops, a council could be convoked which would bestow it.

The general tone of this paper was not conciliatory; some portions of it were even insulting; but Prince Metternich warned his envoy, that, in his opinion, much of the hostility which it expressed was merely intended to provide matter for a negotiation; and he did not think it impossible to re-establish the Papal See in the Eternal city, if the Pope were able to accept some modification of his temporal sovereignty.³¹

After encountering much opposition from General César Berthier, M. von Lebzeltern had, on May 15th, his first interview with the Holy Father, who had known him in Rome, and who was deeply touched by this proof of friendship on the part of the Emperor of Austria. In this audience and in those which followed on the 15th and the 20th of May, von Lebzeltern sought to impress on the Pope the necessity of extricating himself from the painful position in which he was placed. At one time, even, the Holy Father seemed inclined to think that, provided he were allowed to have the assistance of the Sacred College, and freedom of intercourse with the faithful,

³⁰ Metternich, *Memoires*, etc., t. II, p. 335.

³¹ Metternich, *Memoires*, etc., t. II, p. 336. *Instructions pour M. le Chevalier de Lebzeltern*. Paris, le 6 Mai, 1810.

he might be able to reside in Rome. He could not, indeed, oblige the Emperor to restore what he had taken, but he could protect against the usurpation of his States and he would refuse to accept any pension from France. In any case, he would never consent to abandon Rome, and accept Avignon in exchange.⁸² To a suggestion of von Lebzeltern's that it would be advisable to withdraw the Bull of Excommunication, the Holy Father replied that such an act would be a betrayal of his duty and would expose him to be accused of weakness. Napoleon should first, by some act in favor of religion, show a sincere desire to be reconciled to the Church. The Holy Father, however, who mistrusted himself, and feared to be led into making too many concessions, refused to come to any decision, unless he were supported by the opinions of his advisers the Cardinals. He even feared that, in his friendly conversations with von Lebzeltern, he might have shown himself inclined to concede too much, and in his last interview with the envoy of Prince Metternich, he authorized him to publish, on his return to Paris, only the following statements: That he had found the Holy Father fully resigned to decrees of Divine Providence in whose hands he had humbly placed the defence of his cause. That he felt calm in his prison, and that he was convinced that the disorders which menaced the Church would be imputed to their true author. The Holy Father ardently desired that the Empress should be reconciled with the Church; that he should cease to persecute her, and allow him to perform the duties of his ministry and to communicate freely with the faithful. He also wished it to be known that he was most anxious for a reconciliation, but not against his conscience (*aux dépens de son conscience*) that he felt no animosity or rancor against Napoleon, but that he forgave all the past.⁸³

The only result, therefore, of von Lebzeltern's mission to Pius VII was that it enabled the Holy Father to express once more his refusal to renounce his temporal rights and to demand that he should not be deprived of the present of the Cardinals whose assistance he required to be able to carry on the administration of the Church. But, far from allowing the members of the Sacred College to rejoin the pope, Napoleon, just then, banished a certain number of them to various provincial towns where they were subjected to a strict supervision, and thereby hindered all communication between them and the Holy Father. This arbitrary measure was the result of the indignation which he felt at their absence from the celebration of his marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa, of Austria; for they

⁸² Chotard, *Le Pape Pie VII a Savone*, pp. 93, 97.

⁸³ Chotard, p. 124.

refused to sanction it by their presence, as they considered that the tribunal which had declared the Emperor's first marriage to be null, was not competent to decide the question.

The circumstances under which the religious marriage between Napoleon and the Empress Josephine took place on December 1st, 1804, the eve of his coronation, have been described in the number of the "Review" for April, 1909. Since that time, all the Emperor's undertakings had prospered, in every campaign victory had followed victory, and every continental power lay prostrate at his feet; but the triumphs were embittered by the fact that he had no heir to perpetuate his dynasty and to rule the colossal Empire which he had founded. The idea, therefore, of establishing the nullity of his marriage and of contracting an alliance with one of the reigning houses of Europe, which should consolidate his throne, had long been considered by the Emperor, and vague rumors on the subject had even been circulating among the people long before the publication of any official announcement.⁸⁴ It was only at the end of November, 1809, that Napoleon revealed his intention to Josephine, when he expressed to her the grief he felt at being obliged for the sake of the welfare of the Empire, to come to such a decision, and entreated her to consent to a divorce. The civil marriage contracted in 1796 was formally dissolved at a meeting of all the members of the imperial family held at the Tuileries on December 15th, when Napoleon and Josephine declared that for the good of France and the interests of the dynasty, they were ready to make the sacrifice of their own feelings and separate by mutual consent. On the following day a decree of the Senate confirmed this declaration and pronounced the dissolution of the marriage.⁸⁵

It was necessary, however, before the Emperor could be free to contract a new marriage, that the Church should pronounce the nullity of that which had been privately celebrated in 1804. Napoleon had at first intended to marry a Prussian princess, the Grand Duchess Anne, the sister of Alexander I; and, at the interview at Erfurth, on October, 1808, that sovereign had expressed his willingness to obtain his mother's assent. Alexander hesitated, however,

⁸⁴ A document in the French Archives, drawn up in 1807, shows that Napoleon was then already resolved to annul his marriage. It is a list of eight Catholic and ten Protestant princesses, of the reigning families of Europe, from among whom he could select a wife.—H. Welschinger, *Le Divorce de Napoleon*, Paris, 1889, p. 270.

⁸⁵ This mode of divorce was sanctioned by the *Code Napoleon*, but not when the parties had been married for ten years; and there could not be a remarriage until three years had elapsed. Divorce was also forbidden to all the members of the Imperial family. Napoleon, thus, set aside the regulations of his own code.—Welschinger, p. 63.

to come to a decision; he hoped to secure previously the ratification of an agreement which he had made with France relative to Poland.⁸⁶ While he thus delayed to give a definite answer, the Emperor of Austria and his ministers, anxious to acquire a guarantee of a lasting peace and a political alliance which should save their country from the ruin and dismemberment which would be the consequence of another war, gave Napoleon to understand that if he sought to marry an Austrian princess, his demand would not be rejected. The Empress Josephine had already spoken to him on the subject, shortly after the divorce, as she informed Madame de Metternich, the wife of the Austrian minister; assuring her at the same time, that otherwise the fall of Austria was certain, and that it was also, perhaps, the only way to prevent Napoleon from creating a schism.⁸⁷ A council, formed of the principal dignitaries of the Empire, convoked by Napoleon on January 21, 1810, gave its opinion in favor of an Austrian marriage; the Austrian Ambassador, Prince von Schwarzenberg, transmitted the Emperor's demand to his Court which consented at once, and on March 8th, the formal request for the hand of the Archduchess was made at Vienna by Marshal Berthier, Prince of Neufchatel, Napoleon's special envoy.

From the beginning of the negotiations, the Austrian Ambassador had been instructed to declare that the Emperor Francis would refuse to consent to his daughter's marriage unless the nullity of the religious marriage between Napoleon and the Empress Josephine had first been acknowledged by the Church.⁸⁸ The objection had, indeed, been already foreseen, and Napoleon, in his uncertainty as to the steps to be taken, had consulted Cambacérès on the subject. The matrimonial causes of sovereigns had always been reserved to the Pope, but, at that moment, Pius VII was his prisoner at Savona, and had, moreover, excommunicated him, and could not, therefore, be requested to act as judge. Cambacérès suggested that the matter should be submitted to the Diocesan officiality, or ecclesiastical tribunal of Paris, which, a few years previously, had annulled the marriage of Jerome Bonaparte with Miss Patterson; and, on December 22nd, he sent for the clergymen who composed the Diocesan and

⁸⁶ L. S. Thiers, *History of the Consulate and the Empire*. London, 1894, t. VI, p. 58; t. VII, p. 55.

⁸⁷ Metternich, *Memoires*, t. II, p. 314. *La Comtesse de Metternich a son mari*. Paris, le 3 Janvier 1810.

⁸⁸ Metternich wrote to Prince Schwarzenberg, the Austrian Ambassador in Paris, that "his Majesty would never give his consent to a marriage which should not be in conformity with the precepts of our religion." Welschinger, pp. 77, 81, 84.

Metropolitan Officialities,³⁹ to inform them that it was the Emperor's intention to have his marriage with the Empress Josephine declared null on the ground of the absence of the parish priest and of witnesses. The officials, alarmed at the heavy responsibility laid upon them, pleaded that they were not competent to judge a cause, which, according to ancient usage, had always been reserved to the Pope. Cambacérès replied that he had not been instructed to apply to the pope, and that, under the circumstances; it was impossible to do so, but the officials refused to judge the matter unless the committee of Cardinals and Bishops named by the Emperor, for his guidance in ecclesiastical questions,⁴⁰ decided they were competent, and the interview ended without any concession being made on either side. A week later, Cambacérès, being again requested by the officiality to consult the committee, brought forward another cause of nullity, namely, the want of consent on the part of the Emperor; but the officials still refused to act until authorized by the committee. The decision of the prelates, who, in the meanwhile, had been appealed to by Cambacérès, was given on January 3rd. It stated that if the want of consent were legally proved before a competent tribunal, the marriage of the Emperor and Empress would be null: that the cause was within the competence of the diocesan officiality; and that an appeal should be made from its decision to the metropolitan officiality, and from thence to the officiality of the primatial See of Lyons.⁴¹ It was not, therefore, with regard to the point first mentioned by Cambacérès that the committee gave its opinion, but with regard to his second suggestion which probably seemed more likely to furnish a motive for a sentence of nullity.

The witnesses presented on behalf of the Emperor were Marshals Duroc and Berthier, Prince de Talleyrand and Cardinal Fesch. The three first, on being questioned by the official, deposed that the Emperor had often declared in their presence, that he had not intended to bind himself irrevocably, and that he did not consider himself bound by a marriage that had not been accompanied by the necessary formalities. Cardinal Fesch, who had performed the ceremony, related the circumstances under which it had taken place. The Emperor, he said, had sent for him on the even of the corona-

³⁹ *Diocesan Officiality*.—Abbe Rudemare, promotor: Abbe Boileve, official.—*Metropolitan officiality*.—Abbe Corpet, promotor: Abbe Lejeas, official.—Geoffroy de Grandmaison, *Napoleon et les Cardinaux noirs*. Paris, 1895, p. 13.

⁴⁰ See the April number of the *REVIEW*, p. 250.

⁴¹ Welschinger, p. 95.—The Abbe Rudemare's pamphlet, "Relation of the proceedings which took place on the occasion of the demand for the nullity of the marriage between Napoleon Bonaparte and Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie" is given in full in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*, Paris, 1858, t. 21, p. 57, in the life of Josephine.

tion and informed him that the Empress insisted on receiving the nuptial benediction; that he had consented in order to calm her, but that he would have no witnesses. The Cardinal objected that without witnesses there would be no marriage; but, finding it impossible to overcome his resistance, he went to the Holy Father, and told him that he would often require to have recourse to him for dispensations, and that he begged of him to grant him all those which should be sometimes necessary for the performance of his duties as Grand-almoner. The pope consented, and the Cardinal immediately celebrated the marriage at about four o'clock in the afternoon. He was very much surprised a few days later, when the Emperor, finding that he had given the Empress a certificate of her marriage, reprimanded him severely and revealed to him that the sole object of what he had done was to tranquilize the Empress and to yield to circumstances.

Cardinal Fesch had made the same declaration to the prelates of the Ecclesiastical Committee on December 26th, in somewhat different terms, and it is probably on it, that they based their reply to the officiality. After relating his interview with the Emperor, he said that he went to the pope, and, without revealing to him the situation in which he was placed, he told him that, as Grand-almoner, he was or might sometimes be in very embarrassing circumstances, without being able to have recourse to the authority of the Archbishop of Paris, because he should be obliged to mention to him facts of the utmost importance which ought to remain concealed, as well as for other strong and urgent reasons. The pope had then replied: "I give you all the powers that I can give," and the Cardinal had thought that he was sufficiently authorized to celebrate the marriage without witnesses or the previous publication of banns. He also mentioned Napoleon's anger on finding that he had given the Empress a marriage certificate, and his assertion that he had not given, and could not have given a real consent to his marriage, but that, being obliged to avoid quarrelling with the Empress in such an important conjuncture, he had insisted that the marriage should be celebrated without witnesses or publication of banns. The Council then decided that the want of formalities was sufficiently covered by the Pope's dispensation, and that the want of consent would suffice as a cause of nullity.⁴²

⁴² "Minutes of the Ecclesiastical Commission quoted in *"Le Correspondant."* Paris, September, 1856, vol. 38, p. 958.—A special meeting of the Commission was held on December 26, 1809, at which Cambaceres stated that he was charged by the Emperor to consult the bishops as to the procedure to be followed, and the causes of nullity to be found in his marriage. He then read to the bishops a minute of the request that they should present to the officiality of Paris, and left it for their discussion. Cardinal Fesch was then heard.

It was, however, on the absence of witnesses and of the parish-priest that the diocesan promotor, Abbé Budemare, founded his decision against the validity of the marriage. Making a very subtle distinction, he asserted, that as Cardinal Fesch had only asked the Pope for the dispensations which he might sometimes find necessary for the fulfillment of his duties as Grand-almoner, and as he had not particularly specified and named the extraordinary and parochial functions which he was about to perform, he could not have received the dispensation for the two witnesses, nor the power to take the place of the parish-priest. On receiving this opinion, the diocesan official, Abbé Boilesve, pronounced his sentence. He declared the marriage between the Emperor and Empress to be null, but he acknowledged at the same time, that it was difficult "to have recourse to the visible head of the Church to whom it had always belonged, *de facto*, to take cognizance of these extraordinary cases and to decide on them"; and that the prelates had declared that the cause was of the competency of his tribunal.⁴³ The Abbé Budemare appealed from the sentence to the metropolitan officiality, on the ground that the official, contrary to the usual practice, had not ordered the parties to rehabilitate their marriage. The metropolitan promotor, Abbé Coppet, accepted the opinion that the dispensation granted to Cardinal Fesch was insufficient, but refused to discuss the plea of want of consent on the part of the Emperor. The metropolitan official, Abbé Lejeas, on the other hand, accepted both causes of nullity, and pronounced the final decision, for no appeal was made to the primatial officiality of Lyons.⁴⁴

The sentences of the officialities were sent to Count Otto, the French Ambassador at Vienna, who kept them a few days and then, as they were not asked for, sent them back to Paris.⁴⁵ Count Sigismund von Hohenwart, Archbishop of Vienna, then raised unexpected difficulties. Before celebrating by proxy the marriage of the Archduchess, he demanded the fullest details about the civil marriage of General Bonaparte and Josephine; among others, for what

⁴³ Abbe Rudemare's "Relation."—Welschinger, p. 120.

⁴⁴ Welschinger, p. 129.—Pere G. Desjardins, S. J., in a review of M. Welschinger's work in the "*Etudes religieuses, philosophiques, historiques et littéraires*" for June, 1889, p. 315, is of opinion that the Metropolitan officiality gave its decision rather hastily, and without sufficient proofs. As to the main point, however (*le fond de l'affaire*), he does not wish to maintain like M. Welschinger, that the sentence was erroneous. Pius VII, and the thirteen Cardinals who refused to assist at the second marriage, did not declare against the sentence, but only against the competence of the two officialities. The Holy Father alone was competent to decide the question, and they would not sanction by their presence the usurpation of which the officialities were guilty.

⁴⁵ J. A. von Helfert, Maria Louise Erzherzogin von Oesterreich, Kaiserin der Franzosen. Wien, 1873, p. 98.

motive it had been dissolved and by what judges? If it had been renewed before the Coronation; if it had been declared null by the ecclesiastical tribunal; if the rules prescribed by the Bull of Benedict XIV. had been observed in pronouncing judgment? Otto assured the Archbishop that the marriage had been annulled by the two officialities of Paris, but he still maintained that he had no legal and certain proof of the fact. At last, on March 1st, Otto gave Count Metternich an attestation that he had had in his hands the sentence of the officialities which were founded on the want of the formalities prescribed by the laws of the Church, and that the seven prelates who had signed these sentences had acknowledged the nullity of the Emperor Napoleon's first marriage. The Minister then sent an extract from his attestation to the Archbishop who made no further opposition,⁴⁶ and the marriage by proxy, at which Napoleon was represented by the Archduke Charles, was celebrated on March 11th.

There were at that time in Paris twenty-nine Cardinals including Cardinal Caprara, the former Nuncio, who was on his death-bed, and Cardinal Fesch, who, as Grand-almoner, was to officiate at the Imperial marriage. The others were not agreed as to the propriety of assisting at the ceremony. Invitations had been sent to them to be present at the Court on four occasions: the presentation to the Emperor and Empress of the great dignitaries of the State at Saint Cloud; the civil marriage; the religious marriage in Paris; and the reception at the Tuileries by the Sovereigns on their throne, of the Senate, the *Corps Législatif*, and the great personages of the Empire. On discussing the matter, thirteen Cardinals declared that though they were willing to assist at the two receptions, as it would be merely an act of courtesy, they could not be present on the civil marriage, as they would thereby seem not to approve an innovation which has been condemned by the Church; nor at the religious marriage, as they could not accept the sentence of nullity pronounced by the officialities of Paris which were incompetent to judge a cause reserved to the Sovereign Pontiff.⁴⁷ The fourteen others did not consider themselves bound to follow their example, but all the efforts of Cardinal Fesch to persuade them to change their resolution and the fury of the Emperor, who, when informed of it, exclaimed, "they will not dare!" could not conquer their resistance.

At the first reception the Emperor showed the Cardinals much courtesy; he presented each of them to the Empress, and pointed

⁴⁶ Helfert, p. 102.—Welschinger, p. 98.

⁴⁷ *Memoires du Cardinal Consalvi, avec une Introduction et des Notes, par J. Cretineau-Joby. Paris, 1864, t. I, p. 420.* These thirteen Cardinals were: Mattei, Pignatelli, della Somaglia, di Pietro, Litta, Saluzzo, Ruffo-Scilla, Brancadoro, Jaleffi, Scotti, Gabrielli, Opizzoni and Consalvi.

out especially Consalvi, "the Cardinal who negotiated the Concordat"; for he hoped by this affability to induce them to yield. But the thirteen Cardinals were faithful to the decision they had taken, and on Monday, April 2nd, they did not appear at the Tuileries; where, besides Cardinal Fesch, who celebrated the Mass, only eleven of the fourteen were present, for Cardinals Ershine, Dugnani and Desping were kept away by illness. It was the moment when Napoleon's power and glory had attained their culminating point. By a series of unparalleled victories, he had crushed all his enemies on the continent, and the House of Austria had considered it an honor to contract an alliance with him; but, when surrounded by the great officers of his household and a brilliant court of Kings and princes, he entered the large hall of the Louvre where the altar had been raised, he looked at once at the places reserved for the Cardinals and perceived that the thirteen were absent. It was the most severe blow that his pride could have received, for he felt that their refusal to assist at his marriage was a protest against the sentence of the officiality of Paris, and that it would be employed to throw doubts on the legitimacy of his heir. His eyes flashed, his countenance took an expression of anger and ferocity which terrified those who saw it. This fury was so great that immediately after the ceremony, he gave orders to shoot Cardinals Opizzoni, Consalvi, and a third, whose name is not known, probably Litta or di Pietro. On second thoughts, he named Consalvi alone, and the Cardinal believed that it was owing to the intervention of Fouché that the sentence was not carried out.⁴⁹ The reception of the following day was the occasion chosen by Napoleon to wreak his vengeance on the Cardinals. Along with the Senators, the Legislative body, the Ministers and the Councillors of State, the members of the Sacred College were made to wait for three hours in the ante-chambers of the Tuileries. When the reception began, an aide-de-camp coming from the room, announced that the Emperor would not receive the Cardinals who had not assisted at the marriage, and that they should leave at once. They obeyed, and as they could not find their carriages, they were obliged to return to their homes on foot.

On the following Wednesday, the Minister of Worship, Bigot de Prémeneu, sent for the thirteen Cardinals and informed them that they had been guilty of high treason; that they had conspired against the Emperor, by plotting to cast a doubt on the legitimacy of the heir to his throne; that all their property, ecclesiastical and patrimonial, should be sequestrated; that the Emperor refused to consider them any longer as Cardinals and forbade them to wear the

⁴⁹ Consalvi, *Memoires*, t. I, p. 437; t. II, p. 205.

insignia of their rank. He even gave them to understand that some of them might be prosecuted. The Cardinals easily proved that they had not conspired, but had acted openly and with the full knowledge of Cardinal Fesch, and the Minister allowed them to send a letter to the Emperor to explain their conduct and to assure him that the sole motive for it was that the pope had not been consulted. But Napoleon had left Paris and his orders were executed rigorously. The thirteen Cardinals were thenceforth obliged to dress in black; they were known as *les Cardinaux noirs* (the black Cardinals); and were forced to depend for their subsistence on the charity of the French Catholics. Two months later, on July 10th, they were banished from Paris, and sent to live, two by two, in towns on the eastern frontiers. To increase the discomfort of their exile, those who had least frequented each other's society while in Paris, and were less intimate, were sent to the same towns.⁴⁹

In the meanwhile there had been no relaxation in the persecution of the Church. The Minister of Worship, M. Bigot de Préameneu, had been ordered in April to draw up a plan of the measures to be taken with regard to the affairs of the clergy in Italy; regulating everything "as if the pope did not exist"; and these measures were to be carried out by successive decrees, according as it was thought necessary. The religious orders were to be suppressed and their members pensioned; the Bishops, the Canons and the Parochial clergy were to be obliged to take an oath of obedience to the Government; and the number of bishoprics and of the parishes was to be reduced by uniting several together. Later on, Napoleon ordered that in the departments of Rome and of the Trasimene, which represented the last provinces taken from the pope, no priest was to be ordained without his permission; the bishops, canons and priests who refused to take the oath were to be sent to France, and with regard to the bishops, "not only their ecclesiastical property, but that which they had inherited," was to be seized. The number of bishoprics in these two departments would thus be ultimately reduced from thirty-two to five, and twenty parishes would be thought quite enough for Rome instead of eighty. The measures were to be represented, "even by articles in Roman newspapers," as merely the consequences of the rebellion of the clergy; "the rebellion of the bishops would furnish the Church with another grievance against the pope." In

⁴⁹ Consalvi, *Memoires*, t. I, p. 450; t. II, p. 215.—Cardinals Consalvi and Brancadoro were sent to Reims; Mattel and Pignatelli to Bethel; della Somaglia and Scotti to Mezieres; Saluzzo and Galeffi to Charleville; Litta and Ruffo-Scilla to Saint Quentin; di Pietro to Semur; Gabrielli to Montbard, and Opizzoni to Saulieu; but the two last were soon sent to live with Cardinal di Pietro.

the rest of Italy, too, the property of the bishoprics, for which the Holy Father should refuse to grant canonical institution, would be confiscated; and, there again, it could be shown that "the obstinacy of the pope would cause the Church an irreparable misfortune."⁵⁰

But Pius VII still refused to grant canonical institution to the bishops nominated by the Emperor, unless he were allowed to have the assistance of his advisers, the Cardinals. Napoleon then made another effort to overcome his resistance by sending to him Cardinal Spina, Archbishop of Genoa, and Cardinal Caselli, Archbishop of Parma, two prelates on whose conformity with his views he could reckon, and they arrived at Savona on July 5th; not, as though charged with opening a negotiation, but, apparently, while on their way to their respective dioceses. The pope, however, mistrusted them; for Cardinal Caselli had accepted a place as Senator without asking his authorization, and he showed much coldness and reserve in the few interviews he granted them. All that M. de Chabrol could learn from them was that the Holy Father again expressed his desire before entering on any negotiation, to have around him some Cardinals chosen by himself; that he declared that he would not leave Savona except to return to Rome; and that as to the nomination of bishops, he did not wish to act without consulting experienced persons on whom he could closely rely.⁵¹ The Cardinals, therefore, left Savona without obtaining any concession, and Napoleon was obliged to seek some other means of executing his plans. By a decree, dated February 28, 1810, he had revoked one of the *Articles Organiques* added to the Concordat in 1801,⁵² which prescribed that after the death of a bishop, his Vicars-general should continue to administer the diocese while it remained vacant; and he enacted that, thenceforth, in similar cases, the diocese should be governed by the Vicars elected by the Chapter. This was merely the re-establishment of the rules laid down by the Council of Trent, but Napoleon made use of this concession to enable the bishops whom he had nominated, to administer their dioceses without being confirmed, by persuading the chapters to give them the powers of Vicars-capitular. This subterfuge had been already employed by Louis XIV, when, during his long dispute with the Holy See, caused by his pretension to exercise the regalian rights in every diocese in France,

⁵⁰ Correspondance de Napoleon, t. XX. Letters to Comte Bigot de Preameneu, Ministre des Cultes. 10 Avril 1810—15 Avril—7 Mai—9 Mai—13 Juin.

⁵¹ Mayol de Lupe, Un Pape prisonnier, p. 473; de Chabrol's Bulletin, 11 Juillet, 1810.

⁵² See AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW of October, 1908, p. 604.

the bishops whom he nominated were refused confirmation.⁵³ The practice had been formally condemned by the second Council of Lyons in 1274, which forbade the bishops-elect to interfere in the administration of their dioceses until their election had been confirmed.⁵⁴ The Gallican Church seems, however, to have sometimes yielded to the arbitrary dictates of the King and disobeyed this law, and Cardinal Maury even boasted to Cardinal Pacca that it was he who had suggested to Napoleon this mode of avoiding the necessity of obtaining canonical institution for the bishops he had named.⁵⁵

The Prelate whose nomination, under these circumstances was followed by the most disastrous results, was the same Cardinal Maury⁵⁶ whom the Emperor made Archbishop of Paris on October 14, 1810, and whom the Chapter of Notre Dame immediately elected administrator of the diocese. The Cardinal informed the Holy

⁵³ By the "Regalian rights" the King claimed to receive the revenues of vacant Sees, and to confer the benefices without cure of souls, which belonged to them. It is difficult to trace the origin of this usage; it existed before the thirteenth century, but it is first clearly mentioned at the second Council of Lyons, presided over by Gregory X in 1274. The Council consented to tolerate it in those Churches where it existed in virtue of a foundation, or of an ancient custom, but forbade its extension to other Churches under pain of excommunication. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Parliament of Paris proclaimed it to be a right of the Crown. In 1678, Louis XIV extended it to two-thirds of the Dioceses of France; and in 1682 by another edict, to all the Dioceses. The majority of the Bishops submitted; but Pope Innocent XI protested, and, during several years, refused to grant canonical institution to the bishops named by the King. The dispute ended in 1693; the King withdrew an edict which ordered the four articles of the Declaration of the Clergy to be taught in the faculties of theology, and gave up the immunity claimed by his Ambassador in Rome [see the *QUARTERLY* of January, 1905, p. 141]; the members of the clergy who had signed the Declaration in 1682, revoked it, and the Pope, Innocent XII, consented to the extension of the Regalian rights.—Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, 1852, t. XXVII, pp. 49, 53; t. LVII, pp. 10, 15.—L'Abbe Migne, *Encyclopedie Theologique*, t. LIV, col. 708; LVI, 952.

⁵⁴ L'Abbe Migne, *Encyclopedie Theologique*, t. LIV, col. 1074.

⁵⁵ Cardinal Pacca, *Memorie storiche*, t. III, p. 37.

⁵⁶ *Correspondance diplomatique et Memoires inedites du Cardinal Maury*. Annotes et publies par Mgr. Ricard, Prelat de la Maison de La Saintete. Lille, 1891, t. II, p. 391.—Jean Siffrein Maury was born at Valreus (Vaucluse) in 1746; the son of a shoemaker. He entered the Church about 1770. He was a member of the *Etats Generaux* and of the *Assemblee Constituante* in which he was the most eloquent and courageous defender of the Church and the Throne. In 1791 he was obliged to take refuge in Germany; then went to Rome, where he was made Bishop of Montefiascone and Corneto, and Cardinal in 1794. He acted as representative in Rome of Louis XVIII, then living in exile in Russia; but in 1805 he abandoned him for Napoleon, and returned to Paris in 1806. He was named Archbishop of Paris, 14th October, 1810. After the fall of the Empire, the Chapter revoked the powers it had given him (9th April, 1814). He tried to be reconciled to the Bourbons, but was expelled from France, and the Pope deprived him of his jurisdiction as Bishop of Montefiascone. While Pius VII was absent from Rome in 1815, the Cardinals who governed in his name, sent Maury to the Castle of St. Angelo; but on the return of the Holy Father, he was forgiven on resigning his bishopric. He then led a retired life in Rome, where he died on May 10, 1817.

Father of his nomination, and that the chapter had given him power to administer the dioceses he added that the Emperor had told him to keep the See of Montefiascone and Cometo until he received canonical institution for the Archdiocese of Paris, and ended his letter with strong protestations of his attachment to religion, to the Holy See and to the pope. Pius VII replied by a brief dated November 5th, in which he expressed the deep affliction which the Cardinal's conduct had caused him. He reminded him of the reasons which obliged him to refuse to grant canonical institution to the bishops named by the Emperor. The supreme contempt manifested for the authority of the Church; the destruction of religious communities; the suppression of parishes and bishoprics, their union with each other and new delimitation, solely by the authority of the civil power. He asked him, moreover, who had freed him from the spiritual bonds which united him to the Church of Montefiascone, and "not only ordered him, but begged of him, and implored of him," (non imperamus modo, verum etiam imprecamur et obtestamur), to give up the administration of the Archdiocese. The Holy Father made no attempt to conceal his condemnation of the Cardinal's action, for he gave the brief to M. de Chabrol to forward, knowing very well that it would pass into the hands of the Minister of Worship. The Cardinal, however, paid no attention to the blame inflicted on him by the Sovereign Pontiff, and continued to govern the diocese with the fall of the Empire, alleging in a pamphlet which he published for his defence, that he had never received the brief.⁵⁷

Napoleon did not find everywhere the clergy so submissive as that of Paris. He had just then conferred the Archbishopric of Florence on Mgr. d'Osmond, bishop of Nancy, and that prelate, deceived by a false assurance that the papal confirmation would be soon forwarded, had set out for his new See. He was stopped at Piacenza by a deputation of the Canons of Florence, who informed him that a brief from the Holy Father, dated December 2d, to their Vicar Capitular, Archdeacon Corboti, had warned them that, according to ecclesiastical law (*juxta canonicas ac pontificias sanctiones et vigentem Ecclesiae disciplinam*), the bishop of Nancy, having been named Archbishop of Florence, was, for that reason, absolutely in-

⁵⁷ Rev. P. Caussette, *Superieur des Pretres du Sacre Cour Vie du Cardinal d'Astros, Archeveque de Toulouse*. Paris, 1853, p. 158.—Maury, *Memoires*, t. II, pp. 397, 459, 472. The Cardinal in his pamphlet, "Memoire pour le Cardinal Maury," Paris, 12 Mai, 1814, says that the Papal brief of November 5th was not published until Holy Saturday, April 9, 1814. "I declare that this brief never reached me." But in a reply to this pamphlet published in the *Journal des Debats* of June 4th, the writer, a deacon named Martin, assures that though the brief did not reach him officially, it was known to be in circulation in society for some years before it was published in the papers.

capable of being elected Vicar Capitular; and if he were elected, his election would be invalid and null. He could not, moreover, be transferred from one diocese to another, except by a special dispensation of the Apostolic See. The same opposition to the Imperial despotism was shown by the chapter of the diocese of Asti in Piedmont which, after consulting the Holy Father, refused to confer powers of administration on the Abbe Dejean whom the Emperor had nominated bishop of that diocese.⁵⁸

This unexpected resistance to his will rendered Napoleon furious. He sent peremptory orders to Prince Borghese to arrest the Vicar Capitular Dani and three of the Canons of Asti and imprison them at Fenestrelle, Eliza Napoleon, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, received similar instructions with regard to the Vicar Capitular of Florence, the two priests who had been sent to stop Mgr. d'Osmond and three of the Canons. She was also authorized, in case the Chapter refused to obey, to suppress it, and confiscate all the property.⁵⁹ Napoleon also commanded that the Holy Father, to whom he applied the most opprobrious language, should be treated with greater severity. The servants who helped him to carry on his correspondence, those especially, who worked the hardest, should be dismissed; all letters written by him or to him, were to be sent to Paris, except those which were insignificant; and the prefect, M. de Chabrol, was to tell him that, "since he abused his liberty to spread disorder everywhere, he could only be considered as an enemy of the State and of the Empire."⁶⁰

In spite of the close supervision exercised over the Holy Father, he was not completely deprived of all means of communication with the Church. In the course of the year 1810, committees had been secretly formed in France and in Italy for the purpose of enabling him to correspond with the outer world, as well as of assisting the exiled Cardinals. These leagues seem to have been originally planned by the members of the Congregation or Sodality of the Blessed

⁵⁸ Mayol de Lupe, *Un Pape prisonnier*. "Le Correspondant," vol. 147, 10 Mai 1887, p. 480.

⁵⁹ Lecestre, *Lettres inedites*, t. II, No. 730. Au Prince Borghese. Paris, 31 Decembre 1810.—"The Canons must be arrested, and must leave for Fenestrelle under a good escort, before the town is aware of it."—Also Nos. 732 and 740. Au General Savary, Duc de Bovigo, Ministre de la police generale.—*Correspondance de Napoleon I*, t. XXI, No. 17,263. A Eliza Napoleon, 2 Janvier 1811. "If you meet with any resistance from the Chapter, I authorize you to suppress it, and to sequester all its property."

⁶⁰ Lecestre, t. II, No. 731. Au Comte Bigot de Presameneu, Ministre des Cultes, 31 Decembre 1810. "Let the prefect . . . point out the hardest workers so that I may dismiss them, to take away from the Pope the means of doing harm and of spreading his poison."—No. 742. Au Prince Borghese, 2 Janvier 1811.

Virgin, founded in Paris on February 2d, 1801, by a former Jesuit, Father J. B. Delpuits, and a few students; but persons of all classes were soon enrolled in them, and that, known as l'Euvre des Caret-maux noirs, comprised some of the most distinguished members of Parisian society. The provincial branches were well organized, and a large number of young men were always ready at a moment's notice, to perform the dangerous service of acting as messengers between the Holy Father and Mgr. di Gregorio and Padre Fontana in Paris, who acted as secretaries and forwarded the papal instructions.⁶¹

One of the dignitaries of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, distinguished himself by his courageous resistance to Napoleon's despotism. The Abbe d'Astros (1772-1851) had been named Vicar General by Cardinal de Belloy, and on the death of that prelate in 1808, was elected Vicar Capitular. When Cardinal Maury was named Archbishop, the Abbe d'Astros, who was convinced that Napoleon aimed at seizing on all spiritual authority, at least over the Church of France, voted, along with some others, against the majority of the Chapter, which, in obedience to the Emperor's will, conferred on the Cardinal the administration of the diocese. Unlike Cardinal Fesch, who, when named Archbishop of Paris, in succession to Cardinal de Belloy, had resigned the See rather than administer it. Maury acted as though he had been canonically instituted. To this pretension the Abbé offered unceasing opposition; openly protesting against every attempt on the part of the Cardinal to exercise a jurisdiction, or claim privileges to which he had no right.⁶² The Abbe had received from Mgr. di Gregorio and Padre Fontana a copy of the papal brief of November 5, addressed to Cardinal Maury, and had apparently asked for further instruction, for, by another brief dated December 18th, 1810, Pius VII solemnly declared that lest there should be any doubt on the subject, he withdrew from the Cardinal "all power, faculty or jurisdiction; declaring null and of no effect, whatever should be done to the contrary, knowingly or through ignorance."⁶³

⁶¹ Geoffroy de Grandmaison, *La Congregation (1801-1830)*. Paris, 1889, pp. 105, 108, 109.

⁶² Caussette, *Vie du Cardinal de Astros*, p. 177.—Mgr. Ricard, *Mem. du Card. Maury*, t. II, p. 398, "Instead of sheltering his doubtful situation beneath the undisputed authority of the Vicars-Capitular, he put himself daringly forward (*audacieusement en relief*) and could not have behaved otherwise if he had possessed the canonical institution."

⁶³ Caussette, *Pieces justificatives*, p. xxxiii. "Et nihilominus ne ullus supersit dubitandi aut interpretandi locus, et ad uberiores cautelam, omnem ei potestatem, facultatem aut jurisdictionem adimimus: irritum ac inane declarantes quicquid secus super his scienter vel ignoranter attentari contigerit." The text of the three briefs, to Cardinal Maury, to Archdeacon Corboli, and

This brief did not reach the Abbe d'Astros; it was seized by the police either at Savona, or while on its way to Paris, and was not published until the month of November, 1814, as the Abbe stated in his letter to Pius VII on the 23d of that month. The Emperor, however, soon learned the arrival and the secret circulation in Paris of a brief to Cardinal Maury, in which the Pope reproached him with having accepted an Archbishopric from the oppressor of the Holy See, and thus betrayed the interests of the Church which he had, formerly, so gloriously defended. He was also informed that another brief nullifying all Cardinal Maury's acts had been addressed to the Abbe d'Astros, and the irritation, which the brief to the Canons of Florence had already caused him, was thus still more intensified. His indignation was soon manifested by a sudden outburst.⁶⁴

When on January 1st, 1811, at the usual official reception at the Tuileries of the great functionaries of the State, Cardinal Maury presented his Canons and Vicar General, Napoleon said angrily to the Abbe d'Astros: "You are the man whom I suspect the most in all my Empire. One must be French before everything and maintain the Gallican liberties. There is as much difference between the religion of Bassuet and that of Gregory VII, as between heaven and hell." Then, putting his hand on the hilt of his sword, "At any rate, I carry a sword; beware!" The Abbe made no reply to this cowardly threat and the Emperor, retiring to his study, sent for Savary Duke of Rovigo, the Minister of Police, and told him to arrest d'Astros. Savary then asked Cardinal Maury to bring d'Astros to see him; and the Cardinal told the Abbe that he would take him in his carriage to the house of the Duke, who wanted to ask him some questions, but that he had nothing to fear. At the Duke's he was asked if he did not correspond with the Pope at Savona, and he replied that it was his duty to apply for dispensations. Had he seen a brief from the Pope to Cardinal Maury? He had; but he refused to say who had shown it to him, and he also refused to give

to the Abbe d'Astros, is in Caussette, *Pieces justificatives*, Nos. III, IV, V.

The Abbe d'Astros in his letter to Pius VII (November 23, 1814) observes that it had been a custom in the French Church, though not in conformity with Canon law, to confer on the bishop elect the title of Vicar-capitular, as a purely honorary title of which the bishop never made use. Cardinal Fesch, when named Archbishop of Paris, in succession to Cardinal de Belloy, received the title, and the Abbe d'Astros had then no doubt as to the legality of the act. Afterwards, he studied the question carefully, and then saw what was his duty. Cardinal Fesch, however, never took any part in the administration, and when ordered by Napoleon to make use of the powers conferred on him, resigned the See to the Emperor's great indignation, rather than obey.—Caussette, pp. 172, 173. *Pieces justificatives*, p. LVII, No. VIII.

"Le Comte Jauffret, *Memoires historiques sur les affaires ecclesiastiques de France*. Paris, 1823, t. II, p. 380.—Caussette, p. 183.

up his charge of Vicar Capitular. The Abbe was questioned for some days by Savary and by Real, a Councillor of State, but he steadily refused to name the persons from whom he had received the papal brief, or those to whom he had shown it. The cunning tactics, however, of Savary, who deceived him by his falsehoods, at last drew from him a confession that he had shown it to his cousin, Count Portalis, Councillor of State, and to two priests. The Abbe was at once sent to the fortress of Vincennes (4 January, 1811), where he was at first kept for nearly a year in solitary confinement (*au secret*), and where he remained until transferred to the prisons of Angers in February, 1814. He was not released until the fall of the Empire, in April of the same year. Letters seized among the Abbe's papers revealed to the police that Mgr. di Gregorio and Padre Fontana had served as intermediaries between the Holy Father and the French clergy. They were immediately arrested; it was then found that they also consulted Cardinal di Pietro, and as Cardinals Oppizzoni and Gabrielli were living with him at Semur, they too, were seized and these five faithful servants of the Sovereign Pontiff were sent to Vincennes.⁶⁵ The fury felt by Napoleon on meeting with this unconquerable resistance to his depotism on the part of the Holy Father, may be perceived from the letter which he wrote to his librarian, M. Barbier, asking him to forward, as soon as possible, the result of the researches he had made to find if there had been Emperors who had suspended or deposed Popes.⁶⁶

In consequence of the publication of these three briefs the measures adopted to hinder all communications between the Holy Father and the Church became still more severe. On the night of January 7th the prefect, M. de Chabrol, and some of his officials made a careful examination of the rooms occupied by the papal household, and carried away all the books and papers which they found. The papal servants were deprived of pens and ink, and those who had helped the Holy Father in his correspondence were placed in a separate part of the building and cut off from all communication with him.⁶⁷ A few days later, on January 13th, while the Pope was walking in the little garden attached to his dwelling,

⁶⁵ Caussette, pp. 185, 256.—Count Joseph Marie Portalis (1778-1858), son of Napoleon's first minister of worship, Councillor of State, 1806. Napoleon, in a violent fit of rage, expelled him publicly from the Council and banished him from Paris for not having revealed to him that he had seen the Papal brief. Pardoné in 1813 and named President of the Court of Angers; President of the *Cour de Cassation* in 1824; Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1829; was named Senator under the second Empire.

⁶⁶ Correspondance de Napoleon, t. XXI, No. 17,286. Note pour le Bibliothécaire de l'Empereur. Paris, 5 Janvier 1811.

⁶⁷ Mayol de Lupe, "Le Correspondant," vol. 147, p. 753; de Chabrol's letters, 8th and 10th January, 1811.

his rooms were entered, the lock of his desk forced; his trunks and presses searched; his clothes and his bed examined; and all his papers and books sealed up and taken away; even his breviaries and his Office of the Blessed Virgin. The Holy Father merely remarked when he heard of it: "What will they do with the Office of Our Lady?"

But these acts of violence did not appease Napoleon's anger and he was still resolved to deprive the Holy Father of all freedom and independence. He ordered Prince Borghese, the Governor of the Departments beyond the Alps, to inform the Pope that he was forbidden to correspond with any Church, or with any of the Emperor's subjects. All suspected persons were to be removed from his household, and no one was to be allowed to visit him. He was to be deprived of pens, paper and ink. "Since nothing can render the Pope sensible, he shall see that I am powerful enough to do what my predecessors have done, and depose a Pope."⁸⁸

Similar to this must have been the letter which the Emperor sent by special carrier, and which the Pope refused to open. After two days, M. de Chabrol found it still sealed, and opening it, read it to the Holy Father; although even he was shocked by the insolence of the Emperor's language who threatened to assemble in Paris a Council of all his bishops and to depose the pope. The Holy Father replied by placing the letter at the foot of his crucifix, and said: "I lay this dispatch at the feet of Christ; it is He who shall avenge me, for the cause is no longer mine but His own."⁸⁹

The close supervision exercised over the Holy Father, was then made still more stringent. The inns of Savona and the roads leading to the town were carefully watched; the number of sentinels about the Pope's apartments was increased; his servants were spied; they were even obliged to send out their linen to the wash under the inspection of the gendarmes. At last, by orders from Paris, the persons in whom the Holy Father had most confidence, Don Giovanni, Soglia, his chaplain; Ceccarini, his surgeon; Giuseppe Moiraghi and Andrea Morelli, his valets, and Bortoni, a groom, were suddenly taken away without being allowed to see him, and

⁸⁸ Lecestre, *Lettres inedites*, t. II, No. 747. Au Prince Borghese. Paris, 6 Janvier 1811.

⁸⁹ British Museum. Additional manuscripts, No. 8389. *Lettere e documenti relativi alla deportazione di Pio VII.*—A description of the life of Pius VII at Savona, by his *Ajutante di Camera* (first valet) Giuseppe Moiraghi.—The words of Pius VII were, "A piedi di questo Cristo metto il dispiaccio, tocca ad Esso fare le mie vendette, perche non e piu causa mia, ma Sua propria causa."

sent to Fenestrelle, where they were imprisoned for seven months. The Holy Father was thus completely isolated from the world.

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WAS LUTHER'S FATHER A HOMICIDE?

AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY.

THE motive that prompted Hans Luther, the father of the Reformer, to leave his home at Möhra with such precipitate haste, where his forefathers dwelt for generations, if not centuries, abandon his little property, jeopardize the life of his wife, who was on the eve of her confinement, submit to the ordeal of a seventy-five or eighty-mile journey on foot, begin life anew amid strangers and strange surroundings, has been one of the moot questions that the Luther biographer had to grapple with for centuries. It still begs an answer. Some dismiss it peremptorily without a mention; others slur it over as if it were historically valueless; those who allude to it, do so with a hesitant decision that leaves the mind unsatisfied, or with a magisterial superficiality that in advance predicates its untrustworthiness. The result of such an inquiry, though it would be only to establish its falsity or truth, would certainly be a valuable contribution to history. Psychologically, and measured by the laws of hereditariness, it would prove to be far from useless, for the reason that the involuntary manslaughter of Hans Luther was admittedly an act of unrestrained anger. It would thus give us a key to the universally admitted ungovernable temper of his son, as a congenitally transmitted trait. And if the pursuit of this inquiry should be pushed further along the same line, and reveal that this overmastering passion of anger was alike the heritage of the Luther posterity, as it was the possession of its ancestry, it would shed a welcome light on many vexatious biographic problems that confront us in dealing with the Reformer.

We have made this inquiry the subject of some study and research, and believe it will be a welcome consideration to submit to the attention of open-minded readers and critical students, without committing ourselves one way or the other.

In 1862 and 1863 two works dealing with the boyhood and ancestry of Martin Luther made their appearance in London. These

works¹ evidently created little serious attention at the time of publication, though the first reached a second edition. Both, as far as our knowledge goes, were never drawn upon by the leading Luther biographers. The casual mention of the author's name—Mayhew—by Köstlin, probably the best informed Luther specialist of Germany, led to a search in some of our larger libraries, with the result that the second work, which deals most circumstantially with the subject under discussion, devoting to it no less than ninety-seven pages, was fortunately found.

Henry Mayhew (1812-1887) was a man of distinguished literary attainments, a voluminous and versatile author, a close student of social economy, a philanthropist of some note, but perhaps best known as one of the Mayhew brothers who founded *London Punch*. It was he who made Luther the subject of a close, careful, critical study. As he himself tells us in the opening sentence of his preface to the second work, "it sprang out of certain inquiries into the early life of Martin Luther—for the due prosecution of which it was necessary to visit the principal Lutheran localities." This he did at the sacrifice of considerable time, with methodic design, observant eye and ready pencil; and though a staunch Protestant, with an unconcealed anti-Catholic bias, and an enthusiastic admirer of the Reformer, he acquits himself with honest, fearless objectivity.

He found Möhra on the border of the Thuringian Forest. At the time it had not risen to the dignity meriting a mention on the map, though from time immemorial it was the home of the Luthers. The hamlet consisted of a small collection of seventy or eighty detached homes, of a most primitive character, and mostly with adjoining farmyards. With the exception of a solitary carpenter and shoemaker, both of whom seldom had occasion to ply their trades, the five hundred inhabitants were mostly woodcutters and farmers.²

In tracing the genealogical tree of the Luthers, which concerns us most intimately now, he draws frequently and copiously on a Lutheran clergyman, who as the historian of Möhra is not unknown to Lutheran students, and whose brother was still living in the village at the time of our author's visit. Johann Conrad Ortmann, who was pastor of the neighboring parish, Steinbach-bei-Bad Liebenstein, gave us a work of much archival interest and valuable local traditions.³ After dealing in a chronological study of the Luthers, Ortmann, as quoted by Mayhew, tells us that "the Luther family were

¹ *The Boyhood of Martin Luther*, London, 1862 and—*German Life and Manners as seen in Saxony*, London, 1863, 2 vols.

² The town now numbers six hundred inhabitants of whom in 1901, six families still belonged to the Luthers.

³ *Möhra der Stammort Dr. Martin Luthers, Salzungen*, 1844.

originally well-to-do; the next of kin, the youngest brother on the one hand (Hans the Little, as he was called) had property in Möhra; and the eldest brother, on the other hand (Heinz Luther), had still, in the year 1527, a farmhouse of his own; and the Möhra family, besides, were even down to 1521 in such good circumstances that Dr. Martin Luther could be lodged and entertained by them when in after life he visited his father's relatives in his father's native village." How can it naturally have come to pass, then, that Hans Luther (Martin's father) got to be so poor? Hans Luther, Ortmann continues, "also had some fortune at the commencement of his life. He was a *Bauer* (literally, a peasant proprietor) in Möhra, as Dr. Martin Luther himself says, and consequently must have had some estate. Indeed, it has been before shown that he was entitled to one-third part of the property of Heine (Heinz Luther), Martin's grandfather; whilst, according to the registry of hereditary estates made out in 1676, it is manifest that Hans Luther did become possessed of such property."⁴

However, now arises the historical crux, extending over four hundred years, in accounting for Luther's birth at Eisleben, November 10, 1483. "What could have been the cause," Ortmann asks, which induced Hans Luther to take such a step? To suddenly decamp with his wife and children—with his wife, too, be it remembered, far advanced in pregnancy—to quit and utterly abandon the place of his birth, the home of his childhood and the site of all his property?"⁵

The explanations of this step were many, but made on so precarious a basis that one soon supplanted the other. One of the contentions was—and it did service for a century or more—that on account of the suspension of all work at the slate mines in Möhra, Hans Luther, to avoid an enforced idleness and better his condition, removed to Eisleben. But this is summarily brushed aside by the documentary evidence that precisely in the fifteenth century the mines of Möhra were worked to their full capacity, were never more productive or prosperous. This our historian with Germanic preciseness proves by quoting from contemporaneous mining records.⁶ From these he shows that between the years 1456 to 1496 several church bells were cast out of the ore obtained from the Kupfersuhl mines, at which it is said Hans Luther worked.

The further explanation, at one time universally accepted, embodied by Seckendorf and even now repeated, was that first given

⁴ German Life and Manners, etc., I. 69-70.

⁵ *Ib.* 71.

⁶ Helm's, Henneberger Chronik: Bruckner's Kirchen-und Schulenstaat.

by Nicholas Rebhahn, the Lutheran Church Superintendent at Eisenach, about two centuries after the event. This was to the effect that Hans Luther took his wife, on the eve of her confinement to the "year-market" at Eisleben. "Surely," reflects Ortmann, "no one but a dealer or merchant ever dreams of going to a year-market in a town which is from twenty-eight to thirty hours' journey on foot away from his own residence; and such is the distance of Eisleben from Möhra." The deathblow of this legend was, however, given by the historian of Mansfeld and pastor of Helbra-Krumhaar.⁷ He proves that the year-market never occurred in the month of November. On the contrary, up to 1515, thirty-two years after Luther's birth, the Eisleben year-markets were only held on the Monday after *Cantate* Sunday in April, and on St. Lambert's Day, 17th September.

Ortmann naturally comes to the conclusion "that there must have been some *other* cause than such as is ordinarily assigned. What, then, was the other cause?"⁸

With Mayhew every logical mind will have to agree, that "whatever may have been the cause of Hans Luther's sudden departure from Möhra, the circumstances attending it must have been of the most pressing nature to compel the miner to leave with such unseemly haste, and to take his wife with him too, even though she was brought to bed with young Martin the day after her arrival at Eisleben."⁹ The motive of attending a year-market under the circumstances he rejects as absurd, for the reason that these were held nearer and were of a more advantageous character at Eisenach and Salsungen. If the removal had its birth in the desire to better his condition by working at the mines at Mansfeld, what was the necessity of doing it in such an intemperate hurry and with such uncalled-for stealthiness, especially when it involved the very life of his wife? Hans Luther's departure was a flight, "and men do not fly from their homes except on occasions of the greatest urgency."¹⁰

"The simple fact, then," according to our author, "would appear to be that Hans Luther (as Martin Michaelis tells us in his description of the mines and smelting houses at Kupfersuhl—a work which was first published in the year 1702), Martin's father, had in a dispute stricken a herdsman dead to the earth, by means of a horse bridle which he happened to have in his hand at the time, and was

⁷ Dr. Martin Luther's Vaterhaus in Mansfeld, p. 76.

⁸ Mayhew I, 74.

⁹ Ib. 75.

¹⁰ Ib. 76.

thereupon forced to abscond from the officers of justice as hurriedly as he could."¹¹

Of course this was met with a chorus of protest and denial, and was promptly ascribed to the machinations of the Reformer's Catholic opponents. The Catholics did make the charge in Luther's lifetime, as we will presently see. Here we have an independent declaration from Luther's own townsmen and coreligionists, uttered in absolute ignorance of the Catholic charge, but completely substantiating it.

"Johann Martin Michaelis"—we are quoting Mayhew, who in turn is quoting Ortmann—"tells the tale in his 'Description of the Mining and Smelting Works in Kupfersuhl in the Year 1702.' Here are the words of Michaelis: 'I cannot pass over in silence the fact that the reverend and renowned Dr. Luther's father originally dwelt in the neighborhood of Möhra, and worked in the pit as a miner. But he was afterwards very unfortunate, for with his own horse bridle he accidentally struck down a herdsman dead upon the grass; whereupon he was forced to retire from the neighborhood. So, in order to get the same work as he had previously been doing, he betook himself with his wife (though she was on the eve of being confined with Dr. Luther at the time) to Eisleben, in which neighborhood the couple remained ever afterwards.'"¹²

"This misfortune of Hans Luther," continues Ortmann, "lives still in the minds of the Möhra peasantry. The villagers there tell you not only the same tale, but they show you the very spot—the field in which the tragedy occurred. Should any travelling admirer of Martin Luther pay a visit to Möhra, he may see the meadow which was the scene of the catastrophe, if he will but go along the lower part of the village, by the road called Röhrigsgasse, and pursue the way towards the Röhrigshof. For about 400 or 500 paces from the village, on the right-hand side of the way—just where the road going from Möhra out of the Röhrigshof makes the bend—there the field lies."¹³

One of our author's main objects of the trip was to trace the story, in which his interest had been intensely aroused, as near as possible to its source, to probe it in all its bearings, and satisfy his mind with some settled conclusion. He disclaims all sectarian bias, and claims, and no doubt with manifest sincerity, to search for truth alone. He was not many hours in Möhra, where he spent a fortnight, before he found Ortmann's account strictly correct. He did not hesitate to make inquiries in every direction of all present, but

¹¹ *Ib.*

¹² *Ib.* p. 78.

¹³ *Ib.* 78-79.

invariably every peasant knew the same story and could point out the identical spot. The oldest inhabitants particularly were cross-examined closely, but only to add to the cumulative evidence. "All the Möhra folk had had the tale told them by their grandfathers, and they had it from their grandfathers before them."¹⁴ He finds the story so commonly and unquestioningly accepted, believes the local tradition, which is without a dissenting voice, so implicitly, that he no longer doubts its credibility. "Sum up all these matters," is his conclusion, "and a mass of evidence is cumulated upon which surely no twelve common jurymen in their common senses would hesitate to bring in a verdict of—Guilty."¹⁵

In rummaging the old parish archives in search of further documentary evidence, in which search the local authorities afforded him every privilege and help, and which was of so extensive a character that it demands an entire chapter, he came upon further proof. This was to the effect that, like the ancestry of Luther's family, its posterity were involved in criminal acts of violence, no doubt traceable to the same temperamental source. Thus he found that Sebastian Luther, a private in the army of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, was found guilty of manslaughter in 1715, when he killed one of his comrades, and escaped the penalty by deserting with his horse. The other tragic chapter of what Mayhew calls "this strange and wayward Luther family," was that of Martin Luther, named after his illustrious ancestor, who as late as 1861, in a drunken rage, in the presence of his little child who summoned him to dinner, "drew his knife across his own throat with one hand, and then with the other, and fell almost headless on the floor at his offspring's feet."¹⁶

Thus far we have followed Mayhew, whose research was not only minute and painstaking, but his keen eye and alert mind give his personal investigation more than ordinary weight. Are his results supported by other authorities unknown and inaccessible to him?

We shall briefly touch upon some of these, and even at the risk of being wearisomely prolix shall draw upon them even to their *ipsissima verba*. It will be noticed that in many instances these narrators are Lutheran clergymen, and in all consistent Protestants.

The Lutheran pastor Böttcher, in a work of some magnitude,¹⁷ states: "According to tradition, Hans Luther, on account of an accidentally committed homicide, had to flee." John Carl Salomo

¹⁴ Ib. 82.

¹⁵ Ib. 94.

¹⁶ Ib. 118.

¹⁷ *Germania Sacra. Ein topographischer Führer durch die Kirchen und Schulgeschichte deutscher Lande*, 1874, p. 174.

Thon, ducal chamberlain at Eisenach, adverts to the same incident in these words: "The causes that led to the hasty change of residence are variously given and not at all consistent," and then goes on to quote the above cited passage from Michaelis. To dissipate any suspicion that the tale may have had a Catholic origin, he goes on: "In all printed narratives, even Weisslinger's defamatory *Friss Vogel*, I never met this story, which I submit to the further examination of adepts in church history."¹⁸ Thiersch (Heinrich W. J.), a Protestant theologian and professor at Marburg, fully subscribes to the same opinion concerning the homicide, and adds: "In order to explain Hans Luther's emigration in winter and amid the necessitous condition of the family, the tradition must be admitted as trustworthy."¹⁹ To Karl Luther, living at Rudersdorf, near Wittenberg, who instituted minute genealogical studies about the Luthers, the story is so plausible that he not only gives it his unqualified acceptance, but in deprecatory terms claims that "it is foolish to beat about the bush where facts are at stake, no matter how unpalatable they may be, for after all they alone can give the key to unaccounted incidents," and "accordingly it is almost unpardonable, when the biographers of Luther and the historians of the Reformation, have on this point copied from one another without the slightest regard whether their assertions have an historical basis or not."²⁰

It is unnecessary and superfluous to add the further testimony of Schenkel,²¹ Bayne,²² and other noted Protestant writers who have accepted the admissibility of the story.

It was stated above that the charge of Hans Luther's homicide was not a recent tradition, but a charge made in Luther's lifetime. It was then made by a man whom Luther himself eulogistically speaks of when in his following, in the shadow of the house that cradled the Reformer at Eisleben, in the face of the most withering opposition, a few miles from Mansfeld, where Hans Luther had but a few years before died (May 29, 1530), after five years' familiarity with all the news of the small town. Yet, strange as it may appear, all research thus far has failed to show a tittle of evidence that it was ever challenged, denied or even noticed. In fact, the whole Reformation literature available at this day seems to ignore it absolutely.

¹⁸ Schloss Wartburg. Ein Beytrag zur Kunde der Vorzeit. Gotha, 1792, p. 183.

¹⁹ Luther, Gustav Adolf und Maximilian I von Bayern. Nördlingen, 1869, p. 166.

²⁰ Geschichtliche Notizen über M. Luthers Vorfahren. Wittenberg, 1869, pp. 29-31.

²¹ Martin Luther, Berlin, 1870, p. 7.

²² Martin Luther, London, 1887, I 92.

George Wicelius (1502-1573) (Wizel or Witzel), who in the estimation of Luther was "a very learned and capable man,"²³ whom Kawerau characterizes as "one of the most interesting personalities among the Catholic theologians of the Reformation period," and while a Lutheran, elicited the warm commendation of his coreligionists for earnestness, zeal and learning,²⁴ left the priesthood, which he had entered under undue pressure of parental influence, married, and became an active adherent of Luther in 1524. Repenting his step, he came back to the Church in 1531. At the instance of Count Hoyer of Mansfeld, who continued loyal to the Church, he accepted the pastorate of St. Andrew's, Eisleben. His five years there (1533-1538) were "of the most bitter warfare with Agricola, Gützl, Cölius, Jonas, Cordatus, Kymäus, Balthasar Raida and other theologians of the opposition" (Kawerau). The first four held pastorates in Eisleben.

It was this well-equipped, ready, productive and fearless antagonist of the Reformation who first called Luther's father a homicide, and that at three several times—1535, 1537 and 1565—and moreover in public print. It is needless to enter the details that called forth the little volume²⁵ in which this is found. Justus Jonas assailed the integrity of the father of Wicelius, which the latter resents as totally irrelevant to the case under discussion, for if such an argument possessed validity "I could call the father of your Luther a homicide." *Sed si ita commodet causae publicae possim ego p. luteri tui homicidiam dicere.*²⁶ In this controversy Wicelius shows a surprising familiarity with the private antecedents and domestic secrets of his opponents, who were resident pastors in Eisleben. He had to act with sober deliberation and unassailable certainty in dealing with them, and a vulnerable point in his assertions would have invited humiliating disgrace and hopeless discomfiture.

The same assertion he repeats in 1537. In this year he published a collection of his letters.²⁷ In this collection the author includes his letter *De Raptu Epistolae*, and while making a correction of a former mistake, maintains the same charge *verbatim*.

A third time the homicidal charge comes to light in a writing of 1545, but only published in Paris in 1565 under the pseudonym

²³ DeWette, III 48.

²⁴ Dollinger, *Die Reformation*, Regensburg, 1846, I 20, 21, et. seqq.

²⁵ *De Raptu epistolae privatae et praefatae illi criminatione*, with *It Contra Ludum Sylv. Hessi. Epistolatio Cum Hoste Jona Georg. Vucelius Anno M. D. XXXV*, no imprint.

²⁶ Fol. 6, b. a.

²⁷ *Epistolarum . . . libri quatuor Georgii Wicelii. Lipsiae. Excudebat N. Vuolrab, 1537.*

Bonifacius Britannus, which an eminent Catholic Reformation scholar—Dr. Nicholas Paulus—traces to Wicelius with certainty. It bears a rather aggressive title,²⁸ and was attached to the *Historia J. Cochlaei de actis et scriptis M. Lutheri Saxonis*. The *Antidotus* deplores the growth of Lutheranism, and judges it by the fruits of the Reformation. To him the argument that “before the son of the homicide of Möhra was born, there was no Gospel of Christ in Germany, and no knowledge of the Word of God,” was preposterous.²⁹

Now, this Parisian publication could hardly have remained unknown in Germany, for Wicelius was a theologian of prominence and a writer of brilliancy. It appeared, in fact, in a German version,³⁰ and to-day can be found in the larger public or national libraries of Europe.

How can we account for the deadly secrecy that shrouded the vernacular, ignored the Latin, and, by what seems a conspiracy of silence, doomed the whole story to oblivion? It is fully admitted that it is hard to explain how, in the relentless polemical conflicts of the Reformation period, the Catholic controversialists failed to avail themselves of this formidable weapon. But even more inexplicable is the studied silence of the Lutheran theologians and historians in not giving such serious charges a syllable of explanation, a word of denial, not to speak of soothingly denouncing it as a falsehood.

In conclusion, we beg to add the following observation, which it will be admitted is vitally germane to our subject. This is—the wild passion of anger was an unextinguished and unmodified heritage transmitted congenitally to the whole Luther family, and this to such an extent that the *Luther-zorn* (Luther rage) has attained the currency of a German colloquialism. Collectively it is graphically summarized by the Saxon archivist Brückner on the basis of archival research, and the official court dockets of Salzungen, the seat of the judicial district. “Möhra,” is the contention of this official, “has attained the reputation for its rough and brusque character, because in the leading groups of its relationships, especially in the Luther branch, it possessed a tough and unyielding metal, and accordingly allowed itself to be drawn to a condition of refractoriness and querulous self-defense. To the police treasury of Salzungen, Möhra, with its rough-and-ready methods, was a welcome and rich source of revenue, for, as the police dockets show, the village was

²⁸ *Pro evangelistarum ac sectarum nostri temporis, maxime Lutheriani peste publica reprimenda, admonitio, sive Antidotus. Bonifacio Britanno, Germano auctore, apud Guilielm Chaudiere, via Jacobaea cum privilegio Regis.*

²⁹ *Igitur antequam nasceretur filius homicidae Morensis, non fuit Evangelium Christi in Germania, nulla verba Dei cognitio.*

³⁰ *Praservativ, Cur und Seelen Artzney. Ingolstadt, 1581.*

mulcted again and again for acts of violence which its inhabitants committed, now in political or church parties, now as individuals, and foremost among them the Luthers. The parish manifested so determined an opposition and obstinacy against the legal authorities, as well as parochial, as to culminate in the brutal act of shooting at the household of the pastor. The condition of the neighbors adjoining the town, whose ready recourse to arms, knives, scythes—nightly brawls and public blasphemies—are often alluded to and fined. In these the Luther clan is mostly involved, for it carried on its 'feuds' with others—strikes, wounds, resists—and is ever ready at self-vindication and self-defense. Out of the gnarly wood of this relationship, consisting mostly of powerful, pugnacious farmers, assertive of their rights, Luther's father grew."⁸¹

It will hardly be denied that this characterization on the whole applied to Hans Luther, and that, moreover, on evidence well known and abstracting from the homicide charge. It was the severity of his son Martin's home life—cold, stern, sunless; the uncontrolled rage which beat him until he actually became a fugitive from home; the inflexible rigor of even his mother, who punished him until the blood flowed, that not only forced him, according to his own confession, into the monastery,⁸² but shattered his nervous system for life.⁸³

And if we admit the leading laws of heredity, this may account for the fact, as Mayhew states it, "that Martin was a veritable chip of the hard old block," and with reasons, no doubt crudely scientific but picturesquely apposite, goes on, "If a gouty father, or a consumptive mother, in the usual course of nature, beget a podagric or phthisic child, surely one with a temper as fiery as a blood-horse may be expected to cast a high-mettled foal."⁸⁴ It may account for that "terrible temper" of the Reformer, which was a dread to his antagonists, a shock to refined ears, a mortification to his friends, a sorrow to his intimates and an indelible stain on his apologetics.

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⁸¹ Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte, III 38.

⁸² Tischreden, Frankfurt, 1567, p. 314.

⁸³ Hausrath, Luthers Leben, Berlin, 1904, I. 22.

⁸⁴ German Life and Manners, I. 95.

SOME GAELIC REVIVAL PIONEERS.

TWO separate revivals in letters have been witnessed in our day, both on an extensive scale. Both had the common object of atoning for a great fault of preceding generations in regard to a language and a literature rich in idealism and poetry. To allow so precious a human possession to languish and finally lapse into desuetude was a relapse into barbarism, in a measure. This was the case with regard to the language and literature of Provence, in the south of France; and a similar movement is now in progress with regard to the language and literature of ancient Ireland. It is not a little remarkable that these two revivals should arise spontaneously and at the same period, without any preconcerted understanding among the moving spirits of both. It is all the more remarkable because of the circumstance that the general tendency of the age is averse from idealism and passionately materialistic.

But there is another element in the case that suggests a kind of psychic sympathy among races as well as among individuals. This is the identity of race inherited by the peoples among whom those revivals had birth. The Celts of Gaul and those of Ireland were almost identical as to race and language at the period when the Romans crossed the mountains to begin the conquest of Gaul. The descendants of both branches of the gifted primal stock possess much the same temperamental characteristics to-day as they exhibited when first they came into prominence on the stage of history. Brave in battle, ardent in love, reverent in religion, glowing in poetry, transcendental in music, tender in affection, they are still all that Davis so happily depicts them in his "Lament for the Milesians."

Their hearts were as soft as the child's in the lap,

But they were the men in the gap—

that is, when it came to the matter of fighting. They were the ancestors of Con of the Hundred Battles, or Con the Hundred-Fighter, as some translators render the title, Nial, Brian, and other famous warriors of the blood of Heber and Heremon, the first Milesians who came to settle down in the land of Erin.

Widely different, however, were the auspices under which the two movements originated. While the rich and the learned smiled on the crusade begun by Frederic Mistral and his fellow *Félibres*, snobs in England and Ireland looked askance and frowned their disapprobation over the suggestion that the ancient language and literature of Ireland were as worthy of resuscitation as those of Provence. The Irish themselves had become so demoralized and de-

graded by their slavery as to have grown ashamed of their native tongue. The dons of Trinity College declared that to study such works as the *Seanchus Mor* and the *Brehon Laws* was to throw away so much valuable time; while others of them gave out the verdict that the great bardic epics of the Ossianic cycle were so disfigured by indecency that they could not be recommended to students. More recent investigation shows that the latter objection is untenable. The epics are, on the contrary, much more free from the stain of sensual thought than the ancient compositions of any of the old races who put their ideas into verse.

It seems to be forgotten by a good many critics of the Irish people that England deliberately set about the extirpation of the ancient language of Ireland. Its continued existence made the work of conquest slow and difficult. When Saxon and Celt met on the field of battle the Saxon was at one disadvantage: he could not comprehend the words of command issued by the leaders of the Irish, while these who, were often bilingual, could nearly all understand his generals' commands. The invaders hated the language, because it was the speech of their enemy, and furthermore because they could not understand it. Therefore, though utterly ignorant of it, they pronounced it to be a barbarous jargon. Even well-educated men like Spenser and Camden so regarded it. A law was passed banning it from the schools of the cities of the Pale and making the teaching of it a penal offence. After some time, however, it dawned upon the persecutors' minds that they could never hope to make many proselytes in Ireland for their new religion unless they could address them in their own language, and so a few men like Ussher and Bedell began the study of Gaelic. Ussher, who was a kindly and well-meaning prelate, achieved proficiency in the language sufficient to enable him to translate the Bible into the language. But it is not hazardous to say that this was a case of "Love's labor lost," as far as the winning of souls to the religion of Elizabeth and James was concerned. But the patient dint of persecution in time bore such fruit that the Irish began to grow ashamed of the language that their persecutors proclaimed to be barbarous and unsuitable for civilized life. Those who knew it, and knew English as well, sometimes affected ignorance of it before the "Sassenach," and it was often very difficult for assize courts to get Irish witnesses to admit that they understood their native tongue, so deeply had the iron of cruel persecution entered the peasant's soul. Under such untoward conditions it was little wonder the flower of the national speech languished almost to death. It was by the genius and enthusiasm of a gifted woman that it was preserved from the death

that seemed inevitable during the dark and melancholy cycle that saw the close of the Penal Age.

Miss Charlotte Brooke, daughter of a brilliant scholar, Henry Brooke, the son of an Episcopal clergyman of the County Cavan, was the first pioneer in the movement for the resuscitation of the Gaelic speech. She lived a good deal at times among the Irish-speaking population, and, being of a romantic and inquisitive turn of mind, began to feel an interest in the language and history of the people over whom her class and the English officials lorded it as a garrison of conquerors. She inherited a generous spirit from her father, a man so imbued with the instinct of freedom that it shone through the pages of some of his literary works—as in a play of his called “Gustavus Vasa” which was so obnoxious to the Hanoverian Government of the day that it was prohibited by the censor. Miss Brooke was one of twenty-two children which the distinguished Cavan man had to his credit; and she was his brightest pearl. Her literary output was very creditable for such an age and such an unpromising set of surroundings. The family lived, when in Ireland, at a place called Rantavan, in Cavan, where Henry Brooke was born in the year 1706, and his daughter Charlotte thirty-four years later. She wrote many poems and essays for British magazines, but her most valuable work was done in the Irish field. She left two notable monuments of her labors in the Gaelic literary vineyard, to wit—Walker’s “Historical Memoirs of Irish Bards” and “Reliques of Irish Poetry” (published in London in 1788). These works opened the eyes of the English reading world for the first time to the nobility of the Irish language as a poetical vehicle and a perfection of scientific lingual construction, rhythmic, euphonious, and beautifully flexible in adaptation. Miss Brooke spent only two years in gaining a complete mastery of the Gaelic language, once she had made up her mind that it was a worthy field of literary study. This fact suggests the prevalence of the native tongue, at that period, in portions of the country from which it has since entirely disappeared. Even in the large cities and towns, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the principal shopkeepers always kept employes in their service who could converse with the customers from the rural districts who flocked into town on market and fair days to make their purchases for the coming week or the year, out of the proceeds of their farm products, animate or inanimate, as the case might be. The great famine of 1846-47 ended this condition. Most of the thousands whom it mowed down spoke only the tongue of the Gael.

About the same time that Henry Brooke and his daughter

moved as stars in the literary firmament the Irish swan was singing her death-note, both in poetry and music. The Jacobite movement had brought it forth. There is a rich legacy of ballads and airs in the Munster minstrelsy of the Jacobite period. The language was Irish, the music bore the distinctive impress of the transcendental Gaelic mind, as it wanders in the entrancing fields of the spirit and fancy. There is something more than a subtle connection between the power of music and the structure of the language to which it is applied. Euphony is the principle worked out in the construction of the Greek language and the Irish language, both of immemorial antiquity, and the music of both nations thus became mated to a language of majestic grace like the Belvederean Apollo. The more recent Italian adopted the same rippling rhythmic system, and the result is known to all the musical world. It is the highest exemplification of rich and resonant musical efflorescence that the stage at least is cognizant of. Charming and dazzling as it is, however, there is more to delight the ear and ravish the fancy in the ancient melodies of the Irish musicians than any Italian composition has ever yet offered. Historians of music believe that many of the airs selected for the political and sentimental songs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the Jacobite movement, were chosen precisely because they were very old and very dear to the people. It should not be forgotten that the mediaeval Irish had, besides the ordinary notation by staves and points, another curious kind of musical character resembling the musical accents of the Greeks and learned by them from the Latin-speaking clerics of the fifth and sixth centuries.

The alternation of vowel and consonant, which is the foundation of euphony, must have first suggested the idea of notated music. No theory genesis can be clearer, on the principle of circumstantial evidence. The Irish monks, besides being the schoolmasters were the music-masters of Europe, from the sixth century down to the Norman Conquest. They taught writing and illumination as well as psalmody wherever they established monasteries, in England as well as on the Continent of Europe. The relation between rhythmic speech and the "divine art" was strikingly evident in the schools of music and the spirit of the bardic compositions which Giraldus Cambrensis found on his sinister visit to Ireland preparatory to the Norman invasion. He is found bestowing praises in the highest terms on the musical gifts of the Irish. "This people," he says, "deserves to be praised for their successful cultivation of instrumental music, in which their skill is, beyond comparison, superior to that of every nation we have seen. For their modulation is not

drawling and morose like our instrumental music in Britain, but the strains, while they are lively and rapid, are also sweet and delightful. It is astonishing how the proportionate time of the music is preserved, notwithstanding such impetuous rapidity of the fingers; and how, without violating a single rule of the art in running through shakes and slurs, and variously intertwined organizing, or counterpoint, with so sweet a rapidity, so unequal an equality of time, so apparently discordant a concord of sounds, the melody is harmonized and rendered perfect," etc.

The Irish music of the bardic period is acknowledged by several Italian masters in poetry and melody to have inspired the Italian school of the sixteenth century—Tassoni and Gesualdo for instance; and Geminiani, who resided long in Ireland and was a great admirer and friend of Carolan, the last of the race of great minstrels. With brute heel, however, the English of the Elizabethan and Cromwellian eras crushed out the Irish music, because the harp was the fire that fed the flame of Irish patriotism; and with the music the language was doomed to destruction. It was accused of being "barbarous" by the Elizabethan writers and yet it was only a little before their time that an Irish prince, well versed in languages himself, Shane O'Neill, declared that he "could not get his tongue around the barbarous English." Certainly, whatever else may be claimed for "the language of Shakespeare," euphonious construction and scientific arrangement have little place in it.

When the English language arrived in Ireland it looked in the face of the native Gaelic and recognized it at once as its natural enemy. The Irish was a language of the soul: a patchwork growth, compact of chippings from many antagonistic blocks—German, French, Latin, Saxon, Welsh, Dutch, and several others—could not feel at ease in the presence of a perfect work of spirit and science, as the native language was. Therefore it was decreed that the perfect thing must go and the jumble take its place. The English tongue was made the vehicle for the introduction and diffusion of the English Reformation.

Cardinal Newman, who was a good Englishman as well as a great scholar and a great writer of his country's language, knew as well as any man what a national language means. In his work on the "Present Position of Catholics in England" he vividly depicted the part which the language of Protestantism had played both in England and Ireland, in one striking passage:

"Certain masters of composition have been the making of the English language, as Milton, Shakespeare, etc.; and as that language is a fact, so is that literature a fact by which it is formed and in

which it lives. National language and literature are what they are, and they cannot be anything else, whether they be good or bad or of a mixed nature; before they are formed we cannot prescribe them, and afterwards we cannot reverse them. We may feel a great repugnance to Milton and Gibbon as men; we may most seriously protest against the spirit which ever lives and the tendency which ever operates, in every page of their writings; but there they are, an integral portion of English literature; we cannot extinguish them, we cannot deny their power, we cannot write a new Milton or a new Gibbon; we cannot expurgate what needs to be exorcised. They are great English authors, each breathing hatred to the Catholic Church in his own way, each a proud and rebellious creature of God, each gifted with incomparable gifts. Whether we will or no, the phraseology and diction of Milton, and the Protestant formularies, etc., have become a portion of the vernacular tongue, the household words of which, perhaps, we little guess the origin, and the very idioms of our familiar conversation. The man in the comedy "spoke prose without knowing it," and we Catholics, without consciousness and without offence, are ever repeating the half sentences of dissolute playwrights and heretical partisans and preachers. While the English language was coming to the birth, with its special attributes of nerve simplicity and vigor at its very first breathings, Protestantism was at hand to form it upon its own theological *patois*, and to make it the mouthpiece of its own tradition. Protestantism is the intellectual basis, Protestant institutions are the informing objects of English literature. What was wanting to lead the national mind a willing captive to the pretensions of Protestantism beyond the fascination of genius so manifold and so various? The phrases and sentiments of Milton and Bunyan are the household words of the nation; they have become its interpreters of Scripture, and, I may say, its prophets—such is the magical eloquence of their compositions. All English classics go upon the assumption that Protestantism is synonymous with good sense, and Catholicism with weakness of mind, fanaticism, or some unaccountable persuasion or fancy. Verse and prose, grave and gay, the scientific and the practical, history and fable, all is animated spontaneously or imperiously subdued by the spirits of Henry and Elizabeth. Into its very vocabulary Protestantism enters."

The spirit of the Catholic religion is, on the contrary, the informing power of the Irish language. The Irish mind is nothing if not reverent, and poet and musician mostly wrote as if he wrote in the presence of a beneficent God: doubt on that point never occurred to his mind. Irish conversation was and still is redolent of

this tremendous difference in essence. It is full of affectionate veneration and kindly Christian fraternalism.

It was mainly through the interest aroused by Irish music, it would seem, that interest in the Irish language and literature began to be taken by men of learning. The collections of Irish minstrelsy made by Hardiman, Petrie, Bunting and other enthusiasts excited much interest among musicians about the time when Moore began to write melodies to be adapted to the old Irish airs and sing them in the drawing rooms of the great. An important step forward was taken when, in the year 1795, the Royal Irish Academy was founded in Dublin. The objects of this institution were stated to be the study of the science, polite literature, and antiquities of Ireland. The men to whose hands its destinies were at first intrusted were notoriously so unfit for its work that the antagonism of genuine Irish scholars was at once aroused. To this sentiment the Gaelic world owed the appearance of some intellectual giants—John O'Donovan, Eugene O'Curry, Owen Connellan, and several others. Of this brilliant group John O'Donovan was facile princeps, as to range of erudition, capacity for scholarly labor, keenness of observation, and painstaking accuracy. It was the richness of the treasures gathered by O'Curry for his "Manuscript Materials of Irish History" that gave the first considerable impetus to the wave that has ever since his day kept rolling in the intellectual sea and is now sweeping over a vast surface, gathering in all the spirit and genius of the people as it rolls on.

John O'Donovan was born in the County Kilkenny in the year 1806. It was a time when there was a stirring of the dry bones of political and literary achievement among the people, consequent, on the relaxation of the severer penal laws and the aspirations for nationhood, quenched in blood in two insurrections, but only to spring phoenix-like into renewed being at the trumpet-call of O'Connell. Gaelic was at the time very widely spoken outside Dublin, especially in the rural districts. O'Donovan was brought up among the farming population, and he grew up with a mind filled with the folk-lore of the Irish peasantry and the wild sweet music of the Irish peasantry. He was sent to a classical school, after he had mastered the rudiments of learning. At the age of nine he began to study Irish grammatically conjointly with Latin, and so rapid was his progress that after two years' hard work in this field he could translate Irish poetry with facility. His scientific mastery of the language was soon complete, and he devoted his youthful energies to an exposition of the follies of the school of foreigners—Vallancey, Betham, and others—who were in control of the Royal Irish Aca-

demy, and beginning the task of the Irish revival at the wrong end. Like several other men of genius—Mangan, Petrie, and a few more—young O'Donovan found an opening for his peculiar talents at a desk in the Ordnance Survey Office in Dublin. This Ordnance Survey covered a very wide field of measurement and investigation. It embraced inquiries into history, tribal affiliations, nomenclature, ancient and modern, geological diversities, and several other branches of research. While at work in this office O'Donovan made a copy of O'Connell's Irish Dictionary, the MS. of which is in the possession of Trinity College, Dublin. His next literary undertaking was more ambitious: it was a translation of King Alfred's Irish poems; and this was speedily followed by a translation of the Charter of Newry, which demanded great exactitude in phraseology and thorough acquaintance with obsolete as well as existing formularies and conditions. The Ordnance Survey about this time established an Historical Department; and O'Donovan was found to be the man most suitably equipped for the fulfilment of the onerous duties. He was constantly engaged in the work of this establishment from 1830 till 1842, when the Government withdrew the miserable grant it had allowed for it, and the work had to be dropped. Its duties were largely outdoor, and they brought him into all the counties of Ireland on a tour of investigation and verification of localities, families, tribes, settlements, and dialects, such as never had been any man's lot before. His Survey Letters occupy 103 volumes. They are in the custody of the Royal Irish Academy. As a monument of encyclopedic lore they are unique. The antiquities, the legends, the pedigrees, the traditions, the customs past and then present of the localities and the people of the thirty-two counties, are all carefully noted in the marvellous work. The stupendous character of the task may to some extent be guessed at when it is stated that he investigated the spelling and etymology of no fewer than 62,000 Irish townlands and 144,000 proper names on the various maps which passed under his hands. In quite a different field, that of the ancient Irish Sagas, he laid the foundation of that splendid body of literature which has been raised up by the labors of many enthusiastic scholars, foreign as well as Irish, since he first broke the sod in a long forgotten field.

Another monumental work of O'Donovan's was his translation of the Annals of the Four Masters. This was the most complete historical work on Ireland that ever saw the light, but it was dry and uninteresting as to style—more a chronology, in fact, than a literary performance, as so great a theme demanded. The holograph copy of the Annals from which he worked had been procured for

the Royal Irish Academy by George Petrie in the year 1832. O'Donovan recognized it at once as a work in the editing of which he would be enabled to display the best qualities of his scholarship, covering as it did the whole field of Irish history. The work was published by George Smith, a patriotic Dublin publisher, at his own expense, in magnificent style. The first part, for the years 1172 to 1616, appeared in 1848; and the second part, dealing with the earlier period, appeared in 1851. The first part won for him the Cunningham Gold Medal of the Royal Irish Academy, as well as the Honorary LL.D. of Trinity College, and its completion induced the Government to bestow on him a pension of £50 a year. In the meantime he was chosen as Professor of Celtic in the Queen's College, Belfast, which, with the Examinership in Celtic, given him in 1852, made his income from all sources £170 a year—the beggarly monetary reward of a lifetime of enduring work. But his services were retained for Ireland during the remaining years of his life by the establishment of the Brehon Law Commission. Up to the time of his death O'Donovan was engaged on the Brehon Law Tracts. None of them was published during his lifetime, and therefore they all appeared without his revision.

John O'Donovan had several children, some of whom were destined to make a much greater stir in the world, though not to render it as great a service as he. The eldest, Edmund, had a most remarkable and truly romantic career. It may be questioned whether the world had known anything to equal his astonishing adventures since Marco Polo's time. Well educated, at home and in France, he early became a skilled linguist, traveler and litterateur. As war correspondent he traveled much through Turkey and Egypt, picking up a great store of languages and dialects as he moved about from country to country. He wandered from one place to another in Asia until at last he found himself on the borders of the land of mystery called Merv, which is located in the heart of Asia. He lingered by the oasis which is situate on the fringe of the desert, long enough to acquire a knowledge of the language spoken in the strange city, from the mouths of travelers from thence. Then, disguising himself as a Mussulman, he crossed the desert and got access to the city itself—the only European, it is believed, that ever had penetrated beyond its wall. His personality was most magnetic, his manner frank and engaging. He speedily got into good graces with everybody with whom he came into contact, and the Emir of Merv having died, the people unanimously called upon the agreeable stranger to take his place. He acted as Emir for a couple of years. When he returned to Europe he wrote a book on Merv and its

people, the first authentic information on the subject that the Western world had. His portrait, in the magnificent robes of his high office, was presented in the book; it is now probably out of print. A younger brother, Richard, possesses, or did some twenty years ago possess, the Oriental paraphernalia which Edmund brought from Merv. Edmund was not long inactive. His restless spirit impelled him to go to the Soudan to assist Gordon Pasha in putting down the Mahdi. He was joined in Rome, en route for Egypt, by Vizatelli, the artist of "The Illustrated London News," and by Frank Power, a journalist who had been in the Austrian and Turkish armies. All three fell into the ambush that was laid for Hicks Pasha's force, but Power escaped, only to fall later on, when Khartoum was taken by the Mahdi's dervishes, as he was making his way down the Nile. Another brother of the O'Donovans, William, was a clever journalist and literary man, who spent several years on the New York press, but died in obscurity. Another brother, Henry, was also a journalist, and acted as war correspondent in Spain during the last Carlist uprising. He was taken by the royalist forces, and he would have been shot on the charge of being a spy were it not for the interposition of Cardinal Cullen, who was acquainted with the O'Donovan family and knew how absurd was the accusation against Henry.

Edward O'Reilly was for a time a contemporary and co-laborer with O'Donovan in the Irish field. He was the author of a fine Irish-English Dictionary, republished by Duffy in 1864. He was also an archaeologist of rare erudition. Amongst the valuable discoveries which resulted from his patient investigations were the original grants to the Franciscans in Dublin. He wrote:

"The present Roman Catholic Church of the parish of St. Nicholas Without the Walls of Dublin stands on the site of the ancient monastery of the Franciscans, from which Francis street derives its name. It is uncertain at what period the present church was erected, but there can be no doubt that the old building which very lately stood at the northwest angle of the church, and was used for the residence of the Roman Catholic parochial clergy, was part of the cloisters of the old monastery. This was one of the earliest establishments of the Franciscans in Ireland, and was built A. D. 1235 upon a piece of ground granted for that purpose by Ralph le Porter. King Henry III. encouraged the establishment of the Franciscans in Ireland, and on October 8, 1236, a *liberate* was issued for the payment of ten marks to forward the building of their convent in the suburbs of Dublin. At the suppression of the abbeys, etc., by that brutal tyrant Henry VIII., the site of this monastery, with four

messuages and three gardens in Francis street, six acres of meadow near Clondalkin, and all its messuages, gardens, lands, etc., at Boher-na-breena, near Glassnamuckey, were granted for ever to Thomas Stephens, to be held in *Capite* at the annual rent of two shillings Irish money."

Eugene O'Curry was another of the early Titans in the Gaelic revival. He came from Clare, having been born in Danaha, in that county, in the year 1796. His father was a man of refined literary and antiquarian tastes, and possessed a rare knowledge of Irish traditions. Moreover, he owned many old manuscripts in Gaelic on folk-lore. These facts account easily for the taste for Irish studies which Eugene soon developed. He early got acquainted with Mr. George Smith, the patriotic Dublin publisher, and soon got an appointment to join O'Donovan in the work of deciphering the mass of Irish MS. materials both in Trinity College Library and in the Royal Irish Academy under the direction of Dr. George Petrie and Dr. Todd. His work is only secondary in importance to that of O'Donovan. The collection as now printed is called "Manuscript Materials of Irish History." It was originally given in the shape of lectures, delivered while he was professor of Irish history at the Catholic University in Dublin. He also translated the oldest portion of the *Annals of the Four Masters*. He died in Dublin in 1862, and a large portion of his works were published by the late Dr. W. K. Sullivan, of the Cork Queen's College, in 1873.

While those talented pioneers were thus engaged in blazing the way for a revival of Irish learning worthy of a great cause others less prominent were doing work no less useful, though not so glittering. A Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was begun in a small way at a little hall in Lower Abbey street, Dublin, with the formation of a class in Irish by Mr. O'Longan, the Irish Scribe of the Royal Irish Academy; Mr. J. J. McSweeney, the Secretary of the Academy, and a few others. Mr. John Fleming, a splendid Irish scholar and school teacher, soon joined in the good work, and the little society began the publication of a periodical in the Irish language called "*The Gaelic Journal*," which printed lessons as well as general topics of interest to the new movement. Sir Samuel Ferguson, the gifted poet, was president of the Royal Irish Academy at the time, and he gave generous encouragement to the young Gaels; as did also the great scholar and historian, the late Sir John Gilbert. The Rev. Maxwell Close, a non-Catholic clergyman, was also an ardent supporter of the movement by purse as well as pen. Several distinguished German and French scholars were constant visitors to the Royal Irish Academy at that period. Their

interest was awakened by the reports they had heard of the literary treasures possessed by the Academy from Professor Zeuss, the author of an Irish Grammar, and Professor Roehrig, a German Mezzofanti in polyglot powers, but Mezzofanti's superior in scientific analyses of languages.

Professor Roehrig was a wholehearted lover of the Gaelic literature. He says of it:

"In all the beautiful Irish songs and poems, stories and romances, we meet with a truly wonderful productiveness and originality and a most surprising power of invention, such as we find in the Oriental tales, which, for so long a time, were the delight of the whole Western World. In lyric poetry, the Irish literature has evinced, and always maintained, an astonishing superiority. We find, in the Irish historians, mention of works—written even in Pagan times, in Ireland; and of these the most famous was the *Saltair of Tara*, a work which has not come down to us, but is described as having been a complete collection of metrical essays and dissertations on the laws and usages of Ireland. Its author is said to have been Cormac Mac Airt, King of Ireland (from 227 to 226 A. D.). We have ever so many important and valuable works, either in manuscript or print, dating from various periods of time, more or less ancient and remote."

Inasmuch as Professor Mahaffy and other pro-English writers have derided the ancient Irish literature as, amongst other faults, being disfigured by immoral allusions, we may properly quote what Professor Roehrig says on this important point:

"The Brehon Code must impress us favorably by the refinement of its morals, as well as by the skill and ingenuity which are evinced in the discussion of the cases, the nicety of distinction, and the accuracy of definition and classification. Its judgments and penalties are, to a great extent, mild and humane; and in regard to various points, a somewhat considerable latitude seems to be allowed. Some laws relating to damages done to or by animals, etc., remind us of some more or less analogous regulations in the Jewish 'Mishna.' There exists also a remarkable analogy with the Laws of Manu and the legal customs of the Hindoos; not only in regard to fines, but particularly to the 'fasting,' in certain cases, where the contending parties would go before the residence of the defendant and wait there without food for some time. This corresponds, in a measure, to the *dherma*, which was commonly resorted to by the creditors in Hindustan, when they went to sit at the door of the debtor, rigorously abstaining from all food, and threatening to commit suicide

by starvation; intending, thereby, to compel the debtor to return a loan or fulfil his obligations towards the claimant."

Professor Zimmer was another ardent Gaelic student; so too was Professor d'Arbois de Jubainville. It was the present writer's privilege to meet most of these zealous seekers after ancient Irish glories in the halls of the Academy more than once, in the days when the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was struggling to let the world know the beauties of the early Irish poems and Sagas, by the help of cheap popular editions of the originals and translations. That good work is continued by the same indefatigable society to the present day, although its name is rarely mentioned, at least on this side of the ocean. The Gaelic League was started by a few impulsive members of the parent society, who believed that the work was not being pushed fast enough; and it has since remained in the field, giving strong help and creating much enthusiasm and arousing much patriotic spirit among the people, as well as injecting a fine moral fibre into the movement, to the social betterment of many backward portions of the country. The late Mr. David Comyn was a distinguished worker in the cause of the League. His translations of Irish literary works were numerous and highly valuable.

These were a few of the noble band who in the early days raised the flag of Irish language and literature from the dust. They are all that space will permit of mention just now; and at future leisure moments it may be possible to go into some details of the work which they all so unselfishly performed. Their successors, under the leadership of Dr. Douglas Hyde and his confreres, have advanced the work they began to the point of almost absolute success; and they deserve the thanks of the Irish nation for it. But the pioneers who had no such encouraging conditions as these have, to cheer them on the way, ought never to be forgotten.

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Philadelphia.

Book Reviews

THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA. An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church. Edited by *Charles G. Herbermann, Ph.D., LL.D., Edward A. Pace, Ph.D., D.D., Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., John J. Wynne, S. J., and Conde B. Pallen, Ph.D., LL.D.,* assisted by Numerous Elaborators. In fifteen volumes with Numerous Illustrations and Maps. Volume VII, Greg.—Infal. New York: Robert Appleton Co.

It seems superfluous to say of each volume of the Catholic Encyclopedia as it appears, that it is up to the highest standard in every way, and yet the assertion is not altogether out of place, because it calls attention to a feature of the enterprise that may have passed unnoticed, or that has not been duly emphasized, and it is this: The Catholic Encyclopedia is least of all a commercial enterprise. The learned and self-sacrificing staff of editors have been moved by the love of truth and the desire to make truth known. They have asked for co-operation and help and patronage in order to be able to carry out this purpose, and the result is shown in the faithful manner in which the truth is sought and in which it is set forth.

If this enterprise were chiefly or altogether commercial, we should not expect such sacrifices and should be surprised to find them.

We are sure that nothing could force the editors of the Catholic Encyclopedia to lower their standard except lack of means to keep it up, and we are assured they are beyond that danger.

The present volume almost half completes the work, and exhausts about one-third of the alphabet. The truth is, however, that it disposes of about one-half of its subjects, because the early letters of the alphabet are much more prolific than the later ones—that is, considering them as groups.

Glancing over this volume, certain striking features of the work stand out. For instance, the histories of religious orders are so well written and so complete that they will make a very useful book if they are gathered together into one volume. We do not know any other source from which the valuable historical information contained in these articles could be gotten.

The same could be said of the histories of dioceses, if the writing of them had been entrusted in each case to the man in the diocese best fitted for the work; but unfortunately that has not been done always. Some of these articles are prepared by persons alto-

gether out of touch and out of sympathy with the subject, and the result is dry sketches made from directories and files of local newspapers, in a routine way. Where the opposite course is pursued, and especially in the history of later dioceses, when a writer is employed who has a personal knowledge of affairs almost from the beginning, we get a living sketch full of interest and value. No doubt the editors have recognized this, but may find difficulty in securing the writers.

Another feature of the work which is worthy of notice, and which the present volume brings to our attention in a striking manner, is its dogmatic articles. They are unusually well written, and they are splendid examples of compendium writing. For instance, we find before us such subjects as "Heaven," "Hell," "Immaculate Conception," "Indulgences" and "Infallibility," all treated so briefly, so clearly, and yet so comprehensively, that they could be used equally well before a class of theological students or before a congregation. An illustration of how the Encyclopedia touches extremes is shown in the papers on the "Indians" and on the "Hungarians." In the first we have a very complete history of the old inhabitants of this country going out, and in the second the history of the largest class of new inhabitants coming in.

The up-to-dateness of the book is shown in the sketch of Joel Chandler Harris, who was a convert to the faith and who died recently.

In connection with the labor troubles and strikes, which have become much more frequent recently, all parties concerned might read with profit the excellent paper on "Guilds."

If a glance at a book can bring to view so much that is interesting, what a storehouse of good things awaits the patient reader. These volumes are so attractive that invariably when they are taken up for consultation on one point, they fascinate the reader and tempt him to venture into other fields.

LA VALEUR SOCIALE DE L'ÉVANGILE, par L. Garriguet. Paris: Bloud et Cie., 1910.

In an age in which the instinct of solidarity and the passion of sociality have so strongly asserted themselves as they have in this our day, it may seem strange that the social teachings of the Gospels have received so little consideration. True, indeed, the fundamental principles of the New Testament have not gone without their morally social application to human life. This has been given them full often by preacher and by writer. But the thorough, systematic

study of the social doctrines of our Lord has been left to comparatively recent times. Moreover, that study has been cultivated more extensively by non-Catholic than by Catholic truth-seekers. We can hardly say that we have in English the parallel of Professor Peabody's *Jesus Christ and the Social Question* (Macmillan Co., 1900), a book which M. Garriguet recognizes to have been written "*avec une grande bonnefoi et un sentiment Chrétien très élevé*," even though it calls in view of Professor Peabody's Unitarianism *sur certains points de sérieuses réserves*.

Seeing, then, this paucity of works, especially Catholic works, of the kind, there should be a welcome for the present book by the well-known writer on economics and sociology, M. Garriguet. A few words on the general scope of the work may help to anticipate and possibly to extend that welcome. Over against the social reform, which is avowedly revolution, proposed by Socialists, Catholic reforms are enlisted in a crusade based on Christian principles and ideals; and they claim to find those principles and ideals in the teachings of Christ and the social traditions of the Church. To the establishment of this claim and the unfolding of its implications the substance of the volume is devoted. During the past five decades countless plans for social betterment have been proposed. Some would build the new State on purely non-moral foundations; religion would either be abolished or would be tolerated as a private individual concern. The social question is exclusively economic, not ethical. Some theorists, on the other hand, while recognizing a moral, and even a dominantly moral, side to the problem, divorce morality entirely from religion and metaphysics. They build on independent ethics. Such an ethic, however, as M. Garriguet demonstrates is devoid of "a human basis," and cannot therefore be itself a stable foundation for a solid superstructure of social remedial theory. It can have no hold on the masses, and even when bolstered up by evolutionism, solidarism and the other fictitious supports, collapsed. Morality in theory as well as practice must be founded on God and religion. The loosening of the moral bonds in modern society runs apace with the weakening of religious belief amongst the people. "To moralize the proletariat," and to render it capable of advancing towards the destiny which the future seems to hold in store for it, *il faut revenir à l'évangile*, which alone holds the words of life for all times and circumstances, for time and eternity. These are the general conclusions to which the author's main thesis leads up. Familiar enough, even platitudinous they seem as here stated; but seen in the concrete setting of M. Garriguet's argumentation, they reflect the freshness and vigor of young life. Within the compass

of three hundred short pages he has succeeded in unfolding the ethico-social contents of the Gospel—their bearings especially upon the perfection of the individual, the family, the people, the State—and he has presented them in a method and style that make up the reading as attractive as it is stimulating and instructive.

CHRISTIAN PEDAGOGY; OR, THE INSTRUCTION AND MORAL TRAINING OF YOUTH.
By *Rev. P. A. Halpin*, Professor of Mental Philosophy, St. Angela's College, New Rochelle, N. Y. 8vo, pp. 229. New York, Joseph F. Wagner, 1908.

Although no apology is needed for this excellent book the author offers one in the following words:

The only excuse for a book of this kind is, that it may be a help toward keeping to the fore the old-time saving principles of all education and toward strengthening the legitimate protest against all dangerous encroachment, a protest that should grow louder and more general in these days, when enlightened defenders of these principles are not as numerous nor as well-equipped as they should be in this fight which is so furiously raging around the foundations of civilization.

It may seem exaggeration to identify pedagogy with the security of the Home and the State. But what the mind is imbued with, sooner or later is translated into action. As a man's mind thinks so does his hand act. Everything that has transpired in all past ages, everything, no matter what its nature, is traceable to some thought that dominated the individual, or the republic, or the empire. In fact, without such a thought there would have been no history, and lethargy and monotony would have characterized all human activity in all the years since the beginning of the race.

It is a dangerous thing for man, collectively or individually, to consider views, opinions, maxims—call them what we will—as of no importance in the shaping of a destiny, whether it be that of a prince or a peasant, a hireling or a master, a pupil or a teacher. To the teacher belongs the task of sowing the first seeds of thought. We are not forgetting the home as a factor in the process. The following pages more than once emphasize the high place the family rightfully possesses in the upbringing of the child. The training imparted by parents is completed by the pedagogue.

Such a practical book on so important a subject by an author so unusually well equipped is worthy of a very warm reception. It is especially important because false theories of education are so prevalent at the present time, and are so widely accepted and followed. Father Halpin's many years of actual work in the class room have

given him a knowledge and experience that fit him to produce the best practical guide for parent and teacher.

He treats of the school, the human soul, the human body, the senses, the brain, the imagination, mental operations, the memory and the will, in a manner that is not only clear and informing, but at the same time charming. Parent and teacher may safely and profitably follow this guide.

DIE FREIHEIT DER WISSENSCHAFT. Ein Gang durch das moderne Geistesleben. Von Dr. Joseph Donat, S. J. Innsbruck, Fel. Rauch (Pustet & Co., New York). 1910. Pr. \$1.50.

The fundamental sophism is that of equivocation—ambiguity in language responding to confusion of ideas referred erroneously to the objective order. From this deception regarding what is real and true result very many, if not most of, the evils that play havoc in the moral and social as well as mental and physical life of men, individual and collective. Of all equivocations, ambiguities of speech answering to confusion of ideas, none is so widespread, none has done such mischief to man, as that which sports with the term and the concept of liberty, freedom. In the name of nothing else have so many crimes been committed, so many minds and souls plunged into ruin. On the other hand, books not a few have been written with the endeavor on the part of their authors to secure accurate and uniform thinking on the true significance of liberty. In the work above introduced, a professor at the University of Innsbruck gives us the results of much thought and research in the same direction. He confines himself, however, to one department of the general subject—that is, to freedom of science. Science is essentially intellectual life, and, like all life, must be “free,” but free in what sense? Art also should be “free”—that is, not enslaved to the tyranny of caprice or fashion—but it must be restrained by the laws of beauty and the rules of expression. The citizen rightly demands “liberty”—that is, freedom from the arbitrary abuse of civil authority, but not from the just application of the laws of the State. So, too, of course, the intellect must be free, but not from the restrictions of truth. All this is patent enough. It is only when we come to determine the grounds and the limits of these restrictions in the concrete that difficulties arise and opinions first diverge and then converge in conflict. Professor Donat takes a very comprehensive view of the subject. The freedom of science and its philosophical presuppositions, freedom of research in respect to faith, “liberalistic” freedom of research, freedom of teaching in the domain of morals

and politics, theology and science and the university—the bare mention of these topical headings suggests to the intelligent reader the extent of the ground covered by the volume. But the author's treatment of these large problems is no less profound and thorough. Philosophy, science, history, experience contribute an immense wealth of argument, fact and illustration to the discussion. The spirit of the work is throughout calm and objective—*ruhig und sachlich*, as the author himself calls it. Polemic there is, of course, and not a little; but the animus is impersonal and just, unlikely to offend those who differ from the author's opinions. The style is clear and interesting, though somewhat discursive—*weitläufig*, as the Germans call it. The book might to advantage have been more condensed. However, this fault, if fault it be, is explained by the fact that the volume embodies the author's academic lectures—forms of discourse which are necessarily somewhat diffuse. Moreover, in so difficult and delicate a matter, expansiveness and repetition contribute to ensuring true understanding. The work is a solid contribution to the literature of its subject.

ÉPIÎRES DE SAINT PAUL. Leçons d'Exegèse par C. Toussaint. Librairie Gabriel Beauchêne et Cie., 117, rue de Rennes, Paris.

A unique interest attaches to St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians. If not the first canonical texts of the New Testament, as modern exegetists usually consider them, they are in all probability the first of the letters addressed by the great apostle to the nascent Christian communities, and they thus not only reveal the early outpourings of his soul for the children whom he had begotten by the Gospel to Christ, but they furnish us with a starting point whence to trace the development of his doctrines as they unfold themselves in his subsequent epistles. Professor Toussaint has thus gained a special interest for his present undertaking by opening it with the exegesis of the Thessalonian letters. Next to them he places the Epistle to the Galatians, then the Epistles to the Corinthians. These constitute the matter of the volume at hand. The other Pauline writings are reserved for a future volume. Let us say a word regarding the scope and spirit of the work. In the first place, it is not simply a new translation—even though made directly from the Greek—with the usual appendage of textual notes and commentaries. Nor is it, in the second place, a manual introductory to and embracing the theology of the Epistles. It is something of both. By probing their contents to their depths, the author has sought to bring out the logical unity of each Epistle. He thus enables the reader to

place himself in personal rapport with St. Paul; to enter into the soul of the great apostle as it poured itself out in thought and love to his beloved disciples.

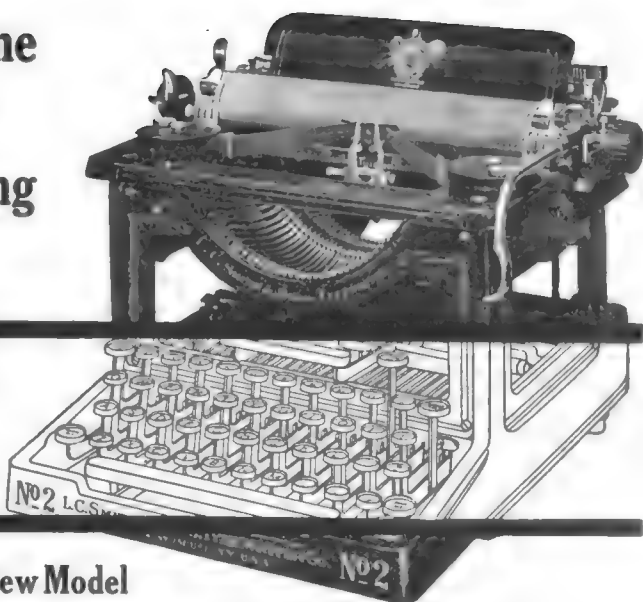
The reader has, therefore, in Professor Toussaint's volume a key both to the letter and the spirit of the text—a commentary, a treatise and a story which, when he has used, will make him look eagerly for the complementary volume introductory to the other Epistles.

DE SCRIPTURA SACRA. J.-B. Bainvel, lector theologiae in Facultate catholica Parisiensi. 1 vol. in-8 de viii-214 pp. Librairie Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie., 117, rue de Rennes, Paris.

Students of Theology are acquainted with Professor Bainvel's tractate *De magisterio vivo et traditione*, published some few years. The present work is built on similar lines; that is, the authoritative documents are first accumulated and the body of theological doctrine developed therefrom. Accordingly the student finds here in the part the "Scripturæ Acta" of Pius X, Leo XIII, the Vatican and Tridentine Councils, and of similar authorities back to Nice. These are followed by the Scholastic, Patristic and Biblical teachings, and these in turn by some Jewish and heterodox documents. Here then are the *fontes theologici*. Out of these in the second part of the volume are drawn the theses with their principles and deductions bearing on the subjects of inspiration, inerrancy, the Canon, the Vulgate, exegesis, the use and treatment of Scripture. Difficult and delicate questions bristle in these fields, but the author approaches them with perfect awareness of the gravity of his undertaking, and he handles them firmly but at the same time with tact. His concern is to exhibit the teaching and mind of the Church—to set down what is certain and what uncertain and debatable; to sacrifice no traditional truth, but to omit no new discovery; in a word, to combine sane conservatism with reasonable progressiveness. The book is designed to be a text-book; hence to be used by a competent teacher and an earnest student. Succinctly compacted as it is, both master and pupil must do some work to profit by its use. Upon this condition, however, the book will approve itself. It says *multa, multum, sed non multo*.

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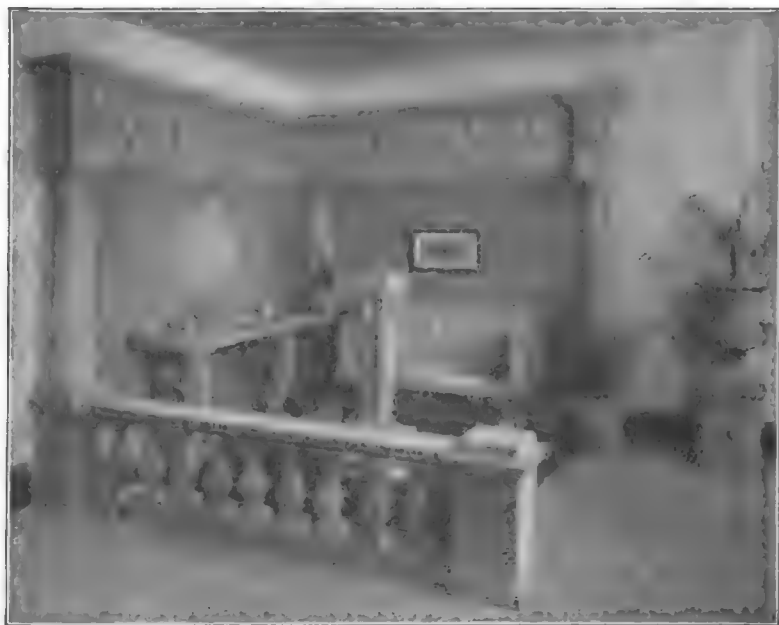
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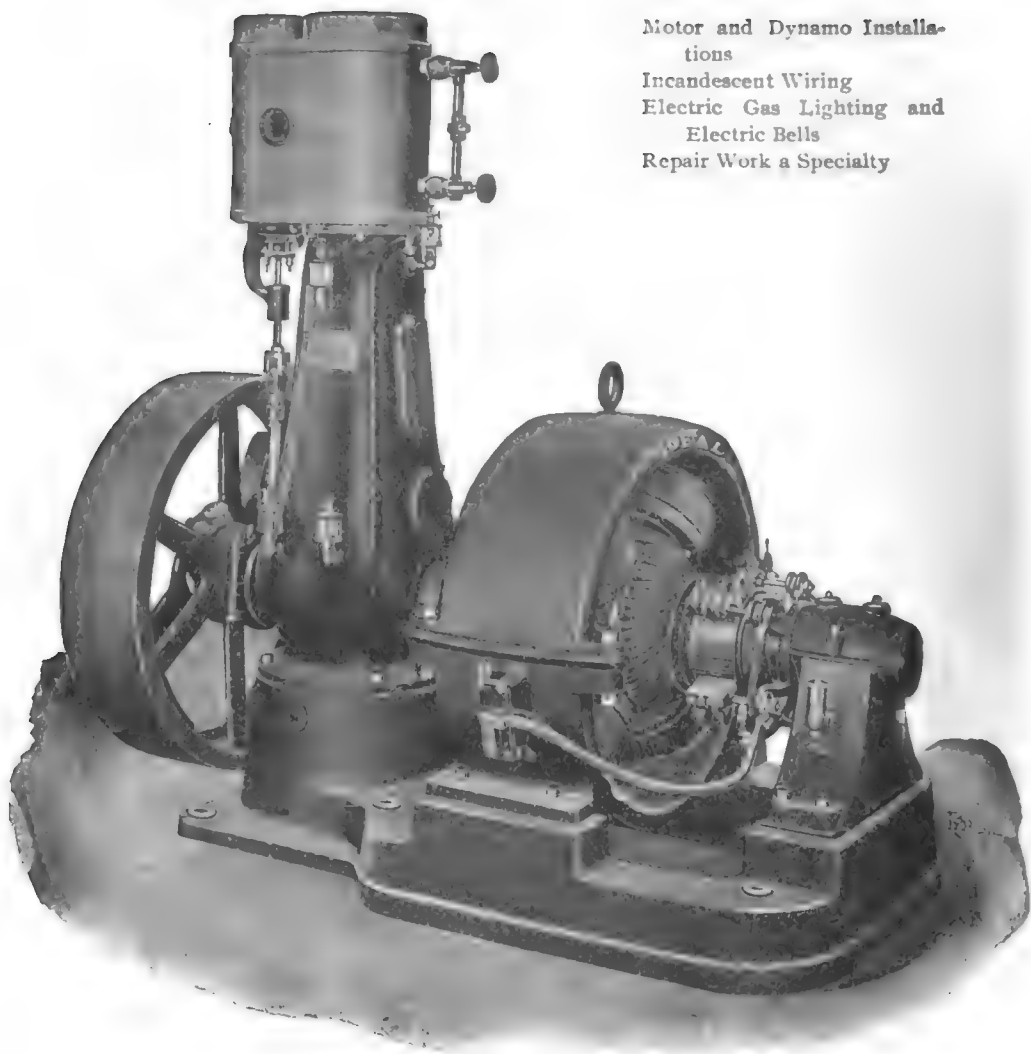
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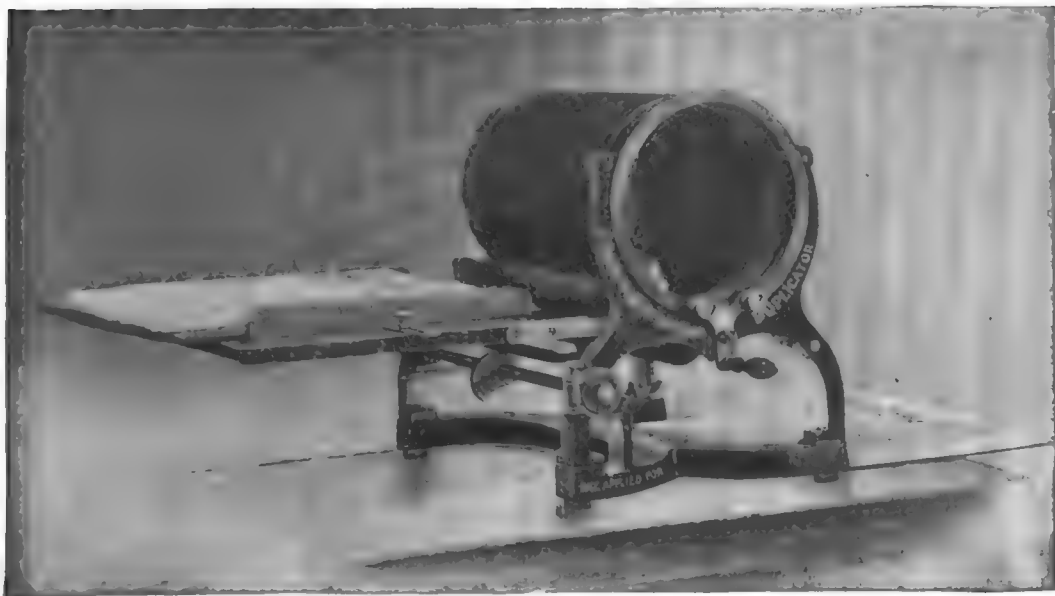
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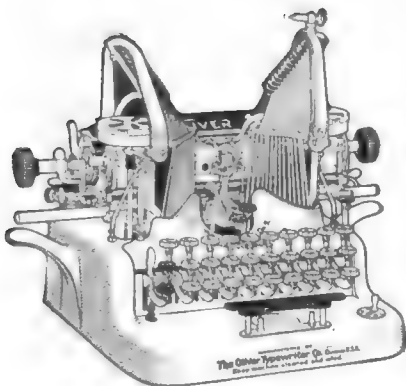
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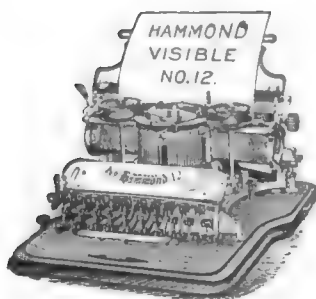
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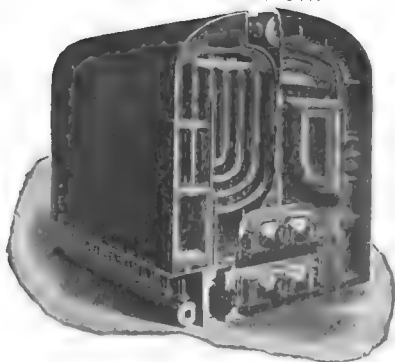
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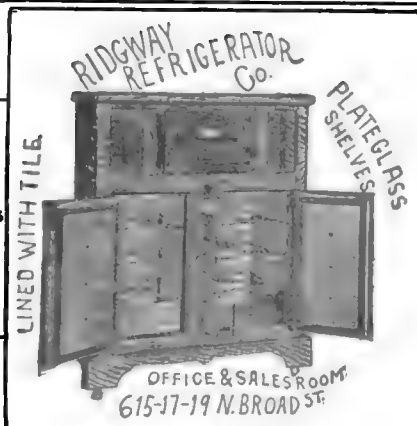
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Leo XIII.



(Translation.)

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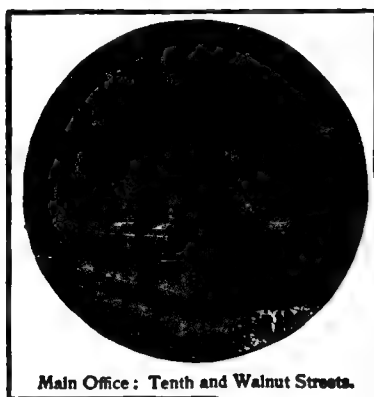
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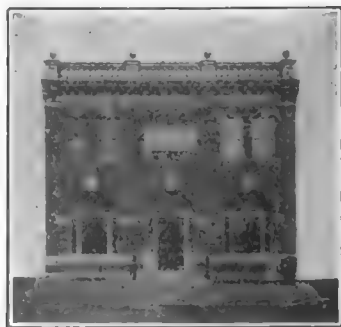
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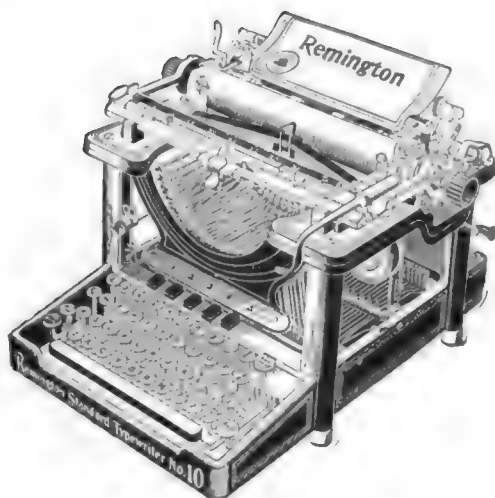
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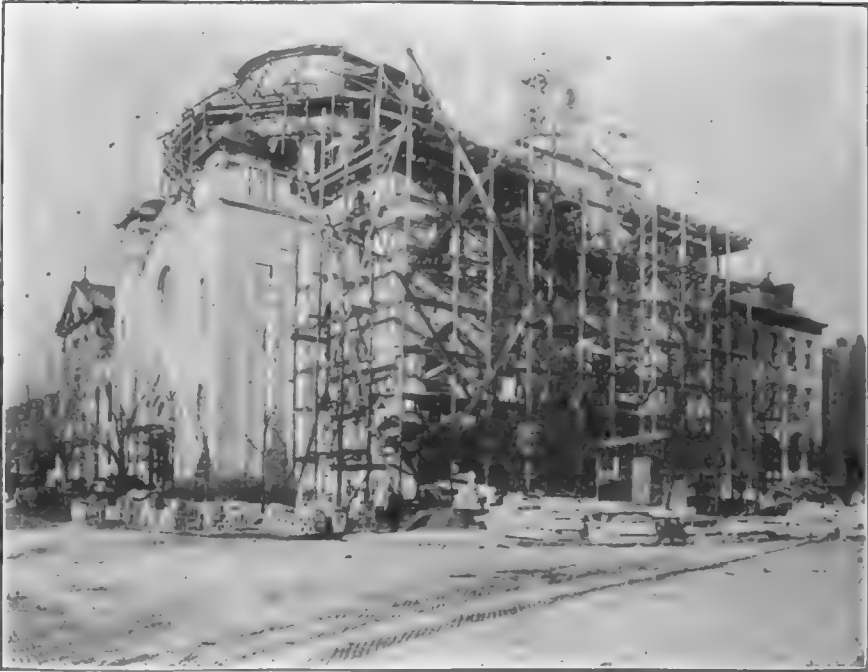
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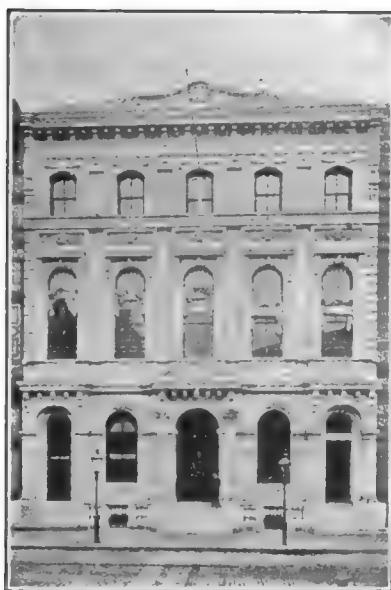
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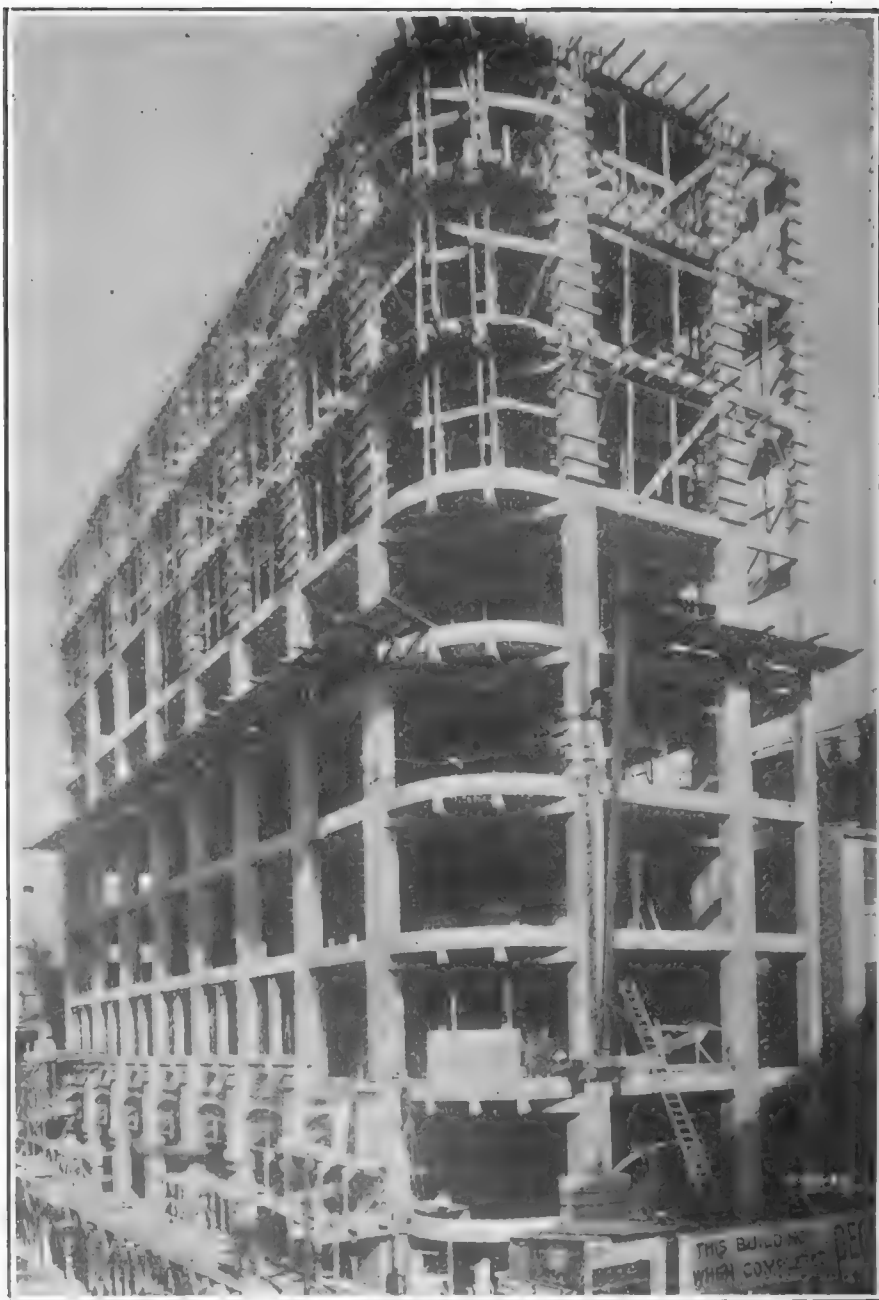
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Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and Erie, Lehigh Valley, and other Companies' Bonds and Stocks.....	8,909,150.82
Cash in Bank and Bankers' hands.....	1,134,635.88
Notes Receivable, and Unsettled Marine Premiums.....	347,440.69
Net Cash Fire Premiums in course of Transmission.....	1,069,510.62
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Total Assets,	\$13,385,501.56

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SOME FACTORS IN THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

IT IS a characteristic of all great religious, as of all great social and political movements that, no matter how full and copious may be the literature relating to any one of them, it is always possible to present it, or the conditions and circumstances that gave rise to it, in some fresh aspect. Of no religious movement, I believe, is this so true as of that here dealt with; nor could there, I am further convinced, be a more opportune time than the present for studying certain influences which I venture to designate factors at work in its rise and earlier development—factors which, it may fairly be supposed, tended to shape its course and its ultimate issue. And for this reason—that the Oxford Movement, while in no sense, as some maintain, a spent force, seems to have reached a definite stage in its history, one whence, so to speak, it may advance in either of two directions. The stream, that is to say, may proceed onward, gathering force, volume and clearness, towards the great ocean of Catholicism ("to the place whence it came, thither it shall return again"), or spend itself, in scattered rivulets, among the barren sands of Ritualism, Modernism and petty schism. Nor are the causes far to seek for an apparent tendency towards the latter issue. The Evangelical and the Puseyite of fifty years ago, however widely they might differ on certain points of doctrine, church government and practice, were at one concerning the "fundamentals" of orthodox (Biblical) Christianity. To-day, on the contrary, the Modernists of Anglicanism, the "Broad-churchmen," less aggressive, less blatant,

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possibly, than the older men, the school of the "essays and reviews," are, or seem to be, the dominant party, if not an actual majority in the communion to which they professedly belong. Between such "rationalizers" and the "Romanizers" there is, obviously, a great gulf fixed. The moderate men, if there are any left, find themselves called upon to make a choice, distasteful in either case, between "liberalism" and "Popery." The Evangelicals, for all their growing churchliness, are in even worse case. Modernism, masquerading as "higher criticism," has made a myth of their infallible Bible. There remains to them only a hopeless shutting of their eyes to facts and conditions as they are—a conservatism as out of date as the dodo—or submission to a Divinely appointed, infallible Vicar of Christ.

Although, therefore, I endeavored in a former article¹ to give some account of the more remote sources and of the logical destiny—God's *terminus ad quem* of the Oxford Movement, I shall here attempt to deal with certain factors, as I have ventured to term them, which, as already said, may be looked upon as having influenced its general course, and may possibly affect its ultimate issue.

Something, as was pointed out in the article referred to, must be allowed to the time, the circumstances and the conditions under which this counter-reformation took definite form and beginning. How much it is, perhaps, difficult to estimate correctly; it is certain, at least, that, humanly speaking, no moment could have seemed, at first sight, so unfavorable. It was at a time when Liberalism and Erastianism in Church and State were at floodtide, when a reform government was at the height of its popularity, when only at Oxford the traditional "home of lost causes," were Conservatism and the rights of the national Church so much as considered. Yet no movement could, as it proved, have been more opportune. The excesses of the French Revolution of 1830 had given British Toryism a new lease of life; its friends could point to events across the channel as the legitimate fruits of Liberalism; it was a time when the government, in abolishing certain Irish bishoprics, had laid profane hands on the Church of God. It was the darkest hour, and the man, with his message, was not wanting.

No study of the movement, however, it may be said without hesitation, can be called complete which fails to take into account as a preliminary, or rather as a predisposing influence, the religious condition of England at the close of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Nor should consideration of this condition be confined to that of the national establishment, or even of the various Nonconformist sects commonly known as "Dissenters." The blight of eighteenth century indifferentism, of revolu-

¹ AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1909.

tionary liberalism, fell no less fatally on the insignificant remnant of the glorious English Church of St. Augustine, St. Thomas and Blessed John Fisher than on her lost and separated children. A recent work on "The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England," referred to in the July (1909) number of the *Dublin Review*, needs only to be consulted in order to confirm what is here said. It was a lukewarm, Godless and "respectable" age—respectability hates zeal as disturbing and unbecoming a gentleman—as the literature dealing with it abundantly shows, and not the Church herself, whether in England or on the Continent of Europe, was immune from its soul-deadening influences. How, indeed, should she be, since while Divine, she is also human, and is, humanly, no more holy than her children?

In regard to the actual movement under consideration, moreover, certain political tendencies and conditions must, as will have been gathered from what was said just now, be taken into account, and I shall, I am sure, be forgiven for reviewing them here as briefly and as dispassionately as possible. This influence, for that is what it comes to, predominant at the time we speak of, may, perhaps, be best defined by an old name, Whiggism, otherwise Whiggery. This, again, may be made comprehensible to twentieth century American readers, for want of a better synonym—and politics, strictly speaking, apart—as constitutionalism in Church and State, the supremacy of the latter, that is of parliament, over all causes and persons, spiritual and temporal. It is also, as my readers are doubtless aware, known as Erastianism, and has been seen as Royal Supremacy in England, as "Gallicanism" in France and as Josephism in Austria. It began, one may say, with Constantine, and has been successfully resisted by one power only—the Apostolic See.

Whiggism, then, or Whiggery, which began with resistance to the Stuarts, was not by any means a popular movement south of the Tweed at any time, though, like other political movements, it had its days of triumph and apparent favor. It was, I believe, Lord Beaconsfield who said that the Whig aristocracy—between whom and himself there was, as we say, no love lost—had assumed to their own profit all authority, royal or ecclesiastical, to say nothing of the monastic lands. Those are not, indeed, his exact words, but they convey, so far as my memory serves me, the gist of the charge against them. A brief course of Macaulay, supplemented by Thackeray's "Four Georges," will enable any one to arrive at some estimate as to its truth or otherwise.

It began, as I said a moment ago, with resistance to the Stuarts, about whom there are, of course, various opinions, flattering or the exact opposite. But it may be well, perhaps, to point out that it

was the ecclesiastical policy of Charles I. and of Charles II., the attempt to impose the King's religion and, still worse, the King's Bishops on the national Church of Scotland which chiefly and most violently roused the opposition of the Western Presbyterians, under the leadership of the Marquis of Argyll. In other words, it was a movement, popular in a sense, but guided and controlled by a land-holding aristocracy, heirs of the barons whose turbulence had made Scotland for centuries so difficult, if not impossible to govern, almost another Poland. Scott's "Old Mortality" and "Legend of Montrose," together with certain of Aytoun's "Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers," give, I may say, as vivid a picture of this struggle of Whiggism in its beginnings as can be obtained. It is a struggle of interest to Catholics, inasmuch as the principles at stake were so vital. Royal supremacy was, at least, preferable to that of parliament, aristocratic or otherwise.

Whiggism, then, if afterwards chiefly political, was in its origins most distinctively Puritan, imbued with an unconquerable hate of "prelacy and Popery," terms which it regarded, or professed to regard, as practically synonymous. The spiritual tyranny of local Presbyterianism—and it was both real and bitter—the landed aristocracy of Scotland could afford to ignore, the ministers having as proper a sense of what was due to the "princes of Israel" as the court Bishops of Constantine or Louis XIV. Here, again, the "Legend of Montrose" will help the reader to understand what I mean.

It was only natural, therefore, that the "Popery" of James II., his assaults, not on liberty, as popular tradition has it, but, as Mr. Chesterton has so well pointed out, on constitutional precedent, should have rendered him in the eyes of a Protestant aristocracy—whose privileges he had dared to invade—wholly unfit to govern them, a conviction which they proceeded to translate into action without unnecessary delay. It was their power or his that was at stake; the issue, as we know, for good or for ill was in favor of the former.

We can follow the development of this constitutional and distinctly aristocratic theory of government from the "Bill of Rights" imposed on William of Orange to the conditions exacted from the Elector of Hanover, concerning whom Thackeray's "Four Georges," already referred to, will give all the information that may be desired. We can follow it, indeed, if so disposed, through the "betrayal" of the first reform bill of 1832 to the final merge of Whiggism in present day Radicalism. What is beyond, Providence—and Mr. Lloyd George—only know.

That which chiefly interests us here, however, is the attitude of

the Whig aristocracy towards the national Church. Starting, as we have seen, in opposition to prelacy, that is, to what we may, I suppose, define as spiritual autocracy, as distinct from spiritual democracy, it is easy to see in what spirit the heirs and successors of the original Whiggish Covenanters would be likely to meet any assertion of independence on the part of a communion which they—rightly enough, as we know—regarded as merely “a creature of the State,” a department, in fact, of the civil service. And that State, we must remember, had long since become synonymous in their estimation with their noble selves. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, they might possibly admit, created the national Church as a department of government, but they would, if I am not greatly mistaken, have assigned to the voluntary assent of Parliament a much larger share in the task than either of the monarchs in question would have been inclined to concede. At all events, the growth of constitutionalism under the Hanoverian dynasty especially, had, they would have argued, not without reason, transferred an ever-increasing measure of the royal claims and prerogatives to Parliament—again, to themselves, not, of course, to the wicked and disloyal Tories, still more or less tainted with Jacobitism, principally more. It is a taint, I may remark in passing, some of us are even yet not wholly free. If so—and Parliament after all was master of the situation, thanks to the bargain made with the original “German lairdie”—then Henry’s powers as head of the Church and Elizabeth’s as supreme governor of the same, as transmitted nominally to their successors, belonged really and actually to the sole source of all authority, royal or ecclesiastical, the two houses of Parliament.

This, you will note, makes Whiggism, as indeed it is identical with what is commonly called Erastianism, with the theory of government which holds the State—Parliament, not the King, except in name—“over all causes and persons, civil and ecclesiastical, within these dominions supreme.” Cæsarism, the supremacy of the monarch, as Henry planned it and as the Czar of Russia exercises it, is an unmitigated evil, but it is trifling in its effects as compared with the spiritual supremacy of a popularly elected assembly of “Jews, Turks, heretics and infidels,” if I may be excused the expression. It is a theory, be it said, no less prevalent in North America than elsewhere, and it is our chief offense as “subjects of a foreign power,” the Pope to wit, that we refuse to submit to it. But it is to such supremacy that the Anglican communion since the fall of the Stuarts, in 1688, has had to submit; a supremacy wielded, let me add, without ruth or consideration, by an assembly which, from session to session, with the extension of the franchise, has grown less fit, but more relentlessly eager to exercise it. Which of itself, and without any

other cause, is enough to account for the Oxford Movement. Even the very Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland has a greater measure of autonomy than the Church of Henry and Elizabeth.

We have, therefore, at the date assigned by Newman as the definite beginning of the Oxford counter-reformation—namely, 1833—a purely constitutional Erastian government, largely, if not wholly aristocratic, in spite of the reform act of the previous year, one which, little by little, had curtailed the royal prerogatives—of its own giving, remember—and increased its own. It was a government which, as we said just now, regarded itself, as *Mr. Punch* put it, as “providentially chosen to govern the country” and all its concerns, spiritual as well as temporal. It was merely consistent on the part of such a government that it should dismiss the “creatures of its own appointing”—namely, certain Irish Protestant Bishops—and abolish their sees. It was as much a matter of course as the disbandment of a regiment and the consequent retirement of its officers. But it is worth noting as an act of spiritual autocracy which, so far as I am aware, no Pope ever exercised.

The spiritual peers in Parliaments did not, it may be supposed, submit to this intrusion by the State without some more or less formal protest, which drew from the Premier a significant warning as to setting their own houses in order. Bishops, as has been remarked, were no favorites with the Whigs. To their credit, be it said, that at the worst of times the Anglican episcopate, their method of appointment notwithstanding, have for the most part had a certain sense of official dignity of their nominal prerogatives as rulers of the national Church, which may, perhaps, be described as traditional and largely accounted for by the power of association; by the fact that never during three hundred years had the most anti-Papal of them ceased to claim, however hopelessly, the rights and privileges of their alleged prereformation predecessors, holders of the same sees and, like them, peers of the realm.

Be that as it may, however, we know that the Whig government of 1832, after abolishing the Irish bishoprics referred to, proceeded to discuss a similar measure in connection with the Church of England. Contemporary accounts, many of them personal, go to show that the Bishops were most unpopular, to the extent of being mobbed on their way to Parliament. They were supposed, on what evidence I do not know, to have opposed the reform bill. The Church of England was naturally conservative in her sympathies, reactionary as it is the fashion to call it, otherwise clerical. Now, the reform bill, for some reason not easily to be gathered, seems curiously enough to have been as popular with the masses—again I must crave your indulgence of a cant term—as it was distasteful to the

peers and great landowners, Whig and Tory alike. It was, apparently, at this time that the Prime Minister gave the Bishops the hint concerning their houses and a warning as to what might befall them should they fail to act on it.

It was at such a crisis, when a measure aimed at the very existence of the national Church by a "tyrannical and Erastian State" was, so far as men could judge, met with approval by a vast majority of Englishmen, that Keble preached his famous sermon on "National Apostasy" in St. Mary the Virgin's Church, at Oxford, and this Oxford Movement began.

It is not my purpose, even after so much that, I fear, has seemed unduly long and possibly irrelevant, to attempt any detailed account of the movement itself. The purpose of this article, indeed, is professedly to serve as an introduction to the study of the Oxford Movement, and to give such impressions of it as my reading and my personal experience of it have left on my own mind. Before doing so, however, I venture to commend to the reader's attention two works which I have no hesitation in saying are the most important of all that have been written in connection with the subject—Newman's "Apologia" and "William George Ward and the Oxford Movement." Having done so, I will, with his permission, proceed as it were to pass the movement in review very much, as I said just now, as I have known it. Such an account of it will, at least, have the merit of being, so to speak, at first hand, even if, as I greatly fear, it have no other to commend it.

I would ask, then, that there may be borne in mind the two principles referred to—the Erastian theory of State supremacy in spirituals, which holds the national communion to be practically a department of the civil service, and the traditional Anglican theory of the "rights and privileges of the Church," a theory to which "continuity" with the prereformation Church of the English people, though only claimed and not proved, would, of course, lend strength and plausibility. These, which we may call the opposing forces, would, we should imagine, inevitably come into irreconcilable conflict when the State so far "invaded" the territory nominally under the control of the Church as to suppress certain bishoprics and to threaten to suppress others. Strangely enough, no such conflict occurred, not at least where it might most naturally have been looked for—namely, in the House of Lords. The English Bishops, however sorry they may have been, and presumably were, for their suppressed Irish brethren, were well content to comply with the government's hint as to setting their own houses in order, or, at all events, to make some show of doing so. More, they promptly and emphatically disowned as rebels and traitors the overzealous cham-

pions of "the Church's rights" and of those of the episcopate, and proceeded to assist the State by all the means at their command in putting an end to that which they stigmatized as "a disloyal and wholly unjustifiable agitation."

This, indeed, is one of the most curious, as it is one of the most interesting aspects of the Oxford Movement—the bitter, unrelenting opposition of the Bishops to those whose professed aim was to restore the Church and the Church's "fathers in God" to her and their ancient rights and privileges. No measures, as contemporary accounts show, were too rigorous, no reproofs too harsh for use against these "innovators," against those who were then and still are regarded as betrayers of Protestantism and of "the Church of their baptism," as secret agents of "the Pope and the Jesuits." That the aim of the early Tractarians was not to innovate, but to restore disused and nominally lawful doctrines and practices, the lecture I had the honor of giving on this subject last year was, I trust, sufficient to prove to the satisfaction of any unprejudiced person. I need only repeat here that their claims were based on the formularies and definitions of Anglicanism itself; that their professed object was to "restore" the national communion to the position which, as they believed and taught, she had held not only prior to "the troubles of the Tudor period," but which she was intended by the "reformers" themselves—so far as words could be taken to indicate their purpose—to hold always. That at least was their spiritual and ecclesiastical standpoint at the beginning of the movement. They denied wholly and sincerely the claims of "Rome" to supremacy and exclusive jurisdiction. The "Church" of their allegiance was, in their eyes, the Church of St. Augustine, the Church of the English people, national and independent of Pope or of King, by right, if not in fact. It was this right, indeed, which they desired to translate into reality. It was in pursuit of this that they entered on that "middle way" between Rome and Geneva, between Popery and Protestantism, which to us, as to so many of their heirs to-day, seems so illogical and to lead nowhere if not to Rome, but which to them, as they set their feet in it, with a faith, a loyalty and a simple courage which are beyond admiration, was to be God's highway, leading to the City of Peace—a highway so broad, so plain, so easy to follow that "the wayfaring man, though a fool," could not err therein.

As, indeed, to so many then and since it proved and has proved, as also we must for the time being regard it, if we would rightly understand the true nature of this, the most wonderful surely of all religious revivals since the great apostasy of the sixteenth century. What other prospect think you would have led studious Oxford

divines, quiet, unassuming country clergy, men and women of all ranks, to set foot in it, but this vision of the goal to be attained? Broad, easy and plain in a sense the road unquestionably was, yet in no less true a sense narrow, hard and difficult, thorn strewn and set about with hardships with moral if not with physical martyrdom. Do I seem to exaggerate? Let the reader study Newman's "Apologia" and he will be convinced that I speak "words of truth and soberness." Believe me—if I may name myself at such a juncture—I know whereof I speak.

And what, then, was the goal they looked to attain? Nothing less, as I said just now, and none other than the City of Peace. They set before their eyes the vision of "a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing;" of a veritable "New Jerusalem, adorned as a bride to meet her husband." True, and as we know, they all unknowingly ascribed her attributes and her glories to a creature of the state, to an organization that was not the Church, but the fact remains, and must be taken into account as explaining much that otherwise is not merely inexplicable, but without reason or excuse.

It was only, however, "by slow and almost imperceptible degrees that this "vision glorious" dawned on the spiritual eyes of the first Tractarians. Newman and his immediate followers since Newman, from the very beginning was the recognized leader of the movement. "Compared with him," says Froude in a memorable passage, "they were as ciphers, he the indicating number." It was this position of leadership, indeed, which made every act and word of Newman's of such vital importance to the revival, men, it is said, going so far as to profess belief not so much in principles as in Newman personally. It was a position and a responsibility which we may be sure he did not fail to recognize to the fullest extent.

What we have chiefly to note at this stage is the fact that, so far as we can gather, far more importance was attached during the twelve years of Newman's leadership—from 1833 to 1845—to doctrine than to ritual, to principles than to their external and symbolic expression. This, of course, was only what, under the circumstances, we should expect. The very foundations of "Catholic belief" had to be relaid. It was to this task, first and chiefly, as of infinitely greater importance than all else, that the first leaders of the counter-reformation set themselves. The primary, one might say the whole aim of those remarkable "Tracts for the Times," whence the party derived its original name of Tractarians, was to inculcate those doctrines commonly known as Catholic which had been held by the prereformation Church of the English people and which, professedly at least—it is well to repeat it—had the sanction of the Prayer Book and the Articles of Religion.

That such an attempt to teach "Popery" under the forms and within the fold of a "reformed Church" should rouse violent opposition on the part of the great mass of English Protestants, Anglican and Nonconformist alike, was only natural. "Traitor" was the mildest term applied to them, "Jesuits in disguise" the commonest, and, hard as it may be to realize, applied for the most part in all honest belief of its truth. England, in a word, would have no "middle way" between the "pure Gospel"—its own—and the "soul-destroying errors of Rome;" it must be one or the other, and the enemies of the movement saw and proclaimed from its very beginnings what its goal must inevitably be, a clearness of vision, be it said, only now attained to by the true spiritual heirs of Keble, Newman and Pusey; only, indeed, by a few of them.

The greatest frenzy of abuse and opposition—those are the only adequate words—was aroused by the attempted revival of the practice of confession. All the bitter, unreasoning prejudices of ignorant Protestant bigotry, all the foul lies launched against the Church's divine tribunal of penance were revived and hurled against the man who dared to use the power and authority received, so far as words could give them, at the Bishop's hands in ordination. And from that day to this—I say it without fear of contradiction—the confessional more than all else is the centre round which the storm of controversy has raged most fiercely.

Nor in making this assertion do I forget that there has, to all appearance, been no less fierce a conflict in respect of Eucharistic doctrine and ritual. I do not for a moment lose sight of the truth that "it is the Mass that matters." Yet men will, I honestly believe, or would forgive "ritual excesses," as it is the fashion to call them—"man-millinery" is a less courteous term—would forgive even belief in the Real Presence were it not that both, and the former especially, are associated with "priestcraft," and that the essence of "priestcraft" is, in the minds of Protestants, the claim to govern consciences, to "come between the soul and God," as they say—and believe; in a word, "the accursed confessional." It is my honest belief, based on much that I have seen, read and known, that had the Tractarians and their successors been less true, less faithful to their principles—to their ordination vows—in this matter, they would have escaped one-half and more of the persecution they have had to endure. Are not these the very "head and front of our offending" in the eyes of a Protestant community? Let me add this, as of some little interest, that it is on this "power of the keys" that the Anglican ordinal lays stress, an ordinal which is defective in matter and form because it omits all reference to the essential power of offering sacrifice.

It was, therefore, no uncommon attitude of mind which was

expressed by a devout, whole-souled Evangelical friend of mine when he said he could more easily believe in transubstantiation than in the apostolic succession, in God's gift rather than "man's authority." It is an attitude of mind, that is to say, which holds it lawful for Christ's minister to identify himself with his Lord in the most solemn of all religious rites and to say of the symbols of Christ's choosing: "This is My Body," "This is My Blood," but forbids him to say, in the tribunal of penance: "By His authority I absolve thee." The one is "Gospel ministry," the other "priestly tyranny." But the attitude must be taken into account if we would understand Protestant opposition to "Ritualism and Popery."

I am no less convinced, however, that had the Tractarians been disloyal to this vital principle of all true religious life, the sacrament of penance, they would most assuredly have lost all real hold on the other and even more vital one, belief, such as they possess, in the Eucharistic Presence of Our Blessed Lord. This, I think, you will admit to be a reasonable contention if you will endeavor for one moment to realize what would become of our belief in that Presence were the sacrament of reconciliation to be taken from us.

Doctrine, then, was of infinitely greater importance—as it is and should be—in the estimation of the early Tractarians than ritual, though that, as we shall see, was to have its due place, and perhaps more than its due place, as the movement grew and developed. How far these counter-reformers went in this matter of outward symbolism may be measured by the "use" still preserved—so far as I know—in Newman's last Anglican parish of Littlemore, near Oxford; a "use," be it said, which would nowadays be considered extremely "moderate."

I must ask leave at this point to express my regret that I cannot make this matter of ritual development more easy of comprehension to those who, like my readers, are probably wholly unfamiliar with it, by means of pictures. If, however, they will range in imagination from a church filled with high, square pews, with a pulpit blocking the chancel arch and a "communion table" wholly unadorned save by the tables of the law above it, to a church in all points, such as a Catholic church should be, but, alas! so seldom is, they will get some idea, however inadequate, of the changes wrought in seventy odd years. If, moreover, they will keep certain "points of ritual" in their minds—I will make them as few and clear as possible—they will, I trust, experience no great difficulty in following what I may have to say regarding this external but very important phase of the movement we are considering.

These points are, briefly, those commonly known in the controversy that has raged incessantly concerning them for nearly or over half

a century as the "six points of Catholic ritual." They begin, if my memory serves me rightly, with that spoken of as the "eastward position," the position, that is to say, assumed by the celebrant at Mass, with his back to the congregation. It is a position which has always, and rightly, been regarded as "sacerdotal," as symbolizing a sacrificial act, from the days of Archbishop Laud to the present time, and is, therefore, for that very reason the most important, the most significant of all, and consequently the one most strenuously resisted. The Puritan party in Stuart times knew perfectly well what Laud's injunctions to replace the holy table "altar-wise" against the east wall of churches and cathedrals—where the high altar had stood in Catholic times—symbolized and was meant to symbolize, what it inevitably involved. The priest was to supplant the minister, sacraments the "pure Gospel." It was the first step, and a long one, towards the return of "Popery and the idolatrous Mass." It counted heavily in the indictment brought against him by Cromwell's parliamentary saints, as heavily as his daring to restore the images of Our Lady and the Divine Child to the porch of St. Mary's Church, at Oxford, where they stand to this day. It was on these charges, rather than on his loyalty to his King, that he went to a death which we English Tories, Jacobites by tradition, are fain to glorify as a true martyrdom.

The second "point," the use of lighted candles on the holy table during the celebration of the communion office, was one of lesser, but still of great import, symbolizing, as it was held to do, a special sacramental Presence of Our Blessed Lord at that time and place. It was fought no less strenuously than the first in the pulpit, the press, secular and religious, and even in the courts of the realm, learned decisions being given for and against it. About the eastward position, indeed, there might be some doubt, some ambiguity in the prayer book rubric, some question as to the true meaning of the words, "the north side of the holy table." But the lights, with certain other points, rested on the ornaments rubric, as it is called, and were therefore subjects of legal controversy, from which, it may be said, they have even yet hardly emerged. These others, merely to enumerate them, were: Colored stoles, Eucharistic vestments, the mixed chalice and the use of wafers at Holy Communion in place of ordinary bread. I am not sure, however, whether stoles and vestments do not count as one "point," with the ceremonial use of incense as the sixth.

To us, members of a divine, infallible Church, to whom her decisions in such matters are sufficient and final, it seems incredible that families, parishes and dioceses, one might say a whole nation, should have been rent into factions and parties over such externals,

still more that lawsuits and even imprisonments should have resulted from their use. But, as has been well said by a recent grave historian, Dr. Gairdner, sentiment goes for much in this world, and these externals, it must always be remembered, are of import only as symbols of certain beliefs and principles, and as such are of as vital interest in the religious life as flags and names are in the lives of nations and individuals. The difference between a green flag and a red one, between one King and another, royalty and republic, what may it not amount to? A whole nation, to quote Dr. Gairdner again, went mad with a no-Popery frenzy in 1850 because a foreign Bishop—the Pope—gave to certain other Bishops titles and jurisdiction over the Catholics of England. Why, then, should we wonder that the difference between a surplice and a chasuble, between one position and another, should have been of such import in respect of a revival within a Protestant communion of forgotten doctrines and practices as strenuously loved and claimed by the one party as they were hated and repudiated by the other? The externals, in a word, were the signs by which men showed to which camp they belonged, “Catholic” or “Protestant,” using the terms in their Anglican sense, just as surely as the white cockade and the black proclaimed whether a man were loyalist or Hanoverian, for King or Elector.

This “ritual controversy,” however, did not, so far as I am aware—but I speak under correction—assume serious importance during the twelve years of Newman’s leadership of the Oxford Movement. He and his immediate followers were, as has been said, more concerned with doctrines than with externals, which, in any case, might have hindered, rather than aided their cause, by giving unnecessary offense, and the “use” of Littlemore, to return to it for a moment, marks, I fancy, the limit of his ritual development prior to his submission to the Church he had so long sought for and which it cost him so much to find.

What his submission meant to those whom he had left behind, to the Anglican communion, one might truly say, to the nation at large, it is impossible for us at this day to realize in any adequate measure. Two phrases, however, occur to the memory—the one Disraeli’s, the other Froude’s. “The Church of England reeled beneath the blow.” So the statesman; we add—if he did not, I have no means of verifying the reference—“from which it has never recovered.” “What the Catholic Church in England is to-day,” wrote Froude, “she owes to one man—John Henry Newman.” Truth or exaggeration, it shows the estimation in which Newman was held by his contemporaries. At all events, he who had really begun, who had directed and led the counter-reformation from the beginning, had confessed its failure, so far as he was concerned; that is one view of it. We

should rather say, had shown what its goal, whether as a movement or for the individual, must inevitably be if it were, indeed, as was claimed, the work of God. There can be no doubt, however, but that, in the eyes of those who could not follow him in this last step, he had "stultified his whole position and teaching." Many, indeed, encouraged by his example, came to the same decision at no less cost. But more remained behind, and a new leader had to be found.

It was from this new leader, a man of only lesser ability than Newman, in that Newman, like Shakespeare, Dante and St. Thomas, stands by himself; of no less piety, so far as it is possible for us to judge, devotion and sincerity—I speak advisedly—Edward Bouverie Pusey, that the Tractarians took their second and best known name of "Puseyites." It was a name, be it remarked in passing, no less obnoxious to British Protestantism than that of Jesuit, with which, indeed, it was commonly regarded as synonymous. It was under Pusey's leadership that ritual, to judge by the course of events, came to be considered of greater importance than formerly. It was as though the Tractarians felt surer of their position and had grown tired of a vain attempt to conciliate their opponents. Their doctrinal position, moreover, was becoming, year by year, more clearly defined. The authorized teaching of the party was, indeed, far from being "Roman," as it was the fashion to term all dogmatic definitions subsequent to the sixteenth century, and as may be gathered from a study of the theology of that period. But we may say, again briefly, that the Church's authority—meaning by the Church "the general consent of Catholic Christendom"—as binding in conscience, apostolic succession, baptismal regeneration, the power of the keys and the doctrine of the Real Presence—not Transubstantiation—make up the sum of their teaching.

About the first, as about the last of these, there was, it may be said, a certain amount of ambiguity, not to say nebulous comprehensiveness, the most fatal vice of Anglicanism. "Schools" were already being formed wherein men held these doctrines in more or less advanced or moderate fashion, according as the "views" of the individual developed, there being, of course, no final and infallible living authority to decide and to be obeyed. "The general consent of Catholic Christendom" might exclude all definitions later than the Eastern schism, of the "undivided Church," or might include those of the Council of Trent. Newman's "Tract Ninety," indeed, set out to prove that the "Thirty-nine (Anglican) Articles of Religion" were capable of a Catholic, that is, of a Tridentine interpretation. Again, belief in the "Real Presence" ranged from a vague sacramentarianism, akin to mysticism, to consubstantiation, though from the first men of goodwill and fervent devotion looked long-

ingly for a definition which they could accept, content in the meantime with a very lively faith in the reality of Our Blessed Lord's sacramental presence and showing a most edifying devotion to "the Blessed Sacrament."

But about the power of the keys, the authority of the apostolic priest to bind and to loose, in the tribunal of penance, there was no doubt at all, even if men differed as to the necessity and obligation, for all men and women, at all times of sacramental confession. The words of the Prayer Book in the ordinal and in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick were clear and unmistakable. The power existed in "the Church;" had been deliberately preserved during the "changes of the sixteenth century," where so much had been as deliberately discarded. Her ministers, therefore, were bound by their ordination vows, and as they should answer to God Himself for the authority entrusted to them, to use it whenever and wherever called upon to do so. It was, as I have said, the most vital, as it was the severest test of their loyalty to the principles they professed, that on which all else depended. To deny this power of the priesthood was to deny all; it was of the very essence of their position. To say that many endured a veritable martyrdom of obloquy, hatred and persecution on behalf of "the seal of sacramental confession," is but to speak the barest truth. To say, also, that this loyalty, thus sorely tried, met with its reward at God's hands in those whom it brought into His fold, and no less, perhaps, however differently as it may seem to us, in those who stayed, or who still stay, in the City of Confusion, is, I am honestly convinced, since God is the Rewarder of all who serve Him. If you find this hard to believe of those who stay, study such lives—to name a few only—as those of Charles Lowder, "Father" Dolling or of Pusey, and you will, I am sure, agree with my contention that a man's very staying is often as sure a test of his loyalty to God's guidance as is his following it, when and if, in God's inscrutable Providence, it leads him, all unworthy, into the City of Peace.

It was, however, on account of the other "certain doctrine"—that of baptismal regeneration—that the movement underwent a trial second only to Newman's "going to Rome." Here, again, the Prayer Book, the authorized teaching of their communion, was, if words meant anything, on the side of the Puseyites. "Seeing, now, *that this child is regenerate, and born of water and the Holy Spirit.*" Yet when, about the year 1850, a certain clergyman of the name of Gorham taught openly that the baptized child was *not* regenerate, and his Bishop proceeded against him, the highest "ecclesiastical" court of the realm, the Privy Council, representing the Queen as "over all persons and causes, spiritual and temporal, in these her

dominions supreme," upheld the "heretic" and declared it lawful to hold "either view of baptismal regeneration."

The result, as the reader doubtless knows, was the conversion of Archdeacon, afterwards Cardinal, Manning and of many prominent Tractarians, lay and clerical. Pusey, however, remained loyal to the principles he held; the State might tolerate, or even encourage heresy, but the "Church," though in bondage, was not bound by the State's unauthorized dogmatic decisions.

It is, however, from this time onward that we may date the "ritual controversy" in all its bitterness. Its effect on the movement itself was curious and interesting. In some way it seemed to divide men into parties and schools, differing in ritual as they did in "views," yet, judging by later events and by what I have been able to gather from one source and another, the "persecution" of an extreme man, for "ritual excesses," as they were called—"excesses" indistinguishable from "pure Popery"—still more, his imprisonment or deprivation, appeared to mean a "closing up" on the part of advance guard, main force and rear guard, to resist a common enemy.

For it was not long, as may be imagined, before the State, urged thereto by a militant Protestantism, alarmed at so "widespread a conspiracy to undo the work of the glorious reformation (!)," attempted, in Lord Beaconsfield's words, "to put down Ritualism." The public worship regulation act of 1874 was the most notable of these attempts, as, in the end, it was the most notable failure. During its active administration, however, numbers of "extreme men" proved their loyalty to beliefs and principles by suffering imprisonment for them. The world sneered and called it a "cheap martyrdom," but its effects were not to be denied, however they might be accounted for. It is within my personal recollection that one such imprisonment added twenty thousand new members to the defensive society known as the "English Church Union." Men are influenced by loyalty to principle, let the world say what it will, and the quiet persistence with which such men took up their work on release from prison and resumed the "offenses" for which they had been punished did more for the "Catholic revival" in the Anglican communion than it is by any means easy to estimate.

It is no part of my purpose to go into many details in relation to this matter of ritual, still less to recount names and controversies in which, naturally, you cannot be expected to take any serious interest. I prefer to dwell more particularly on what may be called the doctrinal developments of the movement, both as being of immeasurably greater importance than any questions of ritual can possibly be, and also as affording the only true key to the real nature of the revival itself. For, after all, it is what a man believes that matters,

and ritual is, as we have said, of importance only as it is the outward symbol and expression of beliefs and principles.

Newman's position, to refer to it once more—the position of the movement as a whole during the years between 1833 and 1845—was that of the *via media*, the middle way between the “innovations of Rome”—all developments of doctrine, one might say, subsequent to the Council of Nice—and the “shortcomings of Protestantism.” The Church of England, according to this view, was to hold the golden mean between two extremes, to be “Catholic, but not Papal,” as the phrase went, and the spirit of the early Tractarians was as definitely anti-Roman as it was anti-Protestant, using the terms, of course, in their Anglican sense. “Rome,” moreover, meaning thereby the Catholic Church in communion with the See of Peter, was held responsible for the “schism of the sixteenth century,” whereby the Church in England was, to quote a recent writer, “cut off from the main body” of Catholic Christendom. Indeed, a whole school of “Church defense” writers and speakers taught, in season and out—some do so still, I believe—that “the Church of England prior to the sixteenth century was not subject to the Pope in spirituals,” or, as the writer just referred to puts it, “a protesting Catholicism”—whatever that may be—“was quite familiar to Englishmen.” There is no need, in view of what Dr. Maitland and Dr. Gairdner, two Anglican authorities, have written, to refute such statements here; it is only necessary to call attention to them as indicating an attitude of mind to which the early years of the Oxford Movement may be said to have given rise, and which, as has been said, is still by no means uncommon. Indeed, this anti-Roman attitude was, as Newman has shown, a necessity of the Tractarian position, the assumed possibility of a national Catholicism, independent of the divinely appointed centre of unity. The Tractarians were reviving doctrines and practices commonly, and not unjustly, regarded as Popish, all arguments from the words of the Prayer Book to the contrary notwithstanding. Disuse was, practically, abolishment; the great mass of Englishmen, Anglican and Nonconformist, had no toleration for “medævalism” or for “temporary compromise” made in the “fight against Papal aggression.” The Tractarians were accused of “pandering to Rome,” of leading men thither—which they most assuredly did—of being the secret emissaries of the “ancient enemy of England’s civil and religious liberty.” It was only by insisting on their middle position, on an imaginary independence of Rome in the past, of that “Church of the English people” of which they claimed to be the true heirs and successors; on a very real dependence of all Papal control in the present, that they could hope to persuade men that the movement was not destined to end in submission to the See of Peter.

Newman's submission to the Church, therefore, notwithstanding all his former protests, did incalculable harm, for a time at least, to this claim of theirs. It had proved false, men said, in the case of the leader of the movement; his middle way had, after all, led him by an inevitable logic to Rome. Why should the claim still prove true in the case of his followers? The middle way, even if it led nowhere, appealed, however, to many devout souls as the only safe way. Protestantism was abhorrent to them, the claims of the Vicar of Christ unscriptural and inadmissible. Where, then, should they find rest and peace if not in a communion which inclined neither to the one extreme nor to the other, which was "Catholic" with the Catholicism of the "undivided Church" and of the great General Councils? Logic? It was not by logic that God was pleased to save His people, but by faith and obedience to His guidance.

This, I think, is what we must try to realize if we would understand the movement rightly—namely, the spiritual import of each stage of its doctrinal development. This middle way, moreover, gave rise to a certain school of "safe," "moderate" men, very distinctively Anglican and national, the like of whom are still to be found; distrustful of "extreme" men and unwilling to be tied down to dogmatic definitions in matters relating to the Blessed Eucharist especially. They affected a stately and dignified, rather than an ornate ritual, but their chief characteristic was and is the tenacity with which they held and hold to an indefinite position in respect of dogma. "Dogmatism," as they call it—"speculation about sacred things"—was and is, to members of this school, little short of profanity—a rash, sacrilegious intrusion into mysteries too profound to be discussed. Certain doctrines for this school are "Catholic," others "Roman." It is for the devout layman to "hear the Church," to accept on her authority, that is, on theirs—neither claiming to be infallible, even though professedly bearing a divine commission to teach—which doctrines must be held and which rejected; where the line between "Catholic" and "Roman" is to be drawn. The line, I may say in passing, is as elusive as a statesman's "scientific frontier" and as difficult to find.

This is, believe me, no mere imaginary picture. I speak, if I may be allowed to say so, from personal experience of a very "safe" seminary, wherein the chief authority was just such a man as I have attempted to describe. That is, he frowned on all "extremes," whether of doctrine or of ritual, and rebuked the too logical inquirer into whys and wherefores—unable, it may be, to keep his balance on the master's spiritual tight-rope—as guilty of presumption, if not of want of faith, and of "a proper teachable spirit." The results among a number of young men more or less in earnest may be easily

conceived. Most of us, I fancy, drifted into "Ritualism," as it was the fashion to call it; some of us, by God's mercy, into the Church which is logical, divine and infallible, whose frontiers are of God's own drawing, not of man's.

The "safe" school here referred to was nearly allied to that commonly known as "high and dry"—the name speaks for itself—merged, in fact, imperceptibly into it. These last were, one may say, rather the lineal successors of the older churchmen, the heirs of Laud and of the non-jurors of the early eighteenth century, than professed disciples of the new movement. They used it, indeed, and in practice allied themselves with it, up to a certain point, in order, presumably, to strengthen a position they had always held, with little or no hope—perhaps with little active desire—of convincing a careless and incredulous nation. But they also had no sympathy with or toleration for the "vagaries of Ritualism," in which they detected a certain disloyalty to national traditions and an equally distasteful leaning towards "Romanism." Nor, it must be confessed, had the younger, more extreme Puseyites much respect for these "survivals," whom they regarded as hopelessly antiquated.

The doctrinal position of these High Churchmen, those especially who to some extent fell in with and were influenced by the Oxford Movement, was very similar to that of the "moderates," with possibly a somewhat stronger, one might say a more aristocratic, churchmanship, a greater insistence on the rights and dignities, social as well as spiritual, of the clergy. It was of such men, largely recruited from the younger sons of the old landowning families—Whig and Tory—that it was said that they recognized three orders of clergy—Bishops, rectors and curates. They were, if not especially fervent, scholars and gentlemen, fulfilling their pastoral and magisterial duties with a certain dignified faithfulness that was not without its beneficial effects. You may get a view of them in Anthony Trollope's novels, of a state of society now practically consigned to the limbo of things that has served their purpose. They were, however, for the most part "Church and King" men, distinctly Erastian—that is, it never occurred to them, the older ones at least, to dispute or to question the supremacy of the State in spirituals, much as they might dislike or resent some of its decisions, the Gorham judgment, of which I have spoken, most of all. It was a school, however, inevitably destined as time went on to be absorbed, or, perhaps, supplanted by the less extreme section of Puseyites; not less Anglican, indeed, or even more ritualistically inclined, but less patient of "the tyranny of the State" and less ready to abate any of the "rights and privileges of the Church."

One aspect of the whole movement, theologically considered, is

worth noting at this point. It is that Tractarians, Puseyites and "Anglo-Catholics" alike exercised a certain "reservation" in the inculcating of "Catholic doctrines and practices" in respect of the former, if anything, more than in respect of the latter. Ritual, whether moderate, high or extreme, might, indeed, be plausibly excused as a mere matter of externals, of decency in worship, and allowed to pass as ambiguous or even without special dogmatic significance. But with "Catholic doctrine" the case was otherwise and far less simple. It was and is, I believe, still held that dogma must be imparted carefully and by degrees to a "Protestant" congregation much, indeed, as a missionary would, presumably, impart it to converts from heathenism or as it was imparted to catechumens in the early Church. In any case, such an admixture of truth and error may very well be excusable in teachers not under the guidance and authority of the infallible Church, especially where the teachers themselves are still progressing towards a goal and a certainty not yet attained, and are learning as well as teaching, year by year, a fuller measure and comprehension of "Catholic truth."

It is worth noting, also, that to the Puseyites of this middle period, as we may call it, from 1850, say, to 1880—the dates are not exact, of course, but will serve our purpose—we owe, if I am not mistaken, what is known as "the Branch Theory of Catholic Christendom." Newman, while maintaining that the national communion was a true and a Catholic Church, the Church of the English people, laid stress rather on the golden mean of her position between Rome and Geneva than on her actual participation, her present communion with "the rest of the Church Universal." He was more intent, that is to say, unless I have misread his aims, during his years of leadership on "restoring the national Church to her ancient and rightful position" than on "placing her in her true relationship with the Churches of Rome and Constantinople." It was, however, merely a due sense of proportion which led him to place the one before the other, to set her internal affairs in order, so to speak, before troubling as to her external relations, and it was by an easy and natural development of ideas that his successors in the leadership of the movement came to maintain that the "Church Universal" consisted of three "branches"—Greek, Roman and Anglican. These obviously, according to this theory, were held to possess a common faith in all "essential" matters, a common priesthood and a real, though invisible communion as sprung from a common stem, this stem being presumably the "undivided Church" prior to the Eastern schism. The theory, one must honestly admit, was plausible as well as fascinating to those especially who could not, or would not, acknowledge the divinely appointed primacy of the Vicar of Christ.

It justified not only the position of the Eastern schismatics and of "Anglo-Catholicism," but that of the Jansenists and so-called "Old Catholics" as well, and formed an argument—of a kind—against the "inadmissible claims and pretensions of the See of Rome." It afforded, in fact, all the comfort of being "in good company," even if, possibly, in the wrong, and gauged "Catholicity" by the weight of numbers on the one side or the other.

But the theory was not without its uses, under God's Providence, in the doctrinal development of the movement as a whole. Points of agreement between East and West to adopt their own terminology, between Rome, Constantinople and Canterbury, began to be sought for and to be made prominent rather than points of difference, a distinct gain to charity and a better mutual understanding. Gradually, moreover, the leaders of the movement came to realize, in some measure at least, the spiritual, doctrinal and liturgical obligations which such a theory necessarily involved. If the "English Church" was, indeed, a "branch of the Church Universal," then obviously her formularies, even where they seemed at variance with the "consent of Catholic Christendom," must be interpreted in the wider and more "Catholic" sense, not in the narrower and more local one, least of all, according to the "unauthorized rulings of an Erastian and tyrannical State." This, as will readily be recognized, was a great step gained. It not only opened out a wider vista of Catholic truth to those who were seeking it so earnestly, but a clearer view of the goal to be attained, as they then saw it, the "restoration," namely, of the "English Church" to her "ancient place and dignity," to that, in a word, of the Church of the English people, the Church of St. Augustine and of St. Thomas of Canterbury. How otherwise, indeed, could they hope to justify their claim to be an integral, living portion of the "Church Universal?"

It will be evident, surely, without my needing to dwell on it, that there are literally no limits, save, again, such as God's Providence or man's self-will may set, to the influence which such a conception of a united, Catholic Christendom, once fairly grasped, must inevitably have on devout and truth-seeking minds, or to its effect on the barriers of insularity, nationalism and prejudice which for three centuries had kept English churchmen out of touch and out of sympathy as well as out of communion with the Church of their fathers, of their country's ancient glories. We must, therefore, speaking with all reverence, consider it only natural that the "branch theory" should have grown, almost imperceptibly, into one which holds the national communion to be simply the old "Provinces of York and Canterbury," provinces, that is, of the "Western Patriarchate"—the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See—separated out-

wardly, through faults on both sides, from the "rest of Catholic Christendom." It was equally natural that antagonism to "Rome" should yield to recognition of the mutual relations of these provinces and the Holy See prior to the breach of the sixteenth century, if only through a comparison of the liberties enjoyed under Papal rule—setting its divine claims aside—with the Church's slavery under the tyranny of the State. The full claims of the Vicar of Christ to a primacy over the whole Church were not, indeed, by any means or readily admitted at this period, at all events, but I have a vivid recollection of a devout High Churchman of the older school, who in 1883 spoke of and publicly prayed for "the Bishop of Rome" as the "first Bishop of Christendom." That, one must admit, is a very significant admission. If the Pope is the "first Bishop," first even "among his equals," he must surely have claims to recognition, jurisdiction and authority other, higher and more extensive than even those of the local hierarchy, the "successor of St. Augustine"—the Archbishop of Canterbury—not excepted.

The next step, as I remember it, was to admit this claim of the Pope to "primacy among his equals," as of ecclesiastical, not of divine right, bestowed by the Church, arising out of the exigencies of her government, not directly or originally given by God Himself. But even such an inadequate admission leads men, as may easily be seen, very far from the traditional position of Anglicanism, farther, indeed, than they or we, perhaps, are able to realize. For if the Church has God's authority and is divinely guided in all things that concern her welfare, then what the Church gives God gives, and the primacy of Peter by divine right is on the verge of acknowledgment, as, in truth, it has since come to be by many Anglicans. As, I may add, it would, I believe, be even more widely and more readily acknowledged could our friends rid themselves of a confusion as to primacy and supremacy which seems to obsess them.

But the admission, whether partial or complete, places them, as it were, on the very threshold of their goal and leaves but one step more, the last and hardest, to be taken—submission to an authority which they recognize as of God's ordering and appointment, direct or indirect, to which, as they see ever more clearly, the "Provinces of York and Canterbury," as their very titles show, were unquestionably and undeniably subject in spirituals from St. Augustine to Archbishop Warham. It brings us, also, to the conclusion of this introductory study of the movement, for the inadequacy and discursiveness of which I crave the reader's kind indulgence. I will only add as one last word that, as might have been expected, other doctrines have become more clearly understood and more firmly held in consequence of this fuller realization of all that the assumed

position and claims of Anglicanism involve. Not least of these, surely, we may count a growing devotion to Our Blessed Lady and the saints and to the holy souls in Purgatory. Belief in the Real Presence of Our Divine Lord in the sacrament of His love—a Presence which they believe their imperfect rite assures to them—has kept pace with ritual development, as it has been its one reason and justification. We have, therefore, a religious body conscious not merely of a corporate existence and of its assumed past history, which is much, but also which is ever and increasingly more conscious in great and growing measure of the obligations which its asserted position and claims involve. There are still “schools of thought” in the Anglican communion—Low, Broad, High and “Catholic,” even to “Anglo-Roman”—but the very Low Churchmen are tending, as was said, to “churchliness,” and the Broad Churchmen, as has been also said, to a less blatant, if more modernist anti-ritualistic attitude, while High Churchmen are more than ever disposed to support the “extreme wing” against any attempt by the State to regulate doctrines or practices and to prefer, with the “Anglo-Roman,” Papal autocracy to parliamentary tyranny. “If the State touches the extreme men it touches us,” said one of this school to me some years ago; “and for every priest deprived for using incense,” he added, “a dozen who never used it before will begin doing so.” Of the Anglo-Romans, the Reunionists by submission, it was my privilege to write in the former article² already referred to. Altogether the reader will, I think, agree with the contention that no religious movement in the history of Christendom—I speak advisedly—was ever more worthy of sympathetic, prayerful interest and study than this strange and wonderful counter-reformation.

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² AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1909.

SCIENTISTS AND FAITH.

AFTER the death of Lord Kelvin some two years ago, it was pointed out in nearly every one of the numerous sketches of his career that appeared in periodicals, scientific as well as popular, that in spite of the supposed opposition between science and faith, Lord Kelvin had always been a faithful adherent of formal religious ideas and his philosophy of life had always made room not only for a belief in Providence and a hereafter, but for revelation in a much more extended sense. He had often proclaimed that life was enlarged and completed by faith in the things beyond sense that one sees here but darkly. Far from thinking that progress in science had undermined the value of the old arguments for the existence of a beneficent Creator and an overruling Providence, Lord Kelvin thought and declared that "science proves the existence of a Creator." He did not share at all the ideas of those who seemed to think that because there has been a reaction against the frivolities of exaggerated teteology, therefore the proof of the existence of God by the argument from design has lost its force. In his address as the president of the forty-first annual session of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Edinburgh, nearly forty years ago, he said: "Overpoweringly strong proofs of intelligence and benevolent design lie all around us; and if ever perplexities, whether metaphysical or scientific, turn us away from them for a time, they come back upon us with irresistible force, showing us through nature the influence of a free will and teaching us that all living beings depend on one ever-acting Creator and Ruler."

Nor must it be thought that Lord Kelvin's views in this matter had changed as he grew older or as the more modern scientific ideas gained vogue. Within five years of his death in moving a vote of thanks for a lecture given at University College, London, Lord Kelvin not only practically repeated what he had said thirty-five years before at Edinburgh, but even emphasized his position in the matter. A report of his remarks, which was subsequently acknowledged by Lord Kelvin to be substantially correct in a letter in which he asked that certain expressions be modified, appeared in the *London Times* for May 2, 1904. In this he is declared to have said that "science positively affirmed creative power. Science made every one feel a miracle in himself. There was nothing between absolute scientific belief in creative power and the acceptance of the theory of a fortuitous concourse of atoms. Was there," he asked, "anything so absurd as to believe that a number of atoms by falling together of their own accord could make a sprig of moss, a microbe a living

animal? As for himself, he felt bound to come to the conclusion that science was not antagonistic to religion, but a help for it."

It is sometimes supposed that in such expressions, as far as scientists are concerned, Lord Kelvin stands almost alone; that he is at best one of a very small group of men distinguished in science whose conservatism is so great that it has kept them from being swept away by the inevitable stream of scientific tendency which is so surely taking men from old-time beliefs. For it is now considered almost a truism to say that scientists are, as it were, perforce unbelievers. There is a very definite impression that science and faith are inalterably opposed to one another. Many quote with confident assent Herbert Spencer's expression: "Of all antagonism of belief, the oldest, the widest, the most profound and the most important is that between religion and science." That this antagonism should exist seems to many people quite inevitable. When it is pointed out to them that a scientist like Lord Kelvin sees none of it, the response is likely to be that he is, after all, the exception which proves the rule, and the very fact that his state of mind in this matter has been emphasized so much is only additional evidence for the very common existence of that opposition between science and faith which only by chance did not exist in his case.

This persuasion that most scientists have either lost their beliefs or have had their faith in a Creator, in Providence and in a here-after of reward and punishment seriously impaired by their preoccupation with science, is not hard to understand. Many of the popular writers in science in our time, those who have had the ear of the people in scientific matters, have been quite ready to proclaim this state of things. Since they were accepted as authorities in science, it was only to be expected that their opinion in this supposedly cognate matter should also carry weight. The absolute contradiction of this opinion, however, can be readily shown, and practically all the supremely great men in science of the nineteenth century, of the end as well as of the beginning of it, were firm believers and indeed many of them were devoutly religious men. From a consideration of the circumstances it is evident that smaller minds may become so engrossed with the principles of science as to lose their convictions in matters of faith; the greater minds, however, find no such difficulty, but, on the contrary, like Lord Kelvin, have their faith broadened and deepened by their scientific knowledge.

It is rather difficult to discuss satisfactorily the relations of science and faith in the abstract. The conclusion as to whether there is an inevitable and unending antagonism between science and faith depends largely on the point of view of the person who discusses this question. With regard to the concrete problem, however, the

relations of scientists to faith, it is perfectly easy to reach definite conclusions on solid bases of fact. It does not depend at all on the point of view, but is strictly a matter of biography. The relation of science and faith constitute, if not a metaphysical problem, at least an intellectual question that cannot be settled by inductive reasoning. It is entirely a matter for deduction. Scientists have grown impatient of deduction in recent years. Since it is they, however, in the sense of men who are mainly interested in physical science, who insist on this antagonism of faith and science, the methods of physical science, especially the inductive method, should prevail in its discussion. The only way to apply these is by getting at the relations of scientists and faith. Just as soon as this is attempted all question of antagonism disappears. As we have already said, the greatest scientists in practically every department of recent science have been the firmest believers.

This is no mere assertion founded on a few scattered examples, but, on the contrary, represents the true story of the position of scientists in this matter very thoroughly. There is not a single department of nineteenth century science in which the representative discoverers were not faithful believers. Of course, this is true in astronomy, for an unbelieving astronomer is almost a contradiction in terms. At the very opposite pole of science, however, in medicine, usually considered so skeptical in its tendencies that the proverb runs, "Where there are three physicians there are two atheists," the rule with regard to great scientists being faithful believers holds quite as firmly. Morgagni, the father of pathology; Auenbrugger, the father of physical diagnosis; Galvani, the founder of medical electricity; Laennec, who laid the foundation of our knowledge of pulmonary diseases; Johann Müller, the father of modern German medicine; Schwann, the father of the cell doctrine; Claude Bernard, the great pioneer in modern physiology; Pasteur, the father of modern bacteriology; Jenner and Louis and Graves and Stokes and Corrigan, and any number more, were all of them believers and, indeed, the great majority of them devout Catholics.

Some of the developments of this assertion make rather startling reading, in view of the usual impressions. There are phrases and phases of the lives of these men that bring out very clearly their attitude to the things of faith. Of Morgagni's ten living children, eight daughters became religious and one of his sons became a Jesuit. Over and over again he declared his happiness that they had "chosen the better part." All of the great pathologist's philosophy of life is revealed by that phrase, but if more evidence of his faith were needed, it could be had abundantly, for Morgagni, one of the most widely known of scientists in his time in Europe, was,

as might be judged from the family conditions mentioned, a most devout Catholic, the friend and adviser of four Popes. Galvani, his great contemporary, was of very like character. Alibert, the secretary general of the French Medical Society of Emulation, in his address on Galvani in 1801, quoted Galvani's well-known expression "that small draughts of philosophy lead to atheism, but longer draughts bring one back to God." "*Breves haustus in philosophia ad atheismum ducunt, longiores autem reducunt ad Deum.*" This was at the beginning of the century. At the close of it Pasteur, who perhaps did more for medical science than any other single man during the nineteenth century, declared that he was convinced that if he knew as much as he could know, he would have the faith of a Breton peasant; if he knew all that there was to know, he would have the faith of a Breton peasant woman. Over the entrance of his tomb at the Pasteur Institute is his beautiful confession of faith: "Happy the man who bears within him a divinity, an ideal of beauty and obeys it; an ideal of art, an ideal of science, an ideal of country, an ideal of the virtues of the Gospel." In the address before the French Academy, from which this confession is taken, there follow immediately two further sentences worthy to be recalled: "These are the living springs of great thought and great action. Everything grows clear in the reflections from the infinite."

Midway between Galvani and Pasteur had come the great father of modern German medicine, Johann Müller. As a young man he once said: "*Nemo psychologus nisi physiologus*"—No one can be a psychologist unless he is a physiologist. How often has this been perverted in the years that followed into a declaration that for Müller psychology was merely a branch of physiology—that mental operations were a function of the brain, and nothing more. All that he meant was that if one were to know psychology well in the sense of being an expert psychologist, one must needs be a physiologist. This was the farthest in the world from saying that psychic actions were entirely dependent on the brain and that mental operations were merely mechanical. As a matter of fact, far from being a materialist, as the perverted explanation of his expression might imply, Müller was all his life a faithful Catholic. In spite of all the influences against such a thing in Protestant Berlin, Müller continued to practice the religion in which he had been born in the Rhineland, and after his death in Berlin he was taken with great pomp for burial among his Catholic relatives and the brother Catholics of his native Coblenz erected the monument over him.

PHYSICISTS AND FAITH.

Very probably the science that would be generally conceded as

typically belonging to the nineteenth century is that which has gathered around the subject of electricity. Most of its development has come practically in the last hundred years, and the lives of the men who made it are not so far from us but that we know much about their characters and philosophy of life, apart from their scientific studies. Most of these electrical discoverers were men of profound intellect and broad interests. None of them were narrow specialists in their own line, as, indeed, great discoverers in science seldom are. Most of them had devoted themselves to determining for themselves as far as was possible the meaning of the universe, to the question of their relations to their Creator and to their fellow-man, as well as to an overruling Providence and to the problem of a hereafter. With that same depth of intellect and power of mental concentration that enabled them to go beyond the bounds of the knowledge of physical science hitherto attained by men they applied themselves to these great philosophic problems. The answers they found after mature deliberation represent, if anything does, the real relation of scientists to faith. The question of the antagonism of science and faith can be settled at once by the inductive method by enumerating the opinions of these supreme scientific thinkers who were all of them men of philosophic breadth of intellect, not followers of others' opinions, but original thinkers, whose discoveries as a rule were principles in science that applied far beyond their immediate significance in electricity.

One may pass by Franklin for the moment, because though there never was a more profoundly practical philosopher in his views of the meaning of life and of the universe, his habit of proverb-making for the public has sometimes made his expressions seem rather meant to catch the popular mind than to express Franklin's own deepest convictions. This surely would not be said, however, of the epitaph which he composed for himself and which in its humorous symbolism expressed his act of faith in a very striking way: "The body of Benjamin Franklin, Printer (like the cover of an old book, its contents torn out and stript of its lettering and gilding), lies here, food for worms. But the work shall not be lost, for it will (as he believed) appear once more in a new and more elegant edition, revised and corrected by the author."

After Franklin came Galvani, who was at once a medical and an electrical scientist, a discoverer in both fields, almost as great in comparative anatomy as in medical electricity. We have already quoted the well-known expression which can perhaps be best paraphrased in English by Pope's famous lines:

A little learning is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep or touch not the Pierian spring.

It is but one of many expressions that might be quoted from Galvani, for he was a deep believer and a fervent Catholic. Scarcely more need be said of him than that, after having given an example of unselfishness in the following of conscience that was almost heroic, Galvani asked at the end of a life that had been spent freely in every way for others in need, that he should be buried in the habit of St. Francis of Assisi, because he belonged to the Third Order of Franciscans and considered his membership in the family of "the little poor man of God" as of more significance to him at that ultimate moment than the honorary memberships in scientific societies which had come to him as a consequence of his discoveries in electricity.

Of Galvani's great contemporary in electrical science, his fellow-countryman, Volta, it would be a waste of words to dilate on his ideas of the relations of science and faith, since he himself deliberately made his declaration of opinion for his own generation and posterity. The distinguished discoverer in electricity, having heard it said that he continued to practice his religion mainly because he did not want to offend his friends nor scandalize his neighbors, and above all did not want the poor folk around him to be led by his example into giving up what he knew to be their most fruitful source of consolation in the trials of life, answered this unjust suspicion by deliberately writing out his confession of faith. He said: "If some of my faults and negligencies may have by chance given occasion to some one to suspect me of infidelity, I am ready as some reparation for this and for any other good purpose to declare to such a one and to every other person and on every occasion and under all circumstances, that I have always held and hold now the holy Catholic religion as the only true and infallible one, thanking without end the good God for having gifted me with such a faith, in which I firmly propose to live and die, in the lively hope of attaining eternal life. I recognize my faith as a gift of God, a supernatural faith; I have not on this account, however, neglected to use all human means that could confirm me more and more in it, and that might drive away any doubt which could arise to tempt me in matters of faith. I have studied my faith with attention as to its foundation, reading for this purpose books of apologetics as well as those written with a contrary purpose, and trying to appreciate the arguments pro and contra. I have tried to realize from what sources spring the strongest arguments which render faith most credible to natural reason and such as cannot fail to make every well balanced mind which has not been perverted by vices or passion to embrace it and love it. May this protest of mine, which I have deliberately drawn up and which I leave to posterity, subscribed with my own hand and which shows to all and every one that I do not blush at the Gospel—

may it, as I have said, produce some good fruit." (Signed at Milan, January 6, 1815, Alessandro Volta.)

When Volta wrote this he was not in his dotage, but, on the contrary, was in the full maturity of his power, not yet sixty years of age, and for the next decade he was looked up to as one of the greatest scientists of Europe and as one of the most profoundly original thinkers of his time. Indeed, he had shown by important discoveries and original investigations of great value in many departments of physical science that his was one of the exceptional intellects in the history of mankind. His confession of faith then must be taken as his well weighed declaration of what he thought were the relations of science and faith. Far from finding any antagonism between his science and his faith, he had only to report complete harmony. Far from science having disturbed his faith, he seems rather to think that it had strengthened it and that the little additional knowledge that he had picked up on the shores of the infinite had only served to make him appreciate better the depths of his ignorance, yet how much that ignorance could be supplied for an defective knowledge complemented by faith.

The same story holds for all of these distinguished discoverers in electricity, even for those who were not brought up under the influence of the Catholic Church. The next great name after that of Volta in electricity is Oersted, the Danish physicist who demonstrated the identity between magnetism and electricity by showing that a current of electricity influenced a magnetic needle. Oersted had made Christian philosophy a subject of special study. This had been done without at all interfering with his devotion to science. He had come to be looked upon as one of the supreme leaders in physical science in Europe. He occupied for the first half of the nineteenth century very nearly the same position that Lord Kelvin did during the latter half, and he counted among his friends all the distinguished men of science of the time. When he attended scientific congresses in Germany or in England he was received with distinguished courtesy and given the highest honors. He had been chosen an honorary member of practically all the important scientific societies of Europe. His fame as a discoverer in electricity is due not to a single accidental observation, but to the thorough work which he did in every department of the physical sciences relating to electricity.

The opinion of a man like this, especially if pronounced not when he was young, but after he had had long experience of life and had sounded all the depths of science and philosophy, should be worth while considering. Like Volta, Oersted not only found no antagonism between science and faith, but, on the contrary, he was of the

opinion that the more he knew of science, the greater was his faith. For those who have accepted the modern idea of the incompatibility of faith and science it would indeed be interesting to read his address on "The Cultivation of Science, Considered as an Exercise of Religion." One of the passages from this expresses his opinion very thoroughly. At the time when he delivered this address he was a man of about forty years of age.

"If my purpose here was merely to show that science necessarily engenders piety, I should appeal to the great truth everywhere recognized that the essence of all religion consists in love towards God. The conclusion would then be easy that love of Him from whom all truth proceeds must create the desire to acknowledge truth in all her paths; but as we desire here to recognize science as a religious duty, it will be requisite for us to penetrate deeper into its nature. It is obvious, therefore, that the searching eye of man, whether he regards his own inward being or the creation surrounding and encompassing him, is always led to the Eternal Source of all things. In all inquiry the ultimate aim is to discover that which really exists, and to contemplate in its pure light apart from all that deceives the careless observer by only a seeming existence. The philosopher will then comprehend what, amidst ceaseless change, is the constant and uncreated which is hidden behind unnumbered creations, the bond of union which causes things not to fall apart in spite of their manifold division and separations. He must soon acknowledge that the dependent can only be the constant and the constant the independent, and that true unity is inseparable from either of these. And thus it is in the nature of thought that it finds no quiet resting place, no pause except in the Invariable, Eternal, Uncaused, All-causing, All-comprehensive Omniscience."¹

Twenty years later, when Oersted was a man of sixty and had risen from the position of an enthusiastic investigator in science whose original genius was as yet known only to a few to that of the dean of physical science in his time, his opinion with regard to the relations of science and faith had not varied, and indeed seems only to have been emphasized by his further scientific studies, his great discoveries and his relations with other great men of science in Europe. In the address on "The Relation of Natural Science to Various Important Religious Subjects," delivered about 1840, he said: "If we view God as that Essence of whose being we must be convinced by our own essence, we must then bear in mind that the former as much as the latter is an entire living Being, though in every respect infinitely more glorious. From Him we receive through the whole of existence innumerable influences; but our con-

¹ "Oersted Soul in Nature," Bohn's Library, p. 135.

viction of this springs from the intellectual faculties of our nature. By the hidden power of all these united efforts the knowledge of God is awakened within us. Some people have such a strong internal life of reason that this consciousness is very easily excited; most people require many and powerful means of excitement; to these belong communications from other independent beings. Were such only believed as communications, a faith upon authority would alone be produced which is almost useless to our rational existence; but if these communications awake those hidden faculties of the mind which are adapted to faith, so that these are developed into a lively consciousness of God and the consequent endeavor to live in God, then this faith would never be designated a faith upon authority. When our reason, acting with consciousness, endeavors with all its powers to comprehend the connection between the actions of the God we believe in and all that is effected, a force and a clearness of conviction proceeds from it, by which, as I might say, faith is changed into knowledge."²

After Oersted the next most important discoverer in electricity, who, indeed, took Oersted's ideas and within a week after their announcement developed them to a new significance, is Ampere. There is no doubt that in his time he was one of the greatest of living scientists. He was honored as such by most of the distinguished scientific societies of Europe. He was a broad-minded, profound thinker in the highest sense of the word, and though an untiring experimentalist, seems at times to have almost had an intuition into the process of nature. Of his attitude towards faith it is scarcely necessary to speak, since he is so well known to have been a devout Catholic. In the midst of his scientific studies Ozanam tells how he used occasionally to take his broad forehead between his hands and say: "How great is God, Ozanam! How great is God, and how little is our knowledge!" Sainte-Beuve in his introduction to Ampere's "Essay on the Philosophy of the Sciences" (Paris, 1843), says: "The religious struggles and doubts of his earlier life had ceased. During the years which followed up to the time of his death we were all filled with wonder and admiration at the way in which without effort he united religion and science, faith and confidence in the intellectual possibilities of man with adoring submission to the revealed word of God."

On the evidence of his greatest contemporaries in science, probably the greatest experimental scientist that ever lived was Michael Faraday, the English physicist of the first half of the nineteenth century. Usually it is experimental science that is said to be opposed to faith. The attitude of mind which enables a man to accept things on faith

² "Oersted Soul in Nature" (Bohn), p. 185.

is proclaimed to be definitely antagonistic to that doubting spirit which enables a man to reject explanations of phenomena that have satisfied his predecessors and contemporaries and set himself to finding new solutions for old problems. Indeed, it is usually declared to have been because of this inevitable tendency to skepticism that the Catholic Church is said to have opposed experimental science almost down to our own time. The lives of the great experimentalists of the Middle Ages, Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus and many others, form the complete answer to this, but Faraday's opinion with regard to the relation of science to faith has an added interest, because of all that has been said of the relation of faith and experimentalism. He did not often obtrude the faith that was so deep in his mind into his scientific lectures. As he himself once said: "I do not speak of God here, not because of lack of faith, but because I am engaged with other subjects." At times, however, his superabundant faith led him to express his profound belief in a Creator and in the evident proof of His existence, which the material world furnished him. In his more familiar lectures to the cadets at Woolwich, he more than once hinted at these elevated thoughts. It is from one of these that the following passage, which shows his attitude in the matter very well, is gleaned:

"When I consider the multitude of associated forces which are diffused through nature, when I think of that calm and tranquil balancing of their energies which enables elements most powerful in themselves, most destructive to the world's creatures and economy, to dwell associated together and be made subservient to the wants of creation, I rise from the contemplation more than ever impressed with the wisdom, the beneficence and grandeur beyond our language to express, of the Great Disposer of all."

Faraday, of course, is well known to have been a devout believer. His belief, however, was founded in a deeply philosophic spirit. He once said: "I have never seen anything incompatible between those things of man which are within him and those higher things concerning his future which he cannot know but by the spirit. Therefore," he added, "our philosophy, while it shows us these things, should lead us to think of Him who wrought them, for it is said by an authority even far above that which these works present that the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; his external power also a divinity."

After Faraday the most important name in electrical science is that of George Simon Ohm, after whom the unit of electrical resistance has been so deservedly named. Professor George Chrystal, of Edinburgh, in his article on "Electricity" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*,

ninth edition, reëchoing the expressions of his English colleagues, says that Ohm's law must now be allowed to rank with the law of gravitation and the elementary laws of statical electricity as a *law of nature* in the strictest sense. It was not alone in electricity, however, that Ohm did remarkable original work. A law in acoustics is also named after him, and Helmholtz confessed that some of his own best work was founded on original observations made by his great contemporary. Besides Ohm accomplished some fine work in the theory of light and colors, and though he was anticipated in this, was quite as original, so far as he was concerned, as in any other of his observations and conclusions in other departments of physics.

There is no doubt then that Ohm had one of the most marvelously original minds of all those who devoted themselves to the physics has been illuminated by his work. He had the wonderful physics has been illuminted by his work. He had the wonderful faculty of taking a complex problem, eliminating all the unknown factors from it but one or two, simplifying it to the last degree and then solving it in such a way as to reach a great expression of new truth. To have done this in electricity, in acoustics and in optics is an achievement that stamps him as a man of surpassing penetration of mind. The opinion of such a man with regard to the relations of science and faith and his own personal attitude towards faith is well worth while knowing in this inquiry that we are conducting, since he was acknowledged to be one who never expressed himself until he had thoroughly analyzed the question under consideration, and who had always satisfied himself as to the grounds for his opinion before he gave it.

There happens to be a very interesting incident in Ohm's life which furnished him with the opportunity for expressing very forcibly his belief in Providence and in the overruling wisdom which somehow cares for things in life and orders them to its own good ends, though we little mortals may not be able to appreciate just what those ends are. He had taken up the investigation of puzzling phenomena of interferences of light which are so rich in form and color, and succeeded in finding a formula of great simplicity which covered all the individual colors. It was only after he had reached his conclusions and was actually publishing his results that Ohm found that he had been anticipated by Professor Langberg, of Christiana, in Norway, with regard to the principal points of his investigation. When his attention was called to this, Ohm was ready and willing at once to acknowledge the priority of Professor Langberg and to give him all the credit that belonged to his discovery. For his own wasted work he said just a word that shows his readiness to submit to the will of Providence, confident that all

things are ordered well. "I know not whether I should consider it lucky or unlucky that the extremely meritorious work of Langberg should have entirely escaped me and should have been lost to general recollection. Certain it is that if I had had the knowledge of it before, my present investigations, which were occasioned by this ellipse system, would not have been made and I would have been spared a deal of work. In that case, however, a number of other and scarcely less important scientific principles would have remained hidden for the time being at least. Under the circumstances, the profound truth of the old proverb, 'Man proposes, but God disposes,' has been brought home to me again. What originally set me investigating this subject now proves to be without interest for science, since the problem has been solved before. On the other hand, a number of things of which I had no hint at all at the beginning of my researches have come to take its place and compensate for it."

There is probably not a more simple, humble recognition of man's dependence of the will of the Almighty in all the history of science than this passage from Ohm's preface to his monograph on light interferences.

At the end of the nineteenth century the physical scientists whose work in electricity distinguished them above their fellows occupied the same standpoint with regard to faith as their great predecessors at the beginning of the century. We have already discussed Lord Kelvin as a typical example, but quite as striking a type of the recent leader in electrical science was Clerk Maxwell, who died in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and who was looked up to as probably the greatest living mathematical physicist of his time. One of his expressive sayings which shows very strikingly the relation of the scientist to faith has been often repeated. It was used toward the end of his life and when he was in the very maturity of his powers, about the age of fifty. "I have looked into most philosophical systems," he said, "and I have seen that none will work without a God." There are many other expressions, however, more nearly related to his special scientific work which bring out his idea of the relations of science and faith quite as emphatically as this. Probably no one in the nineteenth century speculated with such profound suggestiveness as to the constitution of matter as Clerk Maxwell. If his conclusions with regard to matter receive favorable acceptance, surely his reflections with regard to man's relation to the world and to the Creator should carry their weight also.

Like all the other scientists whom we have mentioned, Clerk Maxwell had given much time and thought to these subjects. This is, indeed, the striking difference between the scientist who rejects

faith and talks of the antagonism between science and faith and the greater scientist who fails to find any such opposition. The great discoverers have given much time to the consideration of the problems of the relations of faith to science. The lesser scientist has either not had the time or has refused to consider the subject. For him on first principles there can be nothing gained by the devotion of time to those subjects which cannot be satisfactorily settled on scientific principles. He refuses, therefore, to consider them. This does not make him hesitate, however, to express his opinion as to the inappeasable conflict that must exist between science and faith. Clerk Maxwell, assuming a very different attitude in this matter, had, as in science, first investigated and then come to his conclusion. He once declared: "I have read up many queer religions; there is nothing like the old thing after all." In this subject, as in everything else, he first informed himself and then drew his conclusions. Unlike those who refuse to have anything to do with religion, he had studied the subject deeply, and the result was devout attention to religious duties and to charity that made him a model for all those who were close to him. A clergyman friend on terms of intimacy with him, said: "His illness drew out the whole heart and soul and spirit of the man. He had gauged and fathomed all the schemes and systems of philosophy and had found them utterly empty and unsatisfying (unworkable was his own word about them), and he turned with simple faith to the Gospel of the Saviour."

It is no wonder that we have from a man of this kind some memorable paragraphs that bear distinctly on the relations of science to faith. We have said that his speculations on the composition of matter are probably the most fruitful for science that have ever been made. His reflections on the molecules show distinctly how his scientific work was strengthening and deepening his faith. "94. They (the atoms) continue this day as they were created, perfect in number and measure and weight, and from the ineffaceable character impressed on them we may learn that those aspirations after accuracy in measurement, truth in statement and justice in action, which we reckon among our noblest attributes as men, are ours because they are essential constituents of the image of Him who in the beginning created, not only the heaven and the earth, but the materials of which heaven and earth consist."

His long application to the problems involved in the composition of matter naturally led him to thoughts with regard to its origin, and these as a natural consequence to the question of the Creator. As a climax of the consideration of the relation of science to faith and the emphatic confirmation of Lord Kelvin's expression that science teaches the necessity for a Creator, Clerk Maxwell's conclu-

sion with regard to the formation of the molecule and the coming into existence of matter as we know it, are extremely interesting. Near the end of his article on the atom in the third volume of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, ninth edition, he said: "The formation of the molecule is therefore an event not belonging to that order of nature under which we live. It is an expression of a kind which is not, so far as we are aware, going on on earth or in the sun or the stars, either now or since these bodies began to be formed. It must be referred to the epoch, not of the formation of the earth or of the solar system, but of the establishment of the existing order of nature itself, and till not only these worlds and systems, but the very order of nature itself is dissolved, we have not reason to expect the occurrence of any operation of a similar kind.

"In the present state of science, therefore, we have strong reasons for believing that in a molecule, or if not in a molecule, in one of its component atoms, we have something which has existed either from eternity or at least from times anterior to the existing order of nature. But besides this atom there are immense numbers of other atoms of the same kind, and the constants of each of these atoms are incapable of adjustment by any process now in action. Each is physically independent of all the others.

"Whether or not the conception of a multitude of beings existing from all eternity is in itself self-contradictory, the conception becomes palpably absurd when we attribute a relation of quantitative equality to all these things. We are then forced to look beyond them to some common cause or common origin to explain why this singular relation of equality exists rather than any one of the infinite number of possible relations of inequality.

"Science is incompetent to reason upon the creation of matter itself out of nothing. We have reached the utmost limit of our thinking faculties when we have admitted that, because matter cannot be eternal and self-existent, it must have been created."

BIOLOGISTS AND FAITH.

The impression with regard to the opposition between science and faith has really arisen more from the popularization of biological science than from any other source. It is the modern biologists particularly who have followed in the train of Herbert Spencer in proclaiming the antagonism of faith and science. Before the general acceptance of the theory of evolution, for it is as yet only a theory in science, and there are even distinguished professors of the biological sciences who insist on teaching it as such, there were many beliefs, as that in special creations, that obtained wide credence supposedly as a matter of religion, but really as deductions from certain

religious principles. With the rejection of these in the advance of biological science there came a tottering of the structure of faith in many minds. The removal of these extraneous additions has, however, no more seriously disturbed the edifice of faith itself than the periodical sweeping away of the temporary market buildings from around the mediaeval Cathedral disturbed the main edifice, though it does for the moment change quite markedly the appearance that has been familiar even to those who have known it best.

As a matter of fact, in biology, as in the other sciences, the greatest thinkers have been the least given to materialism, and it is only once more as in physical science, the popularizers of science who have been prone to emphasize the supposed contradictions of science and faith, and reiterate the inevitable opposition that to their minds must exist between the two forms of assent for these coördinate departments of human knowledge. The real father of nineteenth century evolution is, of course, not Darwin, but Lamarck. Lamarck just on the eve of the nineteenth century outlined completely a theory of evolution. He did so after having devoted fifty years of his life to scientific research in biology. His theory of evolution was complete in every way. He even insisted on the probability of spontaneous generation. He suggested the evolution of plants and animals from a single germ and the development of man from the ape, yet proclaimed his firm conviction that all this evolution had taken place because it had been willed by the Author of all things and because that was the way that He manifested His power.

Before quoting the passage that proclaims his faith in the Creator, founded on his scientific researches, it may be well to recall that Lamarck himself died a Catholic and probably never at any time in his life had been far from complete belief in Catholic doctrines.

His most recent biographer, Professor Packard, late professor of zoölogy and geology in Brown University, Providence, R. I., in his "Life of Lamarck" has other quotations which show how strongly Lamarck felt not only the necessity for the action of a Creator, but also for his creation of an order of things with laws that would lead to the regulation of the universe so that all things might move in orderly manner. "There is then," Lamarck said, "for the animals as for the plants, an order which belongs to nature and which results, as also the objects which this order makes exist from the power which it has received from the Supreme Author of all things. She is herself on the general and unchangeable order that this Sublime Author has created throughout, and only the totality of the general and special laws to which this order is subject. By these means, whose use it continues without change, it has given and will perpetually give existence to its productions; it varies and renews

them unceasingly and thus everywhere preserves the whole order which is the result of it.

"Nature, that immense totality of different beings and bodies in every part of which exists an eternal circle of movements and changes regulated by law; totality alone unchangeable, so long as it pleases its Sublime Author to cause its existence, should be regarded as a whole, constituted by its parts, for a purpose which its author alone knows, and not exclusively for any one of them."

In his "*Philosophia Zoölogic*," published in 1809, when he was a man about sixty-five years of age (he lived to be over eighty), Lamarck said: "Surely nothing exists except by the will of the Sublime Author of all things. But can we not assign Him laws in the execution of His will and determine the method which He has followed in this respect? Has not an infinite power enabled Him to create an order of things which has successively given existence to all that we see as well as to that which exists and that of which we have no knowledge? As regards the decrees of this infinite wisdom, I have confined myself to the limits of a simple observer of nature."

After all, while it is generally not remembered, Darwin expressed himself in almost these same words in the closing sentences of his "*Origin of Species*." He said: "There is a grandeur in the view of life with its several powers having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that, while this planet has gone circling on according to the fixed law of gravity from so simple a beginning, endless forms, most beautiful and most wonderful, have been and are being evolved."

Darwin is said to have withdrawn from this position later on in life and to have his faith seriously disturbed with regard to the question of Providence in the world by the existence of so much suffering and evil. He had dwelt so much on the struggle for life apparently without realizing that mutual aid which the animals exhibit by a wonderful instinct utterly inexplicable, except as a teteological quality plays quite as important a rôle in the preservation of the species. This dwelling on the struggle for life and the suffering and death which it involves has been the stumbling block of biologists generally and has done more to produce a tradition of the supposed opposition of faith and biological science than almost anything else. This is extremely unfortunate because it is exactly this phase of life that biology is prone to exaggerate the significance and importance of.

Emile Faguet, of the Academie Francais, writing in his "*Propos Littéraires* on Ernest Haeckel," fifteen years ago, suggested that "biology is precisely the science of evil on the earth. Life is a struggle. It is then the science of objection to the Deity. A good

method," he adds, "of thinking of God is precisely not to think about life in the world." It was Kant who said there are two proofs of the existence of God. The contemplation of the starry heavens and the contemplation of the law of duty within the heart of man, that is to say, one can found religion on the inanimate universe on the one hand, or on the other on the moral nature of man. Between these two poles, so distant one from another, there is life—life properly so-called; life which is life, but which is not as yet moral life. It is this that Kant seems to advise us not to consider too much. And in reality we must recognize that the contemplation of life only with difficulty inspires religious thought. It does not engender religion, alas, but rather gives rise to melancholy. I doubt whether the religion of nature will ever become the religion of humanity.

M. Faguet has in this passage struck the keynote of the difficulties that have arisen in the relations between modern science and faith. Biology and nature study have become the popular phases of science. These are not productive of deep religious thought, but because of their close relation to suffering and death in the world may lead to skepticism. For smaller minds they are prone to produce feelings rather of discouragement than of religious exaltation. Even here, however, as in all other departments of science, the really great minds rise above that materialism which their almost constant application to the suffering in life is so prone to suggest into the higher realms of the existence of a Creator and of a Providence that is gradually bringing about an evolution in living beings, so that somehow out of evil good is produced. The number of the devout believers among the great workers in biology far surpasses those who have been turned to materialism.

In spite of this supposedly strong tendency to unorthodoxy, Catholic investigators play an extremely important rôle in nineteenth century biology. Of course, this is to be expected in France, where the most distinguished scientists of the century have all been not only faithful, but devout Catholics. This is as true in biology as it is in any of the other sciences. Lamarck, whom we have already mentioned, occupies the important place of Father of the Evolution Theory at the beginning of the century; Pasteur fills the largest space in science at the end. In the intervening period there are such men as Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, who, when told that he was dying, said to his daughter: "We shall soon part, but soon we shall meet again;" and Claude Bernard, who at the height of his career as a scientist gave up his beliefs in religion, but came back to them later when in the maturity of his powers he was looked upon as one of the greatest of the living biological scientists.

What is true in France, however, is curiously enough true even in Protestant Germany, where not a few of the most prominent biologists remained faithful Catholics in the midst of their work.

The most important step in nineteenth century biological was the discovery of the cell doctrine. This was made by Theodore Schwann, who lived a long, active life, always the centre of interest in biological science, thoroughly respected by all his scientific colleagues, yet remained not only a faithful Catholic, but preferred, in spite of flattering offers from Protestant German universities, to teach at the Catholic Universities of Louvain and Liege, in order that he might be constantly among his own Catholic people. In the light of certain modern ideas as the opposition between biology and faith, it is extremely interesting to find that the first book on the cell theory, the foundation stone of recent biology, published by Schwann, was submitted to the Bishop of Malines and published with his imprimatur. Schwann's great teacher at Berlin, Johann Müller, was, as we have said, a Catholic, and though there is no doubt that few men have contributed so much to nineteenth century biology or laid the foundation of so many suggestive theories with regard to life and its significance, he found no opposition between his faith and his science.

Schwann's distinguished successor at the University of Louvain, Van Beneden, is another typical example of Catholicity, and the most profound acquaintance with biological science, running side by side in a long career without any interference with one another. Van Beneden was looked upon as one of the leaders in biological science in the latter half of the nineteenth century. His journal, *La Cellule*, came to be looked upon as one of the most authoritative organs of biological science. How little it insisted on the value of names for admission to its columns, rather than the significance of the contribution, may be best appreciated from the fact that the articles of the distinguished Spanish anatomist, Ramon y Cajal, first found a European audience through this journal. At that time the Spanish observer's reputation was yet to be made; his work was suspected, his conclusions scouted, yet eventually this proved to be the best work done in brain anatomy during the nineteenth century. Van Beneden was one of the broadest of scientists, ready to welcome every new suggestion or discovery that promised to add to knowledge, yet possessed of a thoroughly conservative critical faculty that enabled him to winnow the wheat from the chaff.

The year after Van Beneden's death, Carnoy's eulogium of Van Beneden appeared in the "*Revue Des Questions Scientifique*."³ Carnoy thus summed up Van Beneden's science and faith: "By

³ Vol. XXXVII., Brussels, 1819, p. 336.

his numerous important discoveries Van Beneden had raised himself to the first rank in the scientific world. He represents for us especially the happy union of science and faith in the highest, sublimest degree. Van Beneden was fortunate indeed in his life; he practiced his religion with simplicity and conviction. In the precious hours when the scientist found himself on journeys there often came from his heart an ardent and devout prayer to God. When this great mind set forth the new discoveries and the many laws which had been revealed by his investigations he confessed that he often found light and help from his faith to enable him to understand the divinely created miracle of the animal world better."

Many of the great German workers in biology whose names are most familiar took pains to declare their attitude toward faith and how far any conclusions that they could derive from science were from the materialism toward which the lesser lights in science were so ready to proclaim they felt themselves impelled to. Quite a list of them might be made, and some of them were very emphatic in their declarations. Among them are included Ehrenberg, who did such distinguished work in microbiology when that science was beginning its modern days; Hyrtl, well known for original researches in anatomy and physiology; von Baer, the father of modern embryology and one of the great pioneers of the modern phase of biology; Von Martins, the botanist; Agassiz, whose work was begun in Switzerland and ended in America, and many others of lesser renown than these who are leaders each of them in their own department of the biological sciences.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the recent history of biology in what concerns this attitude of science to faith is to be found in the fact that a number of Catholic clergymen have been among the most distinguished workers and most successful investigators in this department of science.

Only in the last ten years have we come to realize it, but it is universally conceded that the greatest worker in the biological sciences during the latter half of the nineteenth century was the abbot of an Augustinian monastery at Brunn, in Moravia. Our biological journals are now filled with discussions of Mendel's works and Mendel's laws. Our biological investigators are mainly engaged in confirming and extending his observations on animals and plants; our biologists are mainly occupied with studying out the complete significance of his discoveries, and we have entered on the period of Mendelism to succeed Darwinism in biology. Of science and faith in Mendel's case there can be no doubt, though there is also no doubt of the depth of his knowledge of biological principle. After he had spent some ten years in the study of the

plants in his monastery garden and elucidated problems that were to remain utterly obscure for a full generation after his time, because his work did not receive the attention that it deserved, he was elected the abbot of the monastery and spent the last fifteen years of his life in this position. His election was mainly due to the conviction of his brethren that he was a man of deep piety as well as profound learning, and he died almost in the odor of sanctity.

There are, however, many other Catholic churchmen who have reached noteworthy distinction in nineteenth century biological science. One of the best known of these is still alive—the Jesuit Father Wasmann, S. J., who is looked upon as one of the greatest of living etymologists, to whom we owe several articles on ants and their parasites, and who has described some nine hundred new species of insects, mainly ants and creatures that have relations to them. A number of the Catholic missionaries have attained distinguished names for their discoveries in foreign countries and for their collections in zoölogy and botany. The most distinguished of these was Father Armand, whose studies in zoölogy and botany in China made him famous throughout the world. He enriched the *Jardin des Plantes* in Paris so as to make it a Mecca for students from all over the world who wanted to know something about Chinese zoölogy and botany. Scarcely less distinguished was the Jesuit missionary, Father Peter Heude, who died at Shanghai in 1902. His articles on the conchology of China and his studies in the zoölogy of the Philippines, Batavia, the Celebes, the Moluccas and Japan attracted widespread attention. To this list should be added the names of Father Bernard Altum, some time president of the German Ornithological Society, whose book, “*The Bird and Its Life*,” is widely known, and Father Latreille, one of the pioneer workers in etymology at the beginning of the nineteenth century, whose work was so successful that he is not likely to be forgotten. Nor are these all, none of whom found any hindrance to faith in his biological studies.

What has distinguished these believing biologists from their colleagues whose faith has grown less is that they have devoted time and attention to the study of the things of faith. As a rule scientists have failed to do this, usually because they refused to think that it would be worth their while; often because their absorption in scientific studies made them so one-sided in the intellectual interests that they did not appreciate the importance of these subjects for mankind and for themselves. Whenever scientists devote a reasonable amount of time to the things that in our present state of knowledge must be taken on faith, but we see them but darkly as through a glass, their faith suffers no eclipse. This is as true in biology as in

any other of the sciences. The proof of it is to be found in the number of clergymen who have been biologists, and if further proof was needed, it would be found in the examples furnished by such men as Claude Bernard, in France, or Romanes, in England. While absorbed in science they were unbelievers. When the time came that they devoted more thought to religious subjects then their faith was restored to them.

Apparently it matters not what phase of the after life or of the other world scientists devote their attention to, they are sure to find evidence for belief that is quite sufficient to convince them, even though it may fail to carry convictions for others. The attitude of prominent scientists of our own day toward spiritualism is very interesting from this standpoint. Those who have given themselves unprejudiced to the investigation of the existence of the spirit world around us, interpenetrating and influencing our own, have come out of the investigation convinced of the existence of forces independent of matter, yet capable of influencing human life in certain ways. The converts to this state of mind among present day scientists have included such distinguished men as Alfred Russell Wallace, Sir William Crookes, Sir Oliver Lodge, Professor Charles Richet, of Paris, and the late Professor Lombroso, of Turin. These men came to their conclusions not by deductive reasoning, but by the investigation of physical phenomena. They constitute the living proof that for the acceptance of a spirit world, what is needed is merely a readiness to admit the possibility of it and a willingness to accept such evidence as may be obtained.

THE FAITH OF SCIENTISTS.

In a word, the more one knows of the biographies of scientists, the less question is there of any opposition between science and faith. Just as soon as the relation of science and faith is taken out of the abstract, where there has been said to be so much antagonism, and put into the concrete, then there is no longer any question of opposition. Many scientists have lost their faith, but that has been because of neglect of the evidence for it or because of incapacity to appreciate that evidence. As a rule that has very few exceptions, the great scientists have given the time to this subject, and instead of losing their faith have had it strengthened by their devotion to science. The smaller minds among the scientists have made science an excuse for the loss of faith. Their little buckets of minds are apparently not capable of holding both science and faith, and science crowded its sister fount of knowledge out of mind because faith was of such little consequence to the possessor.

As a matter of fact, it is the scientists especially who have paid

no attention to the things of faith who have not cared, or have been too preoccupied with the things of science to give the time to analyze the conditions on which faith exists, who have lost their faith. They have not had interest enough in such important questions as the existence of a Creator, of a Providence that overrules and a hereafter, with its inevitable reward and punishment, to realize that the difficulties of unbelief are infinitely more bothersome, infinitely less capable of seeing things than the doubts that accompany belief. Herbert Spencer told of having lost his interest in poetry. Darwin confessed that though in earlier years he had been much interested in the drama and music and art, he had lost these tastes completely in later life. It is easy to understand just how these losses came about. The two great English leaders of thought were so much occupied with other affairs that they lost their appreciation and their interest in certain beautiful manifestations of human intellectual life. If they are satisfied with the state of mind in which they find themselves after such losses, no one has any right to complain, for they are the only ones to suffer.

If because of their lack of interest and appreciation they themselves should set about persuading others (which, of course, they had too much sense to do) that these forms of æsthetic expression are trivial and mean much only to the unthoughtful and appeal only to the unlearned, their procedure would be quite unjustified and would, of course, be laughed at by the majority of men. If their disciples and readers, convinced by these expressions of lack of interest on the part of their masters, should proceed to denounce literature and poetry and music and art as trifling things, quite nugatory, over which men wasted time, but only because they had not developed out of a certain childishness in which such trifles were still of interest, then we would have a right to laugh at them. Just this sort of thing has happened, however, with regard to faith. Scientists who have neglected it have inevitably lost their taste for it and their comprehension of it, have failed to realize how much it means in life and how much it responds not merely to the intellect of men, but to his whole being, filling his aspirations, completing his purposes, lifting him out of himself and making life mean something where otherwise it would not. Of course, it is not such men that we should follow. Their opinion with regard to faith is worth no more than the opinion of men who confess they have no interest, that they have indeed lost their interest in æsthetics and with regard to human artistic expressions of all kinds.

The greatest scientists have taken the time, have had the abiding interest and, above all, have possessed the breadth and the depth of intellect which enabled them to realize the true place of philosophy

and of faith in life, and so we have not had any cheap superficial material from them. Their acceptance of faith has not been because of tradition or merely because they have been brought up in certain beliefs. All of them deliberately weighed the evidence of faith for themselves with just the same calmness of intellect with which they weighed scientific evidences. This scrutiny of a thoroughly scientific mind, far from impairing faith, strengthened and deepened it and made it in nearly all these cases a great impulse for the bringing out of what was best in the men and their relations to their fellow-men.

It is this concrete side of this important question, the relations of our greatest scientists to faith, which constitutes the best lesson that the young can learn at the present time, when somehow there is a feeling in the air that science and faith may not be quite compatible and that it is a sign of largeness of intellect and breadth of mind to refuse to believe, and that it is only the narrow and the limited of intellect who have no knowledge of or but slight acquaintance with modern scientific progress who still keep their faith without serious misgivings. Just exactly the opposite is the truth. It is time that this false tradition with regard to science and faith, or, as I preferred to think of it, with regard to the faith of scientists, should be replaced by the direct conclusion from the facts of biography, as it can be so easily learned. Young men particularly have been led astray by this utterly false notion. It has seemed to them that they were exhibiting their largeness of mind and depth of knowledge in rejecting faith when they were really following the example of the mediocre minds in science. The opposite tradition, which is the true one, would make a magnificent safeguard for the young man during the years when he is so prone to think that he is thinking, though he is only following the leadership of some favorite writer or teacher. Horace's dictum with regard to the poets,

Mediocribus esse poetis,
Non Dii, non homines, non concessere columnae,

"Nor gods nor men, nor even the booksellers care for the mediocre poets," should be transferred to the scientists and paraphrased, for God nor man nor even the general public cares what the mediocre scientist thinks, above all, with regard to things that he has not paid much attention to.

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New York.

A SIDE OF CELTIC GENIUS.

THE boast of universal preëminence, of a leadership in every activity that the mind and hand of man can work upon, belongs to no single person or nation. A claim to partial greatness, to excellence in some line of genius, both the man or his race may graciously have without gainsay from his emulous neighbors; the world at large is not churlish and will acknowledge preëminent greatness wherever found. The Western marksman is first with the rifle, and the South Sea Islander with his boomerang; the poet may enjoy his flights of imagination, while others win plaudits by sailing machines a thousand feet above the earth; the peasantry of the Tyrol may walk their fields of faith in secure happiness, though some of the German universities are honored for their spurious rationalism, and the cantons of Switzerland may enjoy untrammelled national life, even though England ten years ago wrote this legend upon her postage stamp: "We hold a larger empire than has been;" or, again, though the American stamp should say what a noisy Yankee, like a true national braggadocio proposed when he read the English motto: "We can lick all creation." To every man and to every nation there is a foremost place in some department of thought or industry. The African is first of the human races if we look at them in alphabetical order.

A leadership in one activity of mind may, therefore, be conceded to Ireland, not that it is the only department in which her genius excels; indeed, to put the finger on the predominant mark of Celtic genius, so universal are its operations, would baffle the acutest analyst, and the same mark has not been touched upon twice by men who have attempted the task. Centuries ago one of them, a Gael, said in an old Irish poem:

For acuteness and valor, the Greeks;
For excessive pride, the Romans;
For dullness, the creeping Saxons;
For beauty and amorousness, the Gaels.

And only the other day we heard Mr. Chesterton's verdict: "Irishmen are best at the specially *hard* professions—the trades of iron, the lawyer, the soldier." The special activity of mind, therefore, that we are now conceding to Ireland is not claimed as her leading mark; it is only a side of her genius, and it is hers almost uniquely, a precious endowment for her people and a leaven for good beyond all human estimation in their exercise of it among the nations. It is this—to the Irish race the face of nature, whether in its simple charms or in its magnificent grandeur, is a wondrous book

wherein great thoughts are read, true thoughts that enrich the mind and, more than that, the "understanding heart," with a wisdom surpassing mere academic knowledge. To the Celt every page of this marvelous volume is filled with living suggestiveness; up the mountains or along the vales, by the ocean strands and cliffs or in the woodlands near the rivers, in the vast reaches amid the stars or down with the humble cinquefoil hiding near the shamrock in the grass; through all the seasons, and in sunshine and in storm, the book is open to him always, like a vision to his eyes and a symphony to his sensitive heart. And the vision and the symphony are not left there motionless and dumb; they quicken the lips of the Celt to a psalm of praise, as should be, and as men of wisdom wrote, like Ecclesiasticus long ago, "Hath not the Lord made the saints to declare all His wonderful works which the Lord Almighty hath firmly settled to be established for His glory?"

In this lofty use of the scenes of the universe, with their revelations of God, the Celt is a leader, *facile princeps*. Nature in all her moods is an oracle to him, not mystifying as with the riddle of a sphinx, but clear-voiced and direct, simple as the first lessons of a child's book, yet with a depth of meaning that can engage the penetrating mind of a seer. It is not merely the intense delight that comes to every healthy-minded man at a vista or voice from this real fairyland; to the Celt it brings more than sensual charm; it is the gate and pathway to high thoughts and impulses. It does not circulate in his nerves as an emotional feeling; it is an elevation of his heart, an inspiration that tunes his lips to worshipful cadences before this terrestrial shrine of God. To Wordsworth, indeed, and to others of the gentiles who dwelt in the healthful country of solitude, intellectual and physical pleasure could come from field and forest; to them "the meanest flower that blows" could often give "thoughts that lie too deep for tears." But an element of their enjoyment was indefiniteness, and that fits not the Celtic mood. The message is clear to him, whether it comes from the quiet flower by the wall or from the loud torrent on the mountain; whether he dwell with the peaceful monk in his cloistered garden or stand by Lear in the raging storm upon the midnight heath.

We do not mean that the Celt in the expression of his praise, whether in prose or verse, will read out nature's lesson formally, in an appended corollary, as the moral that follows a fable in Esop. That was the manner of the Puritan, and especially of the early New England verse-makers in their Sabbath literature. The Celt is by instinct too artistic for such commonplaces, though he will at times, when the scene and the mood prompt it, break into direct praise of God, as Coleridge, a rare English example, did when he

stood before the tremendous majesty of Mount Blanc and bade the mountain world to proclaim its lesson :

Utter forth "God" and fill the hills with praise, . . .
And tell the stars and tell yon rising sun,
"Earth with her thousand voices praises God."

But the Celt's usual method is to let nature speak to him as a few verses from a Gospel. Then comes his meditation, and around the inspiring scene, as around the text of a preacher, the homily grows, and out of the picture comes a portion of the teaching that God put into it for men who have eyes and will see. Newman exhibits the Celtic method well in the "Second Spring"—the rebirth of vegetation in the springtime, the return of the carolling birds, the sowing of the seed again and the promise of the luxuriant summer and the fruitful autumn—and all this a symbolical background that illustrates the rebirth of God's Church in England.

This eloquence of the Celt in the school of nature is not of recent acquisition or development ; it is contained in good quantity in what remains to us from the literary fragments that have survived the devastation of centuries. One authoritative statement,¹ with which all will agree who have looked into old Irish literature, is sufficient testimony for the ancient poets :

"Perhaps the most evident characteristic of Celtic bardic literature is the deep appreciation of nature in all her moods. No English poet that I know, with the possible exception of Wordsworth, and not even he with true Celtic inness, describes nature as we have it in the poems attributed to Oisín and Caolte. The English mind sees the reeds swaying in the wind, and the rainbow, and the mountain side flecked with cloud shadows and admires them ; but the Celt, as it were, for the moment rides on the wings of the wind and is one with it. Having passed, as they say in the Highlands, under the pillars of Caershee, he is gifted with another sight, and the rainbow is for him no mere beautiful arrangement of colors, but 'God's seven spirits,' bringing a message of peace and love to his soul."

Another witness to the Celt's love of nature, a prince among the authorities, is Archbishop Healy, the scholarly historian of Ireland's ancient scholars. In the preface to his classic book² we read : "They (the old saints and scholars) loved learning much, it is true, but they loved God and nature more. They knew nothing of what is now called civilization and were altogether ignorant of urban life ; but still they had a very keen perception of the grandeur and beauty of God's universe. The voice of the storm and the strength of the sea, the majesty of lofty mountains and the glory of summer

¹ James O'Donovan, C. C., "Irish Ecol. Record," 1899.

² "Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars."

woods spoke to their hearts even more eloquently than the voice of the preacher or the writing on their parchments."

To us transmarines the reading of old Irish literature at first hand is not possible; we must be content to learn of its characteristics from proper authorities, and through the eyeglasses of translation we may see that the Christian bard was sure always to note the "God of the Elements." That is a phrase dating from the first half of the fifth century in the illustrious "*Lorica*," a poem which is attributed to St. Patrick and which, to quote Archbishop Healy again,³ is "to this day chanted by the peasantry of the South and West in the ancestral tongue, and it is regarded as a strong shield against all evils natural and supernatural."

Again, from the hymn of St. Sanctain, written in the middle of the next century, we read in a translation of one of the verses:

I will utter the praises of Mary's son,
Who battles our white battles.⁴
May God of the elements answer;
A corslet in battle shall be my prayer.

And, finally, not to multiply passages containing this and similar phrases, we note these lines from a seventh century poem by St. Colman:

May the Sovereign of lampful Heaven ward off from us our misery.

Under the protection of the King of the elements, this guardianship may He not take from us.

In his splendid essay on Celtic literature, Matthew Arnold quotes a passage from Lucan and adds: "There is the testimony of an educated Roman fifty years after Christ." Lucan had given witness to the love of nature among the bards and druids, and to the ancient Celtic race that possessed a special, profound, spiritual discipline and was wiser than their neighbors. Christianity accentuated that discipline, and the druids, though "their dwelling was in the lone heart of the forest," could not prize the charms of nature with as true a love as, in later centuries, the saintly bards did who sang with such delight of "the holy hills of Ireland." Always was the scene, as the rainbow with God's seven spirits, lit up by some thought of the Creator. Columcille is but one name out of a legion who thought his garden the abode of white angels:

³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴ It will not be amiss to add a note about the unusual expression "white battles." In an Irish sermon, published from a Cambray MS. of the eighth century, by Zeuss, we read: "There are three sorts of martyrdom, all of which give the crown of suffering to man: white martyrdom, blue martyrdom and red martyrdom. It is white martyrdom when man, through love of God, foregoes all the pleasures and enjoyments of life." *Vide* "Irish Eccl. Record," 1867.

Through Derry's oak groves angels white
In countless thousands come and go;
And gleams, as if of God's delight,
Fall calm and clear to mortal sight
Upon beloved Raphoe.⁵

And that note, which comes from the Celt's wonderful insight, is rich in Irish literature still. To instance examples of the modern expression of that power would be to collect an anthology of no small size. Canon Sheehan is one of the notable examples among the moderns. Not the fertility of his pen in fiction and poetry marks him for our purpose, for in that line of production Walter Scott is in the first rank. But Canon Sheehan is the Celt when, from his environment of hills and valleys, he makes a little preachment—not a somniferous drone nor a novice sermon, but an obvious, vital reflection from the inspiration in the scene before his eyes. The portico to which he goes for his meditation is not amid the arcades of a library, neither to an academic cloister; his lecture hall and ascetorium is "under the cedars and the stars." Is it the time of autumn? He looks at the little garden plot; the bulbs of the hyacinth and of the dahlia are being set there. "The former wakes up in early spring, and hangs its sweet bells on the pure virgin air, while the latter sleeps on through the cold of spring and the blazing heat of summer, and only wakes up when all nature is dying around them, and seems to be calling, calling for another proof of its immortality. Who is the watchman of the flowers? . . . Who hath marked their times and seasons and warns them when their hour hath struck? Who but Thou, great Warden of the universe?"

Again it is the Maytime, and the wondrous vision of a lily stands before him like a vested acolyte in a holy sanctuary. Quick is the thought to the Celt that here is type and method and plan and—mind. "Raffaello could paint that Lily of Israel, that Rose of Sharon; but he could not create this tiny flower in my fingers. . . . If only mind could create a Sistine Madonna, how could chance create that which is greater, lovelier? . . . Chance could never put that mother's look in the soft brown eyes, nor that dreamy far-sight into the eyes of the Child. . . . And how, then, could unconscious chemistry—the mere fortuitous coincidence of atoms—create this floral beauty that springs from the dull, brown clods of my garden beds? Here is a little water and a little oil—that is all! Who combined them into such a lovely form? Has water these potencies of color in itself, and has oil in itself that sweet, subtle fragrance? And this outward curve, like a lip turned backwards in the coquetry of anger, who hath given it? . . . 'Chance! Unconscious chemistry!' It is against all the traditions of our experience, all the arguments of a reasoning mind."

⁵ T. D. Sullivan's paraphrase.

One other instance—the latest to come from the Island of Saints and Scholars—must suffice for our illustration. It is a series of discourses⁶ by an old, blind Jesuit, who still keeps rich, though his eyes have failed him, the memory of his lessons from nature. Two only of his “studies” shall we glance at. They will show the method of the Celt in reading an evangel from the things of the world. The first is “The Sermon of the Sea.” The picture places are familiar to all of us, but how few of us have had Father Kane’s mind before them? Take our stand with him by the shore. It is a bright summer morning, but like much of the brightness of life there is little of real color in it, and it is all in the distance. The vast moving expanse bids us for a moment to leave the world of matter and the time that is made of days and to listen to the text in varying harmony, “Thou must conquer or thou shalt die.” Wait and learn the secret of the ocean’s power—small drops united in law; and life is but infinite atoms of good, stirred and strengthened into one boundless and magnanimous motive. Many are the dead beneath the waters; but grow not timid, for the sea is true to the brave; it is a slave to the strong. Here by the high rocks and cliffs learn what patience may accomplish; for the sea has patiently awaited its hour to return, and now it is coming back, with the roar of cannon and the rattle of musketry, to conquer every cave of the fortress. See the ship in full sail moving along the horizon like a vision of purity, a revelation of love. There may be perils ahead, but perils make the hardy sailor. Be brave; watch the compass; the glad cry will surely come, “Land!” the everlasting shore. And now we see that Christ was there always, most powerful in the most appalling storm of life. The Lord hath reigned, “now the sea is saying: ‘Thou hast conquered, thou shalt never die.’”

And, finally, there is the lesson from “The Plough.” How simple is the text, so like the Master’s lilies of the field and the birds of the air in Israel long ago. And what is the message of the plough? It is only the simplest emblem of work, the token of the tillage of the soil, but on its humble service all greatness leans, and “not only the honest doing of duty and the earnest earning of honor, but also the fulfillment of brave aims and the realization of exalted ideals depend always, and depend absolutely upon the commonplace tillage of character.” The plough works slowly; but, after all, the race is not to the swift, and patience is a mighty power. It is hard work; “when we feel too weak to work and too worthless to pray, then it is very hard to plough; but such work is useful; it gives hardihood to the man, healthiness to the soil and harvest to the home.” The soul must be cultivated; when the plough is hardest, more vigorous

⁶ “The Sermon of the Sea and Other Studies,” by Rev. Robert Kane, S. J.

should be the effort. The monk turned moors into gardens. The golden harvest will come. Who sow in tears shall reap in joy. Look forward; the past is dead. "Forward like a true man! For 'no man putting his hand to the plough and looking back is fit for the kingdom of God.'"

Here, therefore, is a preëminence that may be conceded to the Celt—the possession and the exercise of a spiritual discipline that reads aright the great book of the universe. Such a gift marked the writings of the ancient Hebrews. Before the Old Testament was written, as one of the fathers noted long ago, God gave to mankind the wondrous volume of the starry skies and the varied visions by land and sea, and Israel read therein the lessons of wisdom: "The heavens show forth the glory of God, and the firmament declareth the work of His hands. Day to day uttereth speech, and night to night showeth knowledge. There are no speeches nor language where their voices are not heard." But in a later word the Psalmist lamented that there are those who will not understand: "For Thou hast given me a delight in Thy doings, and in the works of Thy hands I will rejoice. The senseless man shall not know; nor will the fool understand these things." That reproach falls not on the true Celt; he has kept the vision that Israel abandoned long ago.

Now and then some foreigner or some half-Celt, like François Coppee, in a moment of spiritual exaltation catches the gleam. Coppee, for instance, once stood on a mountain height overlooking Geneva. Below him the city lay hidden under its chilling fog, and only the raucous din of wheels and whistles reached him to tell him that a city was there beneath him as in a tomb. Above him the sun shone in the cloudless sky. Coppee stood and looked, but all he saw was *the fact*. It was years afterwards that the scene had a deeper vision for him; years afterwards, when, during the last days of his life, enjoying the surpassing peace of soul of which he writes in "La Bonne Souffrance," he was standing on other heights, up the mountain of life, and his past years lay hidden under the fog of waywardness; but he could catch some glimpses of the light out of the immeasurable eternity above him; and that would have been his lesson had he been a true Celt on the morning near Geneva.

Happy is the observer to whom comes, even late in life, the great meaning that underlies the fact. But many are they who have eyes and see not. Matthew Arnold is typical of a class who take only a colorless stoicism from the voices of nature:

When thou dost bask in Nature's eye,
Ask how she viewed thy self-control. . . .
Nature, whose free, light, cheerful air
Oft made thee in thy gloom despair.

And Shelley is kin to another tribe who can see only ephemeral beauty in the magic scenes, beauty that passes into nothingness and leaves the spirit pessimistic, "Our sincerest laughter with some pain is fraught." But the Celt has the feeling and the logic of wisdom; his perceptions bring right valuations; to him always "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof."

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IS THERE ANY SUCH THING AS ESSENTIAL RIGHT AND WRONG?

THE question here put will have to be answered in the affirmative; but if the reply is to be fully understood, the confusion that has entered into books will have to be patiently cleared away by a process that ought not to be uninteresting to a mind which loves serious thought on a subject of vital importance to man.

I.

To start with an illustration of the confused treatment of which we speak, we will take Pufendorf, who, with Hugo Grotius, is such a constant object of attack in our Catholic text-books of ethics. Yet there is so much religion common to the two that in these days of wider departure from truth they might rather be greeted as relatively strong friends to our cause. Now Pufendorf almost at the outset of his work has a passage for which our Catholic writers, in constant succession one after another, have assailed his name. By itself it certainly sounds ill: "Man obtained a social nature from the good pleasure of God, not from any immutable necessity, and consequently the morality of actions proper or improper to him as a social creature must be derived from the same source, and must be attributed to men, not by an absolute, but by an hypothetical necessity."¹ The absurdity here in the end really lies in arguing what man might have been if he had not been man, but had been of some other nature, for instance, a brute animal, in which, as Pufendorf truly but futilely remarks, those actions imply no turpitude which in man would be morally disgraceful. Again, the same author in contending that evil deeds could not be sinful if no divine author prohibited them,² is talking ineffectually, because the divine Legis-

¹ "The De Jure Naturae et Gentium," Lib. I., cap. 2, n. 6 and 7.

² "Non apparet quomodo honestas aut turpitudine intelligi posset ante legem et citra superioris impositionem." Lib. I., c. 2, n. 6.

lator necessarily forbids, even though He should make no positive revelation of His will thereon, whatever is intrinsically wrong. Pufendorf himself is really aware of this, and therefore accuses Grotius of an impious hypothesis when he treats merely as a supposition, not as a fact, the contrary notion that there is antecedently an intrinsic wrongness independent of the prohibition by God of what violates rational propriety. Grotius is careful to qualify this as an extreme and impious hypothesis—*quod sine sermone scelere dari nequit, non esse Deus aut non curari ab eo negotia humana*.³ What he wishes is no more than what St. Ignatius does in his meditation on sin when he bids us consider the inordinateness of the act prior to the divine prohibition.

Pufendorf is really more confusing than is Grotius when he frames his hypothesis that man might guiltlessly do what brutes do if he were an irrational creature, but not while he is what he is. "Though God is not obliged by necessity to create man, yet when once He decreed to create him as a rational and social being, it was impossible but that the present natural law should be that proper to the human condition not by an absolute, but by a hypothetic necessity," that is, on the hypothesis that man is a "rational and social being."⁴

As any other sort of being would not be a man, the whole hypothesis comes to nothing, and Pufendorf is wrong, not exactly in the way imagined by most of our scholastic text-books, which say that he founds morality on the free will of God, but because, on another than the frequently reported interpretation, he introduces much perplexity by arguing out at length an hypothesis which in the end turns out to be self-contradictory; human morality would not hold if man were not a man, and as God freely creates man, it also depends on the divine freedom for its actual existence.

II.

And now it is due from us to Pufendorf to show that he is not alone in the misfortune of involving himself in awkward definitions of the natural law. The Roman legalists started a troublesome course and the scholastic did not boldly break away from it as misleading or at least unprofitable. Ulpian⁵ defined the natural law, as it is distinct from the law of nations, to be what is not peculiar to man, but common to all animals of earth, sea and sky: *Jus*

³ "De Jure Belli et Pacis Prolegom," n. 11. See Pufendorf's indignant comment about the wretch who would maintain this wicked and senseless hypothesis. Lib. II., cap. 3, n. 19.

⁴ Lib. II., c. 2, n. 6-10—a good refutation of the errors committed by Hobbes in his theory of society and human morality.

⁵ Digest I., 1-4.

naturale est quod natura omnia animalia docuit: non est humani generis proprium. The instances that can be given with plausibility really concern incidents which affect only a small portion of the merely animal kingdom—namely, those species which bring up their offspring with an assignable degree of systematic care, comparable to family organization, a feature reducible to that more generic principle from which St. Thomas argues in condemnation of suicide—namely, the natural tendency of living things to persevere in life and to develop it to its best outcome. Spinoza also lays stress on the principle: *Quo magis unusquisque suum utile quaerit et se conservare conatur, eo magis virtute praeeditus est.*⁶ The inconvenience of the scheme is that it attributes rights to beings that have no strictly moral claims because they are irrational, while it offers very few particulars in which men and beasts can be said to hold in common their “rights.” Long before the humanist Laurentius Valla had found fault with the above distinction of rights which has no place in Aristotle, and some years before Ulpian’s division, Gaius as representing Roman law had proposed another and better division into the natural law common to all peoples because of its essentiality to a morally conducted life and the civil law peculiar to the several peoples of different countries: *Quod quisque populus ipse sibi jus constituit, id ipsius proprium est vocaturque civile; quod vero naturalis ratio inter omnes homines constituit, vocatur jus gentium.*⁷ Other lawyers of the Roman Empire, omitting all reference to the mere animal order, found it convenient to differentiate among men the natural law from the *Jus Gentium*, which was less wide. St. Thomas came across these terminologies as established modes of speech in his time, and he simply took them for what they were worth, without saying that they were irreproachable. Hence if any one likes to quote St. Thomas as a defender of animal rights on the ground that he repeats Ulpian’s phraseology,⁸ that course is open, but it leads to no issue; for St. Thomas adds that as applied to the brute creation *Jus naturale* has not got its strictest sense. By the *Jus Gentium* St. Thomas means the necessary conclusions from the principles of natural right.⁹ But this distinction does not admit of great precision as to the exact necessity in detail; we may connect the case of necessity with that of immediacy. In philosophy we often talk of what is immediately evident and what mediately; of what is primitive in knowledge and what is derivative; what is intuitive and what inferential; what is ultimately simple and what

⁶ “*Ethica*,” Part IV., Prop. 35; Coroll., 2 *of.*, Prop. 20.

⁷ *Instit.* I., 1.

⁸ 2da, 2dae, Q. 57, A. 3.

⁹ 1a, 2dae, Q. 95, A. 4.

is resolvable into prior elements. There is a truth in such distinctions, and often they are serviceable. At the same time it would be possible, under qualifications carefully introduced and retained, to hold the opinions both that all our knowledge is immediate and that all is mediate. For whatever we know must in the end come to us as a sort of intuition. On the other hand, in reflective examination there is no intuition that we can specify which can be shown to stand quite alone without support from anything else; we know nothing in a regular philosophical way till we know many things together in a system. Hence when we discuss what are the less obvious inferences from the principles of natural law and what are the directly given implications without any strictly inferential process, or even what are the first principles themselves which are in no way derivatives, we are apt to fall into uncertainties. Suarez is alive to this difficulty when he remarks: "Not all that is attributed to the *Jus Gentium* answers the test of being intrinsically and essentially matter of the natural law."¹⁰

A further perusal of the chapter just cited from Suarez will show how some theorists try to make use of distinctions which cannot practically be carried into details; and the weakness here discovered is one which it is most important to bear in mind when, for instance, we come across such a statement as that of Hume that *justicia* among men is not purely the dictate of nature, but requires a convention, or the assertions that private property is or is not natural; that civil authority is or is not natural; that monogamy is or is not natural. Of private property Cicero had said: "*Sunt privata nulla natura*,"¹¹ and St. Ambrose repeated the idea, "*Natura jus commune generavit usurpatio (appropriatio) jus fecit privatum*."¹² The words of Suarez for which in the present connection we wish to claim attention are these: "Some say that *Jus naturale* contains only those conclusions which are so necessary that they follow evidently from the principles of nature, apart from the consideration of human society or apart from the action of human will and from the circumstances introduced as needful for human preservation." Here we are reminded of Pufendorf and of his attempt at an abstraction so great that it baffles our efforts to make a successful application. Yet the very failures may prove useful in suggesting a clue to the question how certain disputes arise as to what is of natural law, what belongs to its first principles and what to its deductions. To avoid such conflict Suarez finds it convenient to alter St. Thomas' division and to make the *Jus Gentium* something outside the *jus naturale*:

¹⁰ *De Leg.*, Lib. 11., cap. 17.

¹¹ *De Offic.* I., 7.

¹² *Migne*, tom. 16, col. 627.

"The *Jus Gentium* prescribes nothing of its own nature essential to righteousness, and it forbids nothing of its own nature essentially wrong, either absolutely or relatively to some condition of affairs. All these matters belong to the natural law."

Pufendorf, in view of all these obscurities in scholastic terminology, may claim to be treated leniently if, in his endeavor after a high degree of abstraction he landed himself in somewhat of a terminological bog. His predecessor, Grotius, had managed the same matter with admirable clearness: "Natural law is the dictate of right reason; an act is morally good or morally bad in itself according as it does or does not befit the rational nature. Some of the former acts are commanded, and all the latter acts are forbidden by God, the Author of nature," who, where the discrimination of the two classes rests on essential distinction, is not free to change His attitude; what is strictly natural law "is so immutable that God Himself cannot alter it," all seeming exceptions being really reconcilable with the rule.¹³ Grotius repudiates the extension made by some Roman lawyers of *Jus naturale* to irrational animals.

The guiding lines through all the above discussion are really to be found in that vital chapter of the scholastic philosophy which treats of possibilities in created or creatable objects. Descartes was quite astray from the truths there laid down when he said: "God did not wish the three angles of a triangle to be equal to two right angles because He thought that they could not be otherwise; but, on the contrary, because he wished them to be so they cannot be otherwise."¹⁴ The only truth at which such a declaration could aim would be to exclude from God any necessity outside His own nature to which He was compelled in His will to conform. Such independence is secured by the fact that the necessities of the triangle rest for their foundation in God's own being. It was a difficulty on this point which was before the mind of Pufendorf when he said in defense of attributing moral law to the Divine will: "Those who would establish an eternal rule of morality for actions, without respect to the divine precept, seem to be joining with God Almighty some principle coeval and extrinsic, which He was obliged to follow in assigning the forms or essences of things." Such a fear is creditable to its entertainer, but is grounded on a misconception of the scholastic treatise *De Possibilitibus*.

III.

The Scotist School has been troublesome. Ockham is clearly wrong. He held that God of His absolute power could go so far

¹³ Lib. I., cap. I., sect. x. et sect. xi.

¹⁴ Resp. ad Objectiones Sextas.

as to alter what seems the most immutable of duties—namely, that of reverencing Himself. If, says Ockham, God commanded a creature to blaspheme the divinity, that order would make blasphemy a virtue.¹⁸ But ordinary Scotists are much more reasonable. They distinguish the Ten Commandments into two tables; of these the first refers to God, and apart from the accidental determination of divine worship on a particular day of the week, the Sabbath or the Sunday, it is unchangeable, because the creature's attitude of respect to the Creator cannot change. But the second table is not so unalterable. If we were creatures without bodies, then the 4th, the 5th, the 6th, the 7th and perhaps the 8th commandment would lose all or most of their contents. Again, God as Supreme Possessor as well of all persons as of all things, could command Abraham to sacrifice Isaac or the Israelites to spoil the Egyptians. Apart from the sacrament which consecrates matrimony, God might give some dispensations as regards the natural contract of that union.

IV.

After so many preliminaries we may now briefly answer our original question by affirming that there is an essential difference in all matters except those of purely positive precept, between right and wrong, but the assertion of it needs much circumspection and can be given only by one who has studied the accounts of the natural law which the preceding pages have sketched. Man has a rational nature, the demands of which he can reflexly consider and see what is due from it in relation to himself, to his fellows and to God. Some things there are so slightly befitting or misfitting that they can hardly be said to come directly under the moral law of virtue or sin, but others are of greater import and belong to the moral category. The best method of illustration is to take the ten commandments and to search out the reasons for each in the nature of natural humanity, considering man both as an individual and as a member of society, in each of which capacities there is a further reference of him to God. Many proximate finite ends must be accomplished as obligatory, and all these must be ordained to one final end. The relations of moral obligation, though not determinable with the same precision as mathematical relations, yet have the same necessity in the ultimate laws of right and wrong as affecting an intelligent being, created by God for His own glory and for the good of the creatures themselves, first in their preparatory stage and then in a last consummation.

V.

It is needless to point out how much the doctrine here propounded

¹⁸ In 2 Sent, Q. 19 ad 3 et 4.

disagrees with the non-theistic or agnostic view, which on evolutionary principles allows man no stable nature for which the immutable can be prescribed. The non-theistic ethics declare only that mankind must keep up a moving equilibrium; each generation must adapt itself to the best standard of conduct available for its own age. One age is thus not more moral than another, but simply moral in another way, so far as each equates itself to its own standard. For an equation is an equation all the world over. At the same time the quantities equated may be higher, and from this point of view moral progress is conceded. Two and two equal four, as ten and ten equal twenty. In each case there is equality, but twenty is a higher number than four. So our morality has a wider and a richer standard than that of our ruder ancestors. What man may become some agnostics declare themselves utterly unable to determine; it may be something to us so strange that our morality will have no application to it, or will on some points have to be reversed.

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THE DIARY OF VADSTENA.

ONE of the most interesting orders in the Catholic Church is that of the Briggittines, so called after their foundress, St. Bridget, or Borgit, of Sweden. Its real title is the Order of St. Saviour, because, as the pious foundress believed, Our Lord Himself revealed the rule to her. Founded by a Princess, it was eminently an aristocratic order, to which many noble and high-born women and learned and eminent men belonged, while Vadstena, the cradle and mother house, was for close on two centuries the centre of Catholic life in Sweden. Kings and Queens visited it, and sometimes made it a place of refuge. Some of its best treasures were their gifts, and partly through their influence its prestige in Sweden in the fifteenth century was very great.

The monastery, like all Briggittine monasteries till the seventeenth century, was a double one for monks and nuns, and it is with the diary kept by the monks of this great religious house that we propose to deal here. Fortunately it has survived, though somewhat mutilated, where many other records of this most fascinating order have perished. It was, of course, written in Latin, and dates from the year of the foundation of Vadstena, in 1346, to its suppression, in 1545. The original is in the Library of Upsala, but there is a

copy of it published in Fant's "*Rerum Suecicarum*." Extending as it does over nearly two centuries, the entries, needless to say, are made by different hands, and there is nothing to show where one chronicler left off and another took up the pen. Indeed, the personal element is very much kept in the background, and only occasionally does the writer make any comment on what he narrates, though when this is done the remarks are generally very much to the point and lend a greater interest to what is in the main a chronicle of the deaths and funerals which took place in the monastery and of the reception of the various monks and nuns into the order. We ought to say that the two convents were quite distinct and were divided by the church, and monks and nuns could only hold communication with each other through a grille.

We shall first summarize the diary and then quote the more interesting entries, some of which are of historical importance, as will be seen.

The first few years are very briefly dealt with. It is not till 1384¹ that the diary is regularly kept. The first entry records the death of Uulf, Prince of Mercia, St. Bridget's husband, and adds that in that year the revelations were first made to the saint. In 1346 St. Bridget went to Rome, "according to Our Lord's command." From 1350 there comes a gap which lasts till 1365, when another chronicler has taken the pen and flies rather high in his description of the state of the country after the deposition of the King of Sweden and his imprisonment at Stockholm and the election of Albert, son of Henry, Duke of Magnipolens, as his successor. "Then," he says, "rapacious birds occupied the tops of the mountains, for the Teutons tyrannized in the land for many years."

In 1367 St. Bridget had an audience of the Pope in Rome, and in 1370 received the confirmation of the constitutions of her rule from Urban VI., which she herself presented to him, and the following year she made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and in 1373 died at Rome. A note in the margin says the chronicler made a wrong calculation in the date of the death of St. Bridget, which really took place on the 23d of July in that year. And here we may remark that all through the diary it is necessary to have a calendar of the saints of the Church before one, for everything is dated either on the eve of a feast or on the feast itself, or some ferial day in the middle of the octave of some festival.

In 1374 St. Bridget's remains were removed from Rome to Vadstena and buried in the monastery. The next year her daughter Catherine left Vadstena, of which she was now abbess, and went to Rome to negotiate the canonization of her mother. In 1378 the

¹ Fant's *Scriptores*, "*Rerum Suecicarum*," Vol. I., *Diarium Wasastense*.

death of the first confessor general of the order took place. This was Father Peter Alvaster, who was St. Bridget's confessor and director. He set the music of the chant to be used by the nuns and, says the diary, "many good things were to be found about him elsewhere."

In 1389 St. Catherine placed the cause of her mother's canonization in the Papal Consistory and brought forward fifty-one articles in support of it, and in December of the same year she received the final confirmation of the rule and constitutions from Urban VI. In 1381 Catherine died and was buried in the church at Vadstena.

From 1384 the diary is regularly kept, and though always provokingly brief, it is fuller than in the first few years. Therefore, we shall endeavor to pick out the plums for the reader's benefit. The events chronicled easily resolve themselves into classes; first, there are those which concern the monastery itself, and next those which come under the denomination of history and concern the world outside the enclosure walls. And there is often a quite unconscious humorous discrepancy in the juxtaposition of some great national calamity or revolution and the chronicle of some monastic event of little consequence to the world at large.

Of monastic events, besides the necrology of the order and the account of the reception of monks and nuns, all the journeys of any monks to Rome or to other places for the sake of making new foundations are duly chronicled, and often the news of their safe arrival at their destination or of their misfortunes on their way in days when travel was fraught with so many dangers. From this we learn of the foundations of many of the monasteries of the order in various other countries, as, for instance, that of the English Briggittine monastery at Syon Abbey, near Isleworth, founded and endowed by Henry V. in 1415. We read in the diary on the 13th of May that at "the pressing wish of the Queen," Philippa, wife of Eric XIII. and daughter of our Henry IV., "there were sent to England for the foundation of Syon Abbey two fathers, one Brother and four Sisters and three novices. They were led out with great solemnity by the Archbishop of Lund, a Norwegian Bishop and a great number of knights, who accompanied them for a short distance."

The Italian Briggittine monastery of Porta Paradiso, just outside the city of Florence, was founded from Vadstena, and the diary tells us that on the 1st of May, 1394, Father Magnus Peter, accompanied by several other monks, set out for Rome, first for the purpose of opening this house. Sometimes the Vadstena Fathers or the confessor general and one or two monks went to some of the other monasteries of the order to settle quarrels or difficulties which had

arisen. This happened in the case of the monastery of Maria-Kron, in Stralsund, a foundation from Maria-Wald, in Lubeck, Poland, which soon after its foundation quarreled with its mother house about its independence, whereupon Vadstena was appealed to, and the diary contains a letter from Father Ulph, the prior, to another father at Reval telling him that he hears to his grief that the enemy has been sowing tares, and bidding him to go to both convents and make peace and administer correction, and thereby gives him the necessary faculties for so doing.

In 1446 this monastery of Maria-Kron got into great trouble with the Bishop of the diocese, who wished to be the visitor of the convent against the will of the monks, who refused to allow him to do so, whereupon the Bishop excommunicated them, and they in their sore distress appealed to Vadstena, who, as the diary tells us, sent two fathers with letters from the King of Denmark, and several influential noblemen to the angry Bishop, who was so far appeased that he removed the ban of excommunication, but said that he valued the injuries he had received and the contumelious conduct of the community at 3,000 ducats. The fathers then appealed to Rome, and the death of the Bishop in the following year, 1515, put an end to the dispute.

One of the fathers sent to settle this quarrel was Father Nicholas Amundi, who on his return continued the diary, as we learn from a footnote. The year after he was elected confessor general, and thus speaks of himself in chronicling the fact: "A most unworthy man as I protest with my own hand, in labors from my youth, but in my exaltation I am humiliated and troubled."

The monastery of Maria-Brun, in Dantzic, was another that from its foundation gave trouble to the mother house, as appeared at the general chapter held at Vadstena in 1429, when it was stated that the mother house had had scarcely any knowledge of its foundation, and a resolution was passed that for the future no dishonorable persons should be received into the order, as to their shame had been at Dantzic, and the general master in Prussia was to be written to and told to remove this blot from the convent and send certain of the Dantzic nuns to another convent, where they were to live under the name of "penitents," which, if certain things mentioned by Benzelius in a footnote were true, was certainly the best name for them, always supposing that they had repented of their disgraceful conduct. Again, in 1506, we read in the diary that on the 28th of April the confessor general and another father set out to visit this Dantzic convent, because "the old complaints of that monastery were renewed," and certainly this time the scandal was very great, and one of the monks, whose conscience was stricken at the disorders,

escaped from the convent and went to the Bishop to complain and wrote to Vadstena. War, however, had broken out, and the Vadstena fathers were unable to reach Dantzic, but were forced to go to the monastery of Maria-Thal, near Reval, which they had also intended to visit to settle a dispute there, and there they were obliged to remain for a long time, and then, having been absent too long from Vadstena, were forced to return there without getting to Dantzic. Ten years later, when the Reformation broke out, this Dantzic monastery and the church were burnt down, and after that pestilence broke out, whereby many lost their lives. It is good to learn that under all these trials, though some of the nuns apostatized, many remained true to their faith and to their vocation. The monastery was rebuilt later, and when the heroic nuns of Vadstena were turned out of their beloved and famous monastery by the Protestants in 1595, they chose the convent of Maria-Brun for their place of refuge.

If disorders occurred in the Dantzic monastery, Vadstena, on the contrary, was noted for the holiness of its members. Founded as it was by a canonized saint of the Church, its first abbess only missing canonization because the Reformation prevented her cause from being carried to the final stages, it produced many most saintly men and women. Three of the earlier confessors general—the first, Peter of Alvaster; the second, Magnus Person, and the fifth, Ulpho Birgeri—were beatified. Besides these, several of the fathers and nuns died in the odor of sanctity, and the diary, though always very brief in its notes, frequently mentions the holy lives led by persons whose deaths it chronicles. Of Catherine herself it says not a word, but of one of her successors, Ingeborg, who died in 1400, we read that “she first lived a most holy life in the world with her husband, excelling all the inhabitants of Skening by her good works. Two years after his death she became a nun at Vadstena, where for seven years she lived most perfectly, macerating her body with fasts and vigils and giving every day the best portions of her own food to the poor. She was warned three times in a vision, after her entrance to the monastery, that her life there would not be a long one, and from that time she increased in fervor and humility, spending most of her time in prayer, and at the end of seven years after her entrance into religion died a most edifying death.”

Another holy nun, one of the first ones entering Vadstena, was Sister Ramborgh, who lived to the great age of 110 and preserved all her faculties unimpaired up to her death, in 1401, and lived all these years most devoutly. In the following year is mentioned the death of Sister Margaret Lassa, who, “although she was one of the highest nobles in the land, was so humble that she was prompt to

choose all the most servile work in the monastery kitchen, and washed for the fathers as well as for the nuns. At the same time she was most useful in the choir and a *persona grata* to all."

Again, in 1411, the death of a saintly nun is chronicled—Sister Elenia Sonao, who lived in the greatest penance, subduing her flesh with rigorous fasts and disciplines. For the last five years of her life she was almost always ill, but bore her illness with the greatest patience, and at last, when her body was nothing but skin and bone, died peacefully. In 1412 died the first consecrated abbess, Ingegard, a relation of St. Bridget. She held the abbatial office for eighteen years, and resigned it nine years before her death. She served God with all her heart in great humility. Her last moments are described at some length: "For some time before her death she was always ill, though not always in bed. Then she suffered from the most violent headache, and having confessed all her sins very devoutly, fell on the bed, and having received the last sacraments most piously, took the crucifix in her arms and, saying, 'Oh, sweetest Mary, Mother of God, help me,' breathed out her soul."

Nor were the monks behind the nuns in sanctity. Of Blessed Peter Alvaster, the friend and confessor of St. Bridget, we have already spoken. His successor, Father Magnus Person, died in Florence, in the monastery of Porta Paradiso. He was distinguished for his spiritual as well as for his worldly knowledge, and was chosen as prior when Father Peter Alvaster went to Rome about the canonization of St. Bridget. He died in the odor of sanctity and was beatified.

Father Ulpho, the fifth confessor general, is dismissed in a few words in the diary, though also one of the blessed of the order. All it says of him is "that he was one of the most illustrious men not only of Vadstena, but of the whole order, and among other graces he had the gift of interpreting some of the most difficult passages in the revelations of St. Bridget."

Another very holy man was Father Olaf, who died during the elevation at High Mass on April 26, 1399. The diary says: "He had been a faithful laborer for the canonization of the foundress, and as he was on his way to Rome for this object he was taken prisoner by the Saracens and was in captivity for over two years. He suffered from hunger and thirst and was cruelly beaten frequently. He was sold three times, and was redeemed finally by a Spanish Bishop and returned to Vadstena. He then went to Rome for the actual ceremony of the canonization of St. Bridget, and after his return lived a holy life in the monastery." He suffered from great temptations from the devil, described in the diary, before his death, which in the end was peaceful and happy.

Father Andreas Tydhekin, who died on August 25, 1410, in the twenty-third year of his profession, is mentioned "as a most attentive observer of regular discipline and most quiet in his conversation. He was very industrious and wrote many sermons and other things for the convent. He also collected and wrote some of the entries in this diary and lived chastely and holily all his life. For three years he suffered from fevers, from which he finally died." Here we may remark that the illnesses mentioned in the diary do not lead us to think much of the skill of the doctors of those days nor of their power of diagnosing diseases. We should like to know what the fevers were of which the long suffering Father Andreas died, and what was the nature of the headache which killed Sister Ingegard. In one place a nun is said to have died of a disease "which is called 'thisis,' " as though this was a recent discovery, as perhaps it was, and they had not then learnt to spell it properly. Several times sudden deaths occurred, but the chronicler never seems to know what was the cause of them. An instance of this is the death of Father Tydhekinus, on October 17, 1413. "He rose to Matins when the other fathers did, feeling as well as usual, but as he was leaving his cell he was suddenly seized with pain, and only with the help of another monk could he enter the room of the confessor general, where he confessed as well as he could, although he had already made his confession that night, as it was his custom to do every night before going to bed. He was then carried to the infirmary and received Extreme Unction, but before the prayers were finished he expired. He wrote a great many collects and hymns and lived most praiseworthily in the order for twenty-seven years. He was an ascetic, and after his death a very large, coarse and prickly hair shirt was found under his clothes, which he had worn constantly next to his skin."

Father Nicolas Amundi was another very holy man. He was thrice confessor general, and we learn from Benzeliuſ that he had kept the diary for the last ten years before his election. He resigned the office of prior, as the confessor general was also styled, after three years, but was reelected in 1524. He again resigned in 1525 and was elected for the third time in 1528, when the storm of the Reformation broke over the monastery and the beginning of the end of this famous convent brought much suffering to the inmates. He died in 1543.

Accidents, especially from fire, were of frequent occurrence and form a large item of the entries. So many of the buildings of those days being of wood, the risk of fire was, of course, very great, so it is not surprising that we hear of great conflagrations in which whole towns were destroyed. Sometimes the monastery suffered in

the same way. Thus, in 1388, a fire broke out in the middle of the night in the wooden chapel of the monastery and destroyed it completely as well as two stone houses and a great part of the nuns' convent, in which fire one of the lay Brothers was burnt to ashes. The chronicler goes on to say that this Brother had a great love for Our Lady, and when the chapel was burning he threw himself into the midst of the flames to rescue her image, and in returning was enveloped in them, "whose soul it is piously believed Our Blessed Lady, for whose love he died, led to heaven."

In 1416 the whole of the roof of the church of Linköping was destroyed by lightning. In 1419 the whole of the city of Stockholm and the castle were burnt to the ground, but the churches were saved and a very few of the houses. The chronicler adds "that the hand of the Lord was laid more severely on that town than in 1407," when, as is also noted in the diary of that year, the town was suddenly attacked by fire in broad daylight, and over one thousand lives lost, besides the monastery of the friars preachers, which was destroyed and some of the friars themselves cremated. In 1422 the greater part of the town of Vadstena, including the parish church and the Bishop's court, were burnt to the ground. In 1447 the town and cathedral of Upsala were burnt; in 1485 the monastery of Vadstena caught fire about 10 o'clock at night, but no one in the convent perceived it till they were awakened by the people of the town, who with a great clamor and tumult broke open the door of the fathers' enclosure, and "in one hour, by the help of God and with great labor, it was extinguished." Ten years later a more serious fire broke out in the new infirmary of the monastery and burnt to ashes everything that was kept there, including several volumes of the revelations of St. Bridget.

Pestilence was another of the ills to which the human flesh of those days was subject, and mention is frequently made of it, as, for example, one of the very first entries in the diary is in 1350, "when a great mortality prevailed in Sweden, than which no one remembered a greater either before or after," and this was foretold by St. Bridget in her revelations, when Our Lord said to her: "I go through the world with My plough." The word pestilence is not mentioned in this case, but there is little doubt that the visitation was of that nature. In 1413 a great pestilence is chronicled in East Gothland and elsewhere, and in the town of Vadstena four hundred deaths occurred in six months from it, which seems to be considered by the writer a great number, and no doubt it was a large percentage of the population. In 1421 there was a great flood in the district, so that in many places the corn rotted as it stood,² and this was

² "Computruerunt segetes stantes in stipula," *Diarium anno 1421.*

followed by pestilence and famine, which lasted for a whole year and never ceased, and in many parts of the country the desolation was so great that the houses were left without any inhabitants. The next year we read that the pestilence had increased in Germany and here in Sweden, and had now lasted two years.

But to return to monastic events, with which we are first concerned. Besides fires, accidents sometimes happened to those engaged in building the monastery. In 1393, the day after a great function had taken place in the convent church, on the occasion of the solemn bringing to Vadstena of the relics of St. Bridget, for which the church was splendidly decorated, as one of the lay Brothers was removing some of the drapery from the roof of the church, which he had himself placed there, he fell to the ground and died the same night. He is described as a very devout man and very necessary to the community, as he was both a good tailor and carpenter. We shall quote the following incident to show how important things, which to us of the twentieth century seem scarcely worth mentioning, were to the chronicler. He says that at High Mass on September 12, 1405, the father singing it was suddenly seized with faintness and had to leave the altar at the Credo, but another priest who had not said Mass that day was able to take his place. The cause of the faintness was supposed to be that he had had an attack of hemorrhage the day before, which we should say was quite sufficient to account for it, but it was, of course, not the illness of the priest so much as the interruption to Mass which constituted the "grave danger" of which the writer speaks.

Vadstena, like all Brigittine monasteries, was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the diocese, and he had, therefore, the right to visit it at stated intervals. These visitations are always recorded in the diary, and from some of the remarks that are made about them they were evidently a trial to the inmates.

The first visitation of Vadstena was made in 1388 by the Bishop of Linköping, in whose diocese the monastery was, and the following day he consecrated the first abbess, Ingegard. No remarks are made on this occasion, so all was apparently satisfactory. In 1402 another visitation is chronicled. This time the Bishop was accompanied by two canons, and after making his visitation on the first day to the Sisters and the second day to the fathers, on the third day he went round the whole monastery, dedicating and blessing and consecrating it. In 1405 another satisfactory visitation was made, and this time on the third day the Bishop went into the nuns' convent to see their cells, which were in course of construction, and found nothing contrary to the rule or the statutes. The next visitation mentioned did not take place till 1415, when the Bishop and two of the chapter of

his cathedral got through the business in three hours the first day in the nuns' convent, and would have been still more expeditious the next day when they went to the monks, only a delay occurred concerning one of them. The writer adds that the venerable Bishop was most kind, and after he had finished what was evidently a delicate mission, he humbly recommended himself to the prayers of the fathers and begged them to pardon him if in anything he had offended them. In 1422 the visitation was less satisfactory. It took longer, and the Bishop proposed to reform many things, but eventually went away leaving all things unfulfilled.

In 1428 the visitation resulted in the Bishop interpreting the text of the rule which permits the abbess to touch and count the money, "since all things necessary for the community are to be expected at her hands," as the rule expressly decrees. He also directed the fathers that no one should in future be present at the general chapter from the monastery of Maria-Wald, nor should any articles in the covenant between them be conveyed there from this recent foundation in Lubeck.

The visitation in 1431 is dismissed in a few pithy words: "Diocesan visitation, but what was done afterwards God knows."

In 1438 there was no need to complain of inaction on the part of the Bishop, for as the result of his visitation he took away the faculties of the confessors of three of the nuns, but the diary says, "having received many writings for the reformation of both monks and nuns, he went away without determining on anything." In 1442 a different Bishop held the visitation and gave the chronicler reason to complain of his behavior. Having heard all the faults and transgressions of both monks and nuns explicitly enough, he did nothing definite, but proposed to deal with the transgressions of the priests and deacons at some future time and postponed the next visitation. "He declared nothing about the other affairs of the order, and what he did declare he revoked and allowed all things to remain, to the danger of souls, without ruling any reforms."

The fact that Vadstena was a double monastery led very early in its life to difficulties with Rome which occurred in its history, owing, it would seem, more to misrepresentation than to any real cause for objecting to the arrangement, which the foundress firmly believed Our Lord Himself had ordered her to make. Pope Urban V. had consented to this in a bull dated August 5, 1370, and, as we have seen, there was no communication between the two convents except by means of a grille. Even in the church, which monks and nuns used in common, they could not see each other, as the choir of the nuns was over that of the monks, while high walls divided the two convents. A later Pope, Urban VI., confirmed the statute setting

forth the pattern on which the monastery was to be built on December 3, 1378.

In 1422 we read that on June 17 the Vadstena monks received from the Roman Court a copy of a certain order of the Pope, in which he commanded the monks of the order to separate themselves entirely from the adjacent convent of the nuns, where they had lived up to that time according to the rule of the order. The diary continues: "But we have begged the King and Queen, through the Lord Archbishop of Upsala, that they would entreat the Pope to revoke this threatening sentence. They sent the Dean of Strengsis, but in all this long business the Queen showed herself more zealous and more generous in gifts and offerings than the King. May Our Saviour, who is Himself the institutor of our rule, grant that in His strength it may be preserved intact."

In 1428, July 6, the fathers received the strictest citation from Rome, such as had never been heard before the beginning of the order, about the duality of the convents and of all things concerning the order. The following year there was held the general chapter at Vadstena, at which only those constitutions of the order which had received the confirmation of Pope Urban VI. were recognized, and it was decided that no more monasteries should be erected as double convents with separate enclosure and one church, but the order itself should be preserved in the unity of the rule, and it was further resolved to send the confessor general and another father to Rome to see what could be done. In the summer of 1431 we read that on June 26 they received letters at Vadstena from the father prior containing but doubtful consolation. Three months later his companion returned, bringing another letter from him, from which they gathered that he would be back himself soon. This controversy about the double convents threatened to destroy the order, but the danger was happily averted after a long struggle and through the intervention of princes and prelates and King Eric, who took a very active part, and finally the Pope, Martin V., finding he had been misinformed, revoked by a brief the bull which he had previously published against the duality of the monasteries.

Before the order had reached its prime a very heavy trial befell the mother house of Vadstena which is only briefly dealt with in the diary. It says that on October 23 a sentence of excommunication over both convents, which Father Eric, the procurator of St. Bridget's house at Rome, had procured unjustly, was brought to the monastery by the Archdeacon of Linköping. The diary continues that steps were at once taken to remove this ban, and for this purpose Father Magnus Unonis and Father Olaf Gunari were

sent to the Bishop of Linköping. There had been for some months previous to this dissensions in the monastery as to the election of the abbess and the confessor general, both of whom had been deposed partly from political reasons too long to enter into here, and this had all been exaggerated and misrepresented at Rome, and so led to this severe sentence of excommunication, which was, however, soon removed.

The following year King Charles came to Vadstena, and in the father's refectory mentioned that he wished to dedicate his little daughter, then only a child of eight, as a nun in the monastery, and for that reason he had obtained a bull from Nicholas V., which, says the diary, "did not explain, as it ought to have done, that it was contrary to the rule on account of her age," but nevertheless the child was received for the year of probation, but in 1455, on February 24, her consecration and that of several others took place and is thus described in the diary: "In this consecration a transgression was made of the enclosure. There was a great pomp of ladies and young girls, of trumpets and other music which led and preceded the virgins to the gate which they ought to enter. There was no pride in the King's daughter; neither a smile nor tears were to be seen, but steadfastness of soul and devotion in taking the habit. But when she was commended to the abbess she wished to spring from her father's hands and go to the Sisters who were standing inside the monastery, showing her desire and love of entering the convent."

As in all convents, elections were one of the most important and exciting events and naturally form part of the entries. We shall only quote those here which were abnormal in their procedure, as in 1444, when Father John Boquardi resigned the office of confessor general and Father Magnus Unonis was elected in his place, "the greater part of the Sisters dissenting, but the abbess and the fathers and the saner part of the nuns made the election according to the rule." The Bishop was asked to confirm the election, but on account of this dissension refused to do so. On the 7th of October he came himself to Vadstena to investigate the matter, and since the abbess and part of the Sisters agreed to the choice of Father Magnus, he at last consented.

In 1456, on September 20, Sister Cecilia Pedersdotter was elected abbess on account of her piety as well as for her great talents, but neither reasoning, exhortation nor blame could induce her to accept the office. She hid in corners for several hours. A few days later another attempt was made to elect an abbess, and they chose Caterina Ulphsdotter, one of the senior nuns, but the confessor general would not give his consent, saying that she was too old, so

the election was postponed for a few days, but at length he approved of Caterina. We learn from a note by Benzeliuss that in the year 1457 half a page was torn from the original diary concerning the resignation of this abbess and the reëlection of Ingeborg, aunt of King Christian, who remained in office till her death in 1465, on October 14. Her death caused a good deal of difficulty in the selection of her successor.

The diary says that some days after her death the confessor general, Father Magnus, gave an exhortation to all the Brothers and Sisters on the election of the new abbess, and he was answered that they all wished to take a few days to deliberate on the subject, which was allowed. The seniors and the greater part of both communities for certain reasons not disclosed decided that on no account were they willing to elect another abbess until the confessor general resigned his own office entirely. When Father Magnus heard this a great dissension arose between the Brothers and Sisters, and in consequence the election was postponed for a long time, until November 10, when, in the presence of the Dean of Linköping and two canons, it was totally put an end to in the parlor of the fathers, and the following day the prioress was elected as abbess, and she was elected peacefully by scrutiny.

Father Magnus resigned his office in December of the same year. He died in 1470, and we read that he had labored very hard for the preservation of the order, both in Rome and in other monasteries of the order, and, moreover, had successfully defended the revelations of St. Bridget against her adversaries.

Enough has now been quoted of the entries concerning the smaller world of the monastery, which be it said was a great place of pilgrimage in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. We will now turn to more historical records.

Knowing the turbulence which prevailed in the northern nations of those days, we are not surprised to find that wars and rebellions were of frequent occurrence, and the noise they occasioned reached the ears of those behind the enclosure of the monastery. In 1389 we read of a great battle in West Gothland between King Albert and the nobles of the kingdom of Sweden, who had confederated with the Danes, with whose help they conquered miraculously, nevertheless, God's grace protecting them. In this war the King himself was taken prisoner and his son Eric and two other generals whom he had brought with him from Germany. Many of the nobles on his side were also taken prisoners and many killed. Then Queen Margaret, daughter of Waldemar, King of the Danes, began to reign over the three kingdoms (Norway, Sweden and Denmark), and then the Germans being expelled, the Danes obtained the country

for many years, and, concludes the writer, apparently ironically, "the Germans are blessed by the inhabitants of the land," for it is plain that all his sympathies were on the side of the Danes.

The canonization of St. Bridget at Rome in 1391 is described at great length in the diary, as is also the translation of her relics to Vadstena two years later, when Queen Margaret obtained from Pope Boniface IX. a year's jubilee for the monastery, which for a whole month after brought a large concourse of people there.

In the year 1400 King Eric reached his majority, having attained his eighteenth year. Up to that time, says the diary, Queen Margaret had ruled over the three kingdoms. In the year 1409 mention is made of the general council held at Pisa, where the rival Popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., were condemned and convicted of heresy and the true Pope, Peter of Candia, Bishop of Milan, who was first a friar of the order of Friars Minor, was elected and took the name of Alexander V.

The writer of this diary, like many other mediæval chroniclers, dismisses historical events of the greatest importance very often in a few words. Thus we find at the end of the year 1410 we read that a tremendous battle was fought between the King of Poland and the cross-bearers of Prussia, where the latter were defeated amid the greatest slaughter. In memory of the victory fought in this place, Gooneveldt, or Grünveldt, King Ladislas wished to erect a monastery of the order of St. Bridget, which favor the Bishop of Pomerania granted in a letter sent to the camp before Marienberg on September 10, 1401. Evidently in the opinion of the chronicler the foundation of a new monastery is more important than the battle which led up to it. In 1413 King Eric V. made his first visit to Vadstena since he succeeded to the government of the three kingdoms, and we read that he came with great devotion, for he came on foot from Skening to the monastery, and he showed great familiarity to both the monks and the nuns, and he promised to complete the building of the church at Vadstena. He also promised "that he would build a new monastery of the order of St. Saviour in Laaland, which Queen Margaret had begun before her death, and he begged the confessor general and the Brothers that he might enter the monastery to see in what form and on what plan the new convent should be built. And as it was difficult for him to be admitted alone, he entered with the Archbishop of Lund and inspected everything and went out with great consolation, promising to love and promote the order as much as he could."

In 1415 the illustrious Queen Philippa came to Vadstena for the second time since her marriage, and the Saturday following she was shown the relics in the presence of all the fathers, with whom she

spoke, and the next day she came back and asked to be received as an extern Sister, like the late Queen Margaret.

On March 10 that same year King Eric is described as "entering the cloisters (ambitum) and enclosure (pomerium) of the fathers, for what reason is not known, but he went out presently." We can well imagine what a sensation this royal visit would cause in the monastery.

In 1417 King Eric is said to have "sailed with a large fleet against the town of Schleswig, which he took with the son of King Albert and others, and if he had opposed with the same force the castle of Gothorp he would have taken that." On November 10 of this year Martin V. ascended the Pontifical throne and ended the most pernicious schism in the Church, which had lasted nearly forty years.

In 1419 a certain quarrel between the King and the Archbishop of Upsala is mentioned, and we learn that the King convoked a meeting of prelates and councillors in Denmark to settle it, and that John Berechini, the Archbishop, was detained in prison, but he escaped and went to Rome and lodged a complaint against the King and against his chapter. This Berechini had formerly been the King's secretary and a great favorite with His Majesty.

Two years later the King came to Vadstena to hold a discussion about their quarrel with the Archbishop and his chapter, at which the Archbishop of Riga was present as a delegate from the Holy See and a great many other Bishops and prelates, but the complaints prevailing the Archbishop resigned. Then ensued a dispute about his successor, ending in the King selecting from three candidates one of the Vadstena monks, Father John Haquin.

In the night of January 6, 1430, died Queen Philippa, and she was buried at Vadstena, in the royal chapel of St. Anne, which she had herself built. "She was the mother and most faithful protectrix of our monastery and order." In these few words is the celebrated Queen of English birth dismissed, whose death was mourned by the whole of the north of Europe.

Nine years after the Queen's death a rebellion arose against the King constituting Nicholas Stenson Marschall of the kingdom and counselling the people to obey him in all things. This was on the 12th of April, and that same day the church of the monastery was broken into just as the fathers were about to say Vespers, and the chest where some of the ecclesiastical treasures were kept was broken into and an attempt made to break down the door into the nun's convent by some of Eric Stenson's friends, who in consequence were excommunicated from the pulpit. On January 6, 1440, a meeting was held at Arboga and Christopher, the nephew of Eric, now deposed, was elected in his stead. In 1445 is briefly stated that the

marriage of King Christopher with Queen Dorothea took place on September 16, when she was crowned.

King Christopher died at the early age of twenty-eight, on January 5, 1448, and on the 20th of January Charles Knutson was elected, which, the diary says, caused a dissension between Denmark and Sweden. But we have not space here to enter into the further troubles which followed. Enough has been quoted to show the impression historical events made on the writers of this interesting diary, of which we now take leave.

DARLEY DALE.

CHRISTIANITY AND ART.

DURING the last four centuries no art has been so severely criticized as Christian art. First of all, critics questioned whether it was an art at all; then those who answered in the affirmative were called on to say whether it was Christian art. The first question is no longer asked, and, notwithstanding the flux and reflux of critics' opinions, it is by no means proven that the best talent of the Middle Ages was no more than the originator of show-cards. Boileau, in certain literary principles which he would willingly have applied to art in general, thought he could deny to Christianity the capacity of attaining to artistic effects. But his reason for saying so was just as absurd as his arrogant assertion—namely, that the Gospel was devoid of æstheticism.

It is evident that an assertion like his depends on the notion one has formed of what art really is. Bossuet, in a moment of deplorable misconception, defined art as "the embellishment of nature." For he not only circumscribed the object of art, limiting it to the reproduction of idealized exterior forms, but he also falsified its philosophic basis. Even if it be true that art, as a result of certain of its modes of manifesting itself, assumes the aspect of a triumphal *apotheosis* of physical beauty, it is nevertheless primarily and necessarily the representation of the ideal beauty—the reflex of perfect beauty. Hence to confine art within the narrow limits of the "fine arts" would be to delete great and important departments of art and restrain it within a domain altogether too restricted.

Adhering, therefore, to the wider and truer conception of art, it may not be devoid of interest to consider it under a twofold aspect—as the tangible representation, so to speak, of ideas through the

medium of the fine arts and an influence wrought by the Christian ideal on painting and sculpture.

Let us then examine what Christianity has given to art by leading art to the conception of the immaterial good and beautiful, and thus converting it into the indefatigable propagator of the "*Bonum Nuntium*" and the commentator, sometimes ingenuous and familiar, but always faithful and sincere, of the dogma and spirit of the Church.

Speaking of art among the ancients, it may justly be reduced to those sublime productions which Greece has handed down to us. In their efforts towards the realization of the beautiful the Greeks synthetized all the perfection that antiquity could imagine or execute. To them art truly meant the embellishment of nature—nature idealized. Their artists, sculptors, poets, completely absorbed in their love of the beautiful, loved it even to immorality, and so infatuated did they become with the desire for perfection in the human form and figure that they deemed those worthy of death who were so unfortunate as to be born ill-formed—a sentence advocated by Plato, whom Victor Cousin proclaimed "the greatest moralist that ever lived."

Plato maintains this view in his "Republic," and, as we know, he intended this imaginary "Republic" to be the ideal of a perfect republic. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that he would have accepted the application of that inhuman law at Athens, and that in formulating it he may be taken as simply the interpreter of the general opinion.

We should observe that among the Greeks excessive love of the beautiful extended only to physical beauty. Some chosen minds did indeed arrive at a vague notion of moral goodness and beauty, but they had to take every precaution to prevent the disclosure of their secret. They might discourse in private on that being, divine and immaterial, which is so beautifully spoken of in the "*Convivium*," but they never dreamed of going forth to proclaim their beliefs and opinions in the Agora. Socrates forfeited his life because he had ventured too far in this direction, and Phidias, their greatest artist, was, it is said, poisoned at the instigation of the priest of Neptune, because, following the philosophical teachings of Anaxagoras, he had been rash enough to reveal in his statues of Pallas and Jupiter his notion of the principle of the unity of the Godhead, which was so directly opposed to the traditional teogony.

In any event, such an idea of the Godhead was too indefinite and difficult to be generally accepted by a people habituated to a choice of gods. Their minds were fixed on earth, their aspirations never soared above the platform. Their gods were no way better than

themselves and were notorious for the unlawful deeds and atrocious crimes attributed to them. There were few refining or sublime elements in their religion to raise them to the contemplation of anything more noble than an earthly hero or more worthy of emulation than the development of a powerful arm or the amassing of a handsome fortune.

Herein lies the inferiority of antiquity. By reason of this want of ideal they were led to accept brute force for government and the embellishment of nature for art itself.

Platonic philosophy, acceptable to those select few, was destined to be rejected by the less refined and to remain unknown to the uneducated masses. The ancients were too deeply enveloped in their beliefs as to the reality and power of Jupiter, and the beauty of Venus and her charms, to tolerate the introduction of a new and far-fetched theory regarding the existence of an immaterial, infinite and eternal being, whom they were to acknowledge and worship without beholding. Hence the materialism of their religion—they preferred to bow before what was great and mighty in nature and to adore only what they saw with the eyes of the body.

A religion such as this was unable to elevate the artist beyond the imitation and embellishment of nature. The artist's highest aim was to reproduce the figure, not as it was in reality, but as it was imagined according to a type materially more perfect. Acting on this standard, they labored to rectify the imperfections in nature and to secure a more exact proportion, a greater harmony and a more perfect whole than mother nature actually gave them. But while they expended their efforts in attempts to attain the beautiful, they neglected that which would have actually led them along the road to perfection—the expression of internal beauty.

Art in their hands, therefore, merely sought to make up for the absence of the higher ideal by the rhythm of a phrase, the grace and harmony of lines. Knowing no such ideal, it was unable to derive therefrom that increase in power of expression which imparts to works of religious art something of that ideal perfection which speaks to us of the divine and infinite.

This was precisely what Christianity gave to art. It extended the field of psychological observation, creating, as it were, new feelings, new ideas and new virtues, all of which were in due time to exert a powerful influence on artistic conceptions and productions.

Christianity of its very nature was bound to exercise an influence on art, not only as a system of philosophy and morality, but also as a distinct religion. The effects of its influence are discernible not only in the works of those who were born under the shadow of the Church, whose years of active labor were spent in the profession of

her dogmas and in obedience to her dictates, and whose frail humanity in declining years was strengthened by the consolations she afforded, but also in the works of others, who first saw the light and were educated without her pale, and whose lives were spent in the uninspiring atmosphere of an alien religion. Not only on these had the Christian religion an elevating influence, but it even affected those who regarded all beliefs as the mere effervescence of over-credulous minds.

The reason and explanation of this influence is to be found in the dominant spirit of the Christian religion—the spirit of love. Granting that in its modes of external manifestation art is the reproduction of the beautiful, it nevertheless has love as its philosophical, primary and fundamental principle. A recent author, writing on the subject, gives the ultimate analysis of art as “love expressed in form.” If this be true, as it seems to be, it was therefore natural that Christianity, whose teachings are entirely directed towards man’s love for God, for his neighbor and for himself, should exercise a direct and powerful influence on art.

With the downfall of the Roman Empire art sank into neglect and oblivion. Its cultivators and admirers were gone; its patrons had been swept away in the general overturning of social order, and art perished with them. In such times as those, what was it that induced so many Christians to take up the practice of a calling no longer in demand, except, indeed, by those who could ill afford to be patrons? What but love! Love of God and the mysteries of faith inundated their hearts and inebriated their souls, and they strove to manifest that love in exterior forms, to infuse into a combination of colors some of the fire that burned in their own hearts. True, the grace and purity of their lines were not such as antiquity would have demanded, but there was a soul, a living soul, that spoke to the beholder from the inanimate colors—an effect the works of the ancients had never been able to produce.

The influence of religion on art, then, is exercised by the impulse of love and by the transmission of new principles, which branded certain virtues of paganism as vices and raised to the dignity of the highest virtues ideals and practices that had been regarded as despicable by the ancients. At the same time, as the outcome of the introduction of new ideas—the law of Universal Brotherhood, for example, which involved the abolition of slavery and the rehabilitation of degraded human nature and the belief in the immortality of the soul—and of the modification of the aspirations and the tendencies of the mind, religion introduced art into a new territory unknown to even the most refined spirits of antiquity, and held out to it the spiritual and the infinite as an object and a model.

Before proceeding farther it might be well to set forth for all a conception of "religious art." Beaumarchais says that the name is one of these "big words" that are oftentimes misused. It is applied to various classes and kinds of work. For some persons it is sufficient for a work to speak in vague terms of religion, for a picture or bas-relief to represent a scene taken from Scripture or from the lives of the saints, to designate it as a work of religious art. This plainly is an error. Art must not be taken to include those strange productions which form a special category of their own called objects of devotion, in which, as a rule, there is little more of religious art than the name and, perhaps, the good intention. A work of religious art is a work of art which, in virtue of the impression it makes on the mind, leads to the contemplation of God in one or more of His attributes, directly or indirectly—by the fulfillment, for example, of one of His commandments or by some particular act of religion.

It should be observed that, owing to the intensity of the religious sentiment in the works of the primitive Christians, many critics are unwilling to admit a work to this category if it is not redolent of mysticism. Such an opinion seems to us groundless, for we might as well say that sanctity is not sanctity without mysticism as to say that mysticism is a necessary condition in a work of religious art. It may, indeed, be admitted that the mystic element is generally to be found in such art productions, but despite this an expression of physical suffering on the face of Christ on the Cross, or on the countenance of His Holy Mother as she gazes on the tortured limbs of her beloved Son, would in no way detract from them; on the contrary, the representation gains in truthfulness. On the other hand, a painting portraying the suffering humanity of Christ without revealing a ray of His divinity would not only be untrue, but irreligious. Should we adopt this as our criterion and accord the title "religious art" only to the works which produce a like emotion in us, we would wipe out from the lists of religious art many of the productions that are generally classified in that noble category.

"While ancient Rome," says Henry Bullinger, "refused to repent and be converted to Christ, forsaking her gods and her superstitions, she was at last condemned by Christ, according to a just law of retaliation; for with the measure used by Rome towards other nations, with the same did the nations measure back to Rome." Long had the ancient queen of empire looked out, as if from a tower of security, upon the calamities that overwhelmed her provinces and tore away her conquests. But instead of being alarmed, her proud heart seemed to dilate at each new disaster, for in proportion as the empire diminished her wealth increased. "She

could not believe her eyes when she beheld the fierce bands of Alaric, impatient for the moment of assault, come bursting through the pleasure gardens and suburban villas—rushing, thundering over every obstacle till they burst against her walls like the maddened and infuriated against the bars of his prison, their hearts full of rage and their battle-axes thirsting for the blood of the Roman.”

“The first emotions of the nobles and people,” says Gibbon, “were those of surprise and indignation that a vile barbarian should dare to insult the capital of the world. But their arrogance was soon humbled by misfortune.”

The moment had come—Rome’s moment. It was the most important of her existence. The belief cherished by herself, and not less remembered by her enemies—the belief in her indestructibility—was shattered. Alaric came a second time. The thunder-cloud had burst, and Goths, Visigoths, Huns and Vandals swept, as does the mountain torrent, down from their northern fastnesses into the fertile plains and smiling cities of Italy. City after city was dismantled, destroyed, annihilated. The dreadful hordes of barbarians—brutal Goth and hideous Hun, men without religion, men without education, men without civilization, men without mercy, men without a written language, men without a single refining element amongst them—came down in their thousands of warriors, blighting the country as they passed and enthroning desolation on the seats of wealth and plenty, planting the barrenness of ignorance in the select garden of civilization and carrying slavery and destruction in their train. Rome, great Imperial Rome, sank before them. They plundered her sanctuaries, dashed her gods to pieces, and what escaped the first fury of the inundation perished in those that followed. The aspect of the empire was that of a wilderness. She was left prostrate, lifeless like an enormous skeleton.

Attila was next to seek the plunder of Rome by the power of the brawny arms and the savage hearts of his brutal Huns. “A ferocious delight in cruel massacre,” says Miley, “and in changing the most populous and happy scenes of civilized life into a resemblance of their native deserts was the characteristic of their race. Such were the invaders now hastening to complete for the ‘Seven-Hilled City’ what had been left unfinished by the Goths. Their King, Attila, who had acquired for himself the title of ‘The Scourge of God,’ was followed by no less than 500,000 of these demons in human form, and it was his boast that wherever his horse once trod the grass never grew again. Not only did the human race vanish before this minister of destruction, but every monument and vestige of civilized existence disappeared as his legions swept over them.”

No army could withstand, no legion confront them. Before their

tread all went down into misery and slavery, if they had been unfortunate enough to outlive the contest. Every art, every science, every sign and token of civilization perished. Every institution disappeared or was destroyed save one—one solitary bulwark withstood the assault and met the oncoming foe. The feeble, unarmed old man, Pope Leo the Great, stood alone to fight the battle for civilization. Even the historian of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," unwittingly perhaps, exhibits the divine influence of Christianity and cannot deny the fact of "the veneration of Attila for the spiritual father of Christendom." Attila retired amid the rage and execrations of his savage followers, and Rome, with all her art treasures, was saved.

Christianity had proved itself the barrier against which the fury of the victorious barbarians was to be quelled. It gathered together the scattered elements of the ancient civilization and snatched up the records of a submerged antiquity. The monuments, the works, the creations of wisdom and human genius were collected and preserved by her with reverent veneration.

In the overturning of the ancient world art was the first to perish. But Christianity, in giving to the minds of its followers a higher ideal, created anew the desire within them for the works of the poet's fancy, of the painter's brush and the sculptor's chisel. The ideal was changed, and the new art became essentially religious. Art had now the way clear before her to noblest flights. She could hover among the clouds, converse with the saints, sing songs of praise with the angels; nay, reflect the Almighty and the Infinite. What antiquity had cherished as its own was now to receive a new dress and stand forth robed in garments woven from the Christian imagination and haloed by the light of heaven.

There is no need here to speak at length of the various paintings in the Catacombs, principally because the circumstances of time and place necessarily constrained the young Christian artist to peculiarities which in later times and under other auspices speedily disappeared.

But even in the Catacombs may be observed the first flowers of the plant that is seen in the full bloom of its beauty in the course of the Middle Ages. "The study of the liturgical representations," says De Rossi in "*Roma Sotterranea*," "confirms the observations already made on the order in which the progressive development of Christian art was brought about, the symbol quietly disappearing, while the representation of historical facts was step by step assuming its proper place." Every picture in the Catacombs has not, however, all the characteristics of Christian art. Some—though they are very few—represent mythological scenes, but were employed

by their authors to recall to the minds of the Christians certain mysteries or dogmas of the Church.

While admitting the truth of the remark made by Raoul Rochette, "un art ne s'improvise pas"—no school of art can be produced of a sudden, "springing into existence fully formed, like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter"—still one cannot follow him all through his theory. He carried it too far in insisting that there was always a direct, positive influence exercised by the pagan models on each Christian production, and much more in saying that the imitation of the pagan works was evident not only in the principal features of the work or its modeling, but also in the details of the individual composition. He thought the Christians were even guided in the selection of their subjects by the pagans, and that the former were so servile in their imitation that they allowed themselves to be led away from the teachings of their Divine Master. These opinions were afterwards quoted as arguments by Charles Maitland, M. D., in his book, "The Church in the Catacombs," and served up as authorities to establish his preconceived conclusions regarding the Catholic Church and her dogmas.

The cause of Rochette's error seems to be a collection of paintings of a semi-pagan character published by Bottari and by him attributed to a Christian Catacomb. It is no longer doubted that the cemetery alluded to was a construction belonging to the Gnostic sects. Hence the mixture of paganism and Christianity therein exhibited can no longer offer any difficulty. "Roma Sotterranea" says: "In the genuine paintings of the Christian Catacombs nothing whatever of this kind has ever been found. The only mythical personage who appears in paintings is the Thracian Orpheus, charming the wild beasts with his lyre. . . . His taming of the wild beasts was taken as a faint shadow of our Lord's softening the hard hearts of men by the persuasive sweetness of His preaching." And the placing of the pipe in the hands of Christ—the Good Shepherd—was no thoughtless or profane adaptation of one of the *insignia* of Pan, but, being an ordinary adjunct of shepherds, it had a special significance, a certain dogmatic value when referred to the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of souls. "The sheep follow the shepherd because they know his voice."

One mark distinguishes all the paintings of the Catacombs, based on the recognition of the law of pardon of injuries. It consists in never representing the inhuman treatment suffered by the early martyrs at the hands of the tormentors. The painters of the time of the persecutions pass in silence over the brutality of the executors, and never refer to it even by chance. Only in the fifth century—with one solitary exception in the fourth—when all was over, did

they begin to represent those scenes of bloodshed and horror. But that was a time when the martyr's death could no longer excite the anger of friends, and, on the contrary, would serve as glorious examples of Christian patience and suffering. The one exception referred to is, as De Rossi says, a strange fact for those times and is one of the most illustrious examples of early Christian art that aims at reproducing the most sublime flights of the Christian soul inspired by faith, and the serene magnanimity of Christ's martyrs in the presence of their persecutors."

This was precisely what painting attempted and oftentimes actually effected in the Middle Ages, but during that epoch there was a potent auxiliary at work, of which the artists of the Catacombs were unable to avail themselves. Sculpture was this helper, and great things were done in it which could not have been dreamed of in the earlier ages, owing to the circumstances in which the artists of the subterranean cemeteries worked.

The unity that Christianity brought with it brought mediæval Europe under the same moral law, under the same religious belief. In this unity art gained an element of strength. The principle of love united the scattered elements and gathered the different styles under one roof and turned all in the same direction. Prior to this art had been divided up into particular and distinct styles, which had become part and parcel of the peoples to whom they belonged and by whom they were practiced. We must not be understood as speaking of a fusion of all the schools of painting as we understand this term to-day. Genius will naturally have its own peculiarities and nations and peoples their own predilections, and there will, therefore, forever remain those distinctions between school and school, period and period; but the universal spread of Christianity exercised an influence in bringing about a harmony of expression, a unity of spirit and conception, all of which were effected by the change of ideal. The work of art thenceforth was to render visible the revolution that the religion of Christ had wrought in the hearts of men.

In the ancient order art was exclusively national. It was fruitless to attempt to establish comparisons or seek relationship between Egyptian and Grecian art, the art of the Etruscans and that of the Romans. But from the Middle Ages down to our own days we easily trace the similarities and differences between Italian and French, and even between these and Byzantine work, which marks the departure from the more or less stereotyped models of early Christian artists, as the renunciation of the Byzantine traditional methods by Cimabue signalizes the creation of the Florentine school.

There was a certain class of persons—and they are far from being yet converted to truth—who, through polemical meanness, tried to

represent the Middle Ages as a period of unrivaled ignorance, of intellectual retrogression, an epoch in which the brutal and vicious passions of men unrefined by the least intellectual good reigned supreme. Such persons, however, were, as their followers are to-day, either sadly deficient in historical knowledge or the victims of prejudice and delusion. The Middle Ages was an epoch of the revindication of right against the power of might, and it would be easy to convince ourselves of the fact by the mere enumeration of the questions in which the leading men of the period were actively engaged. No other period—not even the eighteenth century, which is called not an epoch of crises, but a crisis itself—no other period can show the proofs of such intellectual activity and vitality, and in vain shall we seek among the modern productions for an equal for the works of the master minds of the Middle Ages. Many have preferred to deny the claims of the Middle Ages and “dub” them the “Dark Ages” of progress and civilization, rather than be compelled to recognize the influence of the Catholic Church and accord her the glory, which is hers by every right—the glory of having created, in spite of the bitterest opposition and at the cost of long-continued struggles, the civilization of which the modern world reaps the benefit.

“Abstractedly from all the influences which we have sustained in common with the rest of the civilized commonwealth,” says Sir Francis Palgrave, “our British disparagement of the Middle Ages has been exceedingly enhanced by our grizzled ecclesiastical or church historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These “standard works,” accepted and received as canonical books, have tainted the nobility of our national mind. An adequate parallel to their bitterness, their shabbiness, their shirking, their habitual disregard of honor and veracity, is hardly afforded even by the so-called “anti-Jacobin” during the revolutionary and imperial wars.

No one who reads the history of art during the Middle Ages can deny to the Church the glory of having fostered it at its birth, nourished it through the years of its tenderness and then led it to the perfection of all that had been seen before. Writing in her “Legends of the Monastic Orders,” Mrs. Jameson speaks of the cloisters and their inhabitants thus: “There, learning trimmed her lamp; there, contemplation plumed her wings; there, the traditions of art, preserved from age to age by lonely, studious men, kept alive in form and color the idea of a beauty beyond that of earth—of a might beyond that of the spear and the shield—of a divine sympathy with human suffering.”

“As we advance into the Middle Ages,” says Henry Giles, “we observe the Christian idea unfolding itself in art of imposing majesty

and of exceeding beauty. First, naturally in architecture. The architecture which ultimately prevailed in the sacred buildings of Western Europe was that which we call Gothic. . . . The distinctive spirit which pervades all its forms is what we have to consider. That, I would say, was the spirit of mystery and of aspiration. A Gothic Cathedral seemed to be an epitome of creation. In its vastness it was a sacramental image of the universe; in its diversity it resembled nature, and in its unity it suggested God. But it suggested man, too. It was the work of man's hands, shaping the solemn vision of his soul into embodied adoration. It was, therefore, the grandest symbol of union between the divine and human which imagination ever conceived, which art ever moulded, and it was in being symbolic of such union that it had its Christian peculiarity. The mould of its structure was a perpetual commemoration of Christ's sufferings and a sublime publication of His glory. Its ground plan in the figure of a cross was emblematic of Calvary. Its pinnacles, which tapered through the clouds and vanished into light, pointed to those heavens to which the Crucified had ascended."

And speaking further on about the larger and more majestic Gothic structures, he says: "While the Cathedral gives us in one aspect a sense of sacred mystery, in another it gives us an impression of the boundless. Its awful spaces of naves and aisles carry our thoughts away into the amplitude of God's dominion. Its bold and lofty arches lift them up to the battlements of His throne. Was it not the soul, reaching to its sublimest strivings, which placed turret above tower and spire above turret, until the cross, over all, seemed to melt away into immortal light?"

The mysticism, the simplicity and profound faith of the Middle Ages began gradually to disappear before the Renaissance and remained dead as long as it lasted. The artists of the latter period possessed, if we might so express it, a more perfect pencil, their technique was more elaborate, but their productions were wanting in expression and truth, and we believe that from its deficiency in these qualities—for we must not forget the dictum of Cousin, "expression is the supreme law in art"—the art of the Renaissance lost as much as it gained in elegance and outward grandeur. In addition to this we consider the Renaissance as much a renewal of a reawakening to paganism as to interest in and the perfection of art. Faith had lost the vigor of the Middle Ages when it led men—great men and masters in their profession—to consecrate their lives to the production of those works the excellence and superiority of which is acknowledged by every one not so utterly saturated by sordid materialism as to see in a pagan model nothing wanting which is triumphantly supplied in its Christian successor. Those men worked

for the glory of God; they painted a Virgin not for the sake of putting on canvas a beautiful woman with some traces of sensual beauty, whose head they enshrined in a halo of thin heavenly light, but to honor the Virgin Mother of their God by their efforts to appreciate and represent, as far as possible, her immense graces and prerogatives. The artists of the Renaissance, on the contrary, were artists for art's sake.

The return towards antiquity had early made an impression on many minds and had proved harmful to religion. We do not, however, agree with those who say that therein was to be found a cause of the Reformation, or even a reason why the so-called reformers succeeded in making a considerable number of perverts within a short space of time. The history of the period, we think, goes rather to show that the movement initiated in art was simply a parallel to others at work in the various domains of religion and science, and was nothing more than the natural outcome of the condition of the popular mind at the time.

The Renaissance—incapable of creating better for itself—looked back to antiquity for its model, and then devoted its talents to the perfection of the pagan relic. The workers of the Middle Ages, on the contrary, abandoned the barren soil of antiquity, and, soaring into the ethereal regions of Christian ideal, penetrated within the realms of heaven itself and represented to us on earth a reflection, as it were, of the beauty "that eye hath not seen nor ear heard." If the artists of the Renaissance had found for themselves an original ideal and, instead of borrowing from the ancients, had broken into territory unapproached by Gothic art, they would have made us their debtors; but they have only given us a mere imitation. And "it is hard to say," writes a recent author on this question, "that the impotence of the present day to produce a decent original work might not be traced to the false lead taken by the Renaissance."

Real expression in art disappeared with the rise of the Renaissance. Neither Raphael nor Vinci nor Michelangelo put into their works the soul-stirring expression of the Middle Ages. We readily admit that the Virgins of Raphael are perfect in form and delightfully ideal, but what a different impression is left upon us by a painting of the Virgin by Fra Angelico or Cimabue!

There are many good authorities on Christian art who hold that the Renaissance really meant the destruction of art in succeeding generations. The perfect proportions, the purity of lines and the finished beauty of the works of the great masters of that period have given the lead in a direction whither their successors have been unable to follow. The barrenness of our own days affords food for serious reflection.

What a striking comparison between this and the influence exercised by the Catholic Church! She raised up and preserved the prostrate remains of pagan art and brought forth a new art peculiar to herself, possessing the qualities and requisite for the imitation of the most exalted ideals. Such was her triumph during the Middle Ages! The changed spirit of succeeding generations brought about a great change in art, but it is also remarkable that the decline in art dates from the time when it was torn from the fostering care of the venerable institution which had restored it to life and guided it to its highest flights. With every reason, therefore, can it be claimed that the Catholic Church is the mother and the inspirer of art.

HUGH THOMAS.

Rome.

IRISH CATHOLICS IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

A CONSIDERABLE degree of light is cast upon the actual condition of the Catholics of Ireland during a portion of the reign of Charles II. by one of the latest volumes of the "Calendar of State Papers," published under the supervision of the English Master of the Rolls.¹ The circumstances prevailing in Ireland at the time within which the documents reproduced or epitomized in the collection before us were of a nature well calculated to embarrass the wisest of statesmen. In order to enable understanding of their complexity it is absolutely necessary to recall the main events of the years immediately preceding. Throughout the long conflict between Charles I. and his rebellious subjects in England and Scotland, which eventuated in his execution at Whitehall and the establishment in London of a republican form of government with Cromwell presiding under the title of Lord Protector, the great majority of the nobility and gentry of Ireland had stood steadfastly by the Stuart monarch, while at the same time claiming full freedom to practice the religion of their forefathers and full liberty of legislation for the ancient Parliament of the Lords and Commons of Ireland. Stated broadly, these were the principles maintained by the Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny, with the approval of the Papal Nuncio, Mgr. Rinuccinni, and in support of which that splendid soldier, Owen Roe O'Neill, fought and died.

¹ "Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1666-1669," edited by Robert Pentland Mahaffy. Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office, London.

The great victory of Benhurb was rather a triumph over the Scottish Presbyterian rebels against the English King than over the forces of England, and Owen Roe was dead before opportunity came for measuring his genius with that of the Brewer of Huntingdon. Ireland has small reason to reverence the memory of Cromwell, and she is little likely to ever do so, but it is impossible to refrain from noting the marvelous capacity with which that mere bourgeois civilian mastered the arts of war and legislation. That he conquered and subdued Catholic Ireland is as unquestionable as that Mahomet overthrew the dynasty of the Greek Emperors of Constantinople. The Catholic owners of the soil of the three provinces of Ulster, Leinster and Munster were practically all deprived of their properties therein and either driven into exile on the Continent or compelled to take up their abodes in the most barren and inhospitable portions of the province of Connaught. All the more fertile portions of the country were conferred either on Cromwell's generals, officers and soldiers, or on those English adventurers who had subscribed moneys to defray the expenses of his campaign on the security of the territories which it was assured his sword would win and divide among them. The assumption proved correct. The English speculators who backed Cromwell—to use a sporting similia—backed the winning horse. The result was to create for Charles II. and his advisers a situation of the utmost complexity and difficulty.

On one side the moment the restoration of the monarchy was assured they were assailed by the claims of the Irish Catholic loyalists for the restitution of their confiscated estates. These had mainly been bestowed on English Protestants. To evict these would have been to create a new rebellion in England, and the King and his advisers were at their wits' end in seeking satisfactory solutions of the problem by which they were confronted. It must, moreover, be remembered that all the time Charles was a Catholic at heart, although a very graceless and opportunist one. Having recovered the throne of his ancestors, he was ready to sacrifice all his personal sympathies in order to retain it. Through purely selfish motives he refrained from imposing any real check on the religious frenzy which seized his English subjects, under the monstrous influence of that false and perjured miscreant, Titus Oates. Influenced by the same base purposes, he refused to interfere to prevent the martyrdom of the Blessed Oliver Plunkett, Primate of All Ireland and Archbishop of Armagh. In this respect, as in many others, Charles II. was immensely inferior in nobility of character to his father, who undoubtedly sacrificed his life and crown through steadfast adherence to the religious and regal principles he felt bound to maintain. Charles II.—as the world judges—was a wiser man than either his

father or his brother, James II., who succeeded him, but he must always have carried an uneasy conscience, the constant torment of which not improbably induced indulgence in the debaucheries and dissipations which have cast a lasting blemish on his name. The King wanted release from thought, and he found it in shameful excesses, but the long stifled conscience triumphed in the end, and he died, as he should have lived, a Catholic, repenting his sins. With all his faults, however, the Merry Monarch was himself no persecutor. He was merely a base opportunist. He could not possibly desire the persecution of the courageous professors of a creed in which he personally secretly believed, but if his Protestant subjects were bent on persecuting them, he had no mind to stand in their way and thus endanger the crown he had so lately and so marvelously recovered. When Charles II. was content to adopt such a timorous and time-serving attitude in regard to the Catholics of England it was, of course, hopeless to expect that he would assume a nobler one in defense of those of Ireland, the more especially as the rendering of full justice to them would almost certainly have been misrepresented in the sister kingdom as the infliction of injustice and spoliation on the Protestant colonists and grantees in the latter country. The Marquis of Ormond,² who

² James Butler, afterwards Duke of Ormond, born in 1607, was, owing to the accidental death of his father by drowning in 1619, placed by the powers of the day in Protestant guardianship and brought up a Protestant. He was an able, if somewhat unscrupulous, statesman and a valiant soldier. To him both Charles I. and II. owed much, and had James II. been content to accept his opportunist counsels the Stuarts might still be in possession of the throne of England. In 1641, with the consent of Charles I., the Parliament of that country appointed him to the command of the English forces in Ireland, confronted as they were by those of the Catholic Confederation. At this time his rank in the peerage was that of Earl of Ormond. He defeated the Catholics in several conflicts in which they had the misfortune to be commanded by General Preston, and in the following year entered into the famous truce with a section of their leaders, which led to the breaking up of the Confederation. This accomplished, he proceeded into England, where the Civil War had already begun, to assist the King. In 1643 Charles, who had created him Marquis of Ormond, appointed him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, an office which he held until 1647, when, with the approval of the King, he surrendered it to commissioners appointed by the Parliament. His Majesty being now a prisoner, Ormond went to France, where he joined the Queen and Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. In 1648 he returned to Ireland and procured the proclamation of Charles II., in succession to his father, who had been executed. In 1650 he was again compelled to go into exile, all his estates being confiscated by the Cromwellian Government. On the Restoration his possessions were restored, and he was created an English peer and Duke of Ormond in the peerage of Ireland. In November, 1661, he was again appointed Lord Lieutenant, and retained that position until February, 1668, when he was deprived of it through the intrigues at the court of the Duke of Buckingham and other enemies. The Irish Parliament, exclusively Protestant and Cromwellian as it was, voted him a gratuity of £30,000 in recognition of his services, which mainly con-

was the King's Lord Deputy or Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, was fully cognizant of His Majesty's views and policy, and was careful to govern his own actions by the knowledge he possessed. It will be easily recognized that the circumstances thus briefly epitomized were of a kind certain to prove productive of embarrassments of the gravest possible nature for the Sovereign, for his Deputy and his Irish Catholic subjects, who were honestly desirous of maintaining his rule in Ireland if only they were placed in a position to do so by the restitution of the possessions and revenues of which they had been deprived during the Cromwellian usurpation. A further complication was introduced by the fact that the landlords and farmers of England were earnestly desirous of preventing the importation into that country of Irish cattle. What came in later years to be styled the "agricultural interest" was up in arms against the competition in their home markets of their fellow-countrymen who had taken possession of the fertile grazing and tillage lands of Ireland in the belief that in the supplying of English needs they would find ample recompense for such monetary and personal risk. Cromwell had dispensed with an Irish Parliament and governed Ireland by laws made in London. Charles II. restored the ancient Parliamentary Constitution of the King, Lords and Commons of the country. Owing, however, to the enormous social changes wrought by conquest and confiscation, the Parliament which met in Dublin was essentially an English and Protestant one. Nevertheless, paradoxical though it may seem, its first conflict was with England, the jealousy of whose landocracy and their tenants had turned the Cromwellian settlers into patriots of a kind. Later on a somewhat similar spectacle was witnessed in the days of Swift, Lucas, Molyneux and Grattan.

So Mahaffy, the capable editor of the volume of state papers now before me, says in his preface, with reference to this incident:

From the economic point of view the attitude of England was wholly indefensible. The injury done to Ireland was far greater than the advantage gained by England, and the waste of cattle and grazing land which the new act caused was immense. It is clear from the debates that these things were realized by many men in both Houses, and the records of the divisions on the bill show that opposition to it did not come from Ireland

sisted in preventing the restoration to the loyalist Irish Catholics of the properties confiscated by Cromwell. His dismissal from office caused him a loss of over £92,000 expended in the King's service, and it is computed that he spent altogether no less than £900,000 of his own money in support of the royal cause. As a result his closing days were clouded by money anxieties. In 1682 he was again made Lord Lieutenant, and held the position until he decided to break with James II., whose Catholic policy he regarded as impolitic in its precipitance. That was a correct view, the facts of history attest, although it is impossible not to admire the devotion of the last Stuart King of England to conscientious convictions. Ormond died on the 21st July, 1688, and was interred in Westminster Abbey.

alone. It is difficult from the evidence before me to estimate how far the bill was carried in order to raise the value of grazing land in England—the official reason given at the time—and how far it was due to a desire by Ormond's enemies to make his task in Ireland difficult, and even to cut away a source of his private income. The bill was prosecuted with great energy by Buckingham. "No one," he said, "could oppose it except he had either an Irish interest or an Irish understanding." He persuaded the House of Lords to accept the word "nuisance" against their better judgment, and threw himself into the question in a manner which, in men of his character, suggests a personal interest. The passage of the act practically meant the triumph of the Buckingham over the Clarendon and Ormond party at court. It meant also a great restraint upon Irish trade and delay in the settlement of the country, for which Ormond had so long and patiently labored.

That the Viceroy earnestly desired to secure the prosperity and tranquillity of the country he was appointed to rule is certain, but he was seriously hampered in giving effect to his good intentions not only by the selfishness of the English agricultural interests, but also by his Protestant inability to understand the trend of Catholic thought and doctrine in regard to the control and direction of ecclesiastical and spiritual concerns. In common with his royal master he accepted and acted on the ignorant theory that it might be possible to give freedom of religious worship to the Catholics of Ireland in a kind of schismatic national Church under the leadership of the King and rejecting the authority of the Pope. The notion was a silly one, which, if it had received priestly or popular acceptance, could only have resulted in the creation of a new form of heresy. It must be admitted, however, that the scheme had its attractions for a clergy and a people long subjected to a cruel persecution and denied all civil rights solely because of their persistent loyalty to the Holy See and the Vicar of Christ. It was a terrible temptation nobly resisted.

While the Catholic prelates and priests of the country were practically outlaws and existed only on sufferance, their poverty and fewness in number, however, in most instances obtaining for them a contemptuous tolerance, the Protestant Bishops—whatever may have been the case with their inferior clergy—undoubtedly enjoyed a good time. How good it was in many instances, regarded from a purely material standpoint, is indicated by a letter from the Protestant Bishop of Limerick to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State in London, applying for the then vacant Diocese of Derry. In this letter, dated 13th January, 1666, the applicant, Dr. William Fuller, tells his patron:

Your lordship has often asked me wherein you may do me any good. An opportunity for doing so has now arrived. The Bishop of Derry is dead, and I hear the Lord Lieutenant recommends that Dr. Mossom, dean of Christchurch (Dublin), may succeed. I hope the King may not yet have commented, and, if not, I know my Lord of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor will use their uttermost endeavors that I may do so, the rather because three years ago, when the Bishop of Derry was very ill, the Lord Lieutenant promised that I should succeed him if he died then. I am sure it will be acceptable to the gentry in those parts.

P. S.—I enclose part of a letter sent me from Dublin on the matter. If I

be so unhappy as the nomination of Dr. Mossom be sent for Ireland, yet the packet usually staying at Holyhead for a fit wind, your lordship may either stop it there or remand it back again for my advantage.³

It is worthy of note that the writer of this appeal for preferment did not deem it even necessary to reside in Limerick, his letter being written from Farnham Castle, in Hampshire. Most of the Protestant prelates of Ireland were absentees. The communication received by Fuller from his friend in Dublin and transmitted to Arlington shows how lucrative was the post he sought. In part it was as follows:

Before I had finished this letter the news of the death of the Bishop of Derry was brought to me, and, walking abroad to inform myself as to the condition of that bishopric, some great men of that country who are members of the House of Commons came to me and desired me earnestly to write to your lordship to accept of it, not doubting but that it would be offered to you. One of them, Captain Phillips by name, who is joint Register with Colonel Jeffreys, of the Court of Claims, told me that it is worth above £2,000 a year, for he says though the late Bishop made by his rent roll but £1,640 and £60 a year for the salmon fishing, yet to his knowledge the perquisites made it up £2,000 a year, and that the salmon fishing was worth near £300, though set so low, and protested if this might not be credited he would undertake out of his own estate to make it good to your lordship £2,000 per annum. You should try to get it. The Bishop has an excellent house in the town of Londonderry and another in the country in a pleasant place with plenty of English gentry about it.⁴

The sender of this friendly suggestion went on to say that if Fuller obtained the see he could import any clergymen he favored, as the advowsons or right of succession to all its parochial benefices would be in his gift. The post was evidently one well worth looking after. All along the line the story was the same. The Protestant prelates had the plunder of the lands at their disposal. On the 19th of February, 1666, the King wrote from Whitehall to Ormond, telling him:

We have appointed Archbishop Boyle Lord Chancellor of Ireland, with all the usual powers, privileges, fees, etc., and find that in the late civil establishment in Ireland there was allowed to the late Lord Chancellor, Sir Maurice Eustace, the yearly fee of £1,000, and also the yearly sum of £809 17s. 6d., which sum was to continue to Sir Maurice during the grant, but to cease afterwards. To avoid any doubts which may arise as to whether we intended to grant both the £1,000 and the temporary allowance of £809 to Archbishop Boyle as Lord Chancellor, we now declare that it was our intention to grant both of them to him, and direct you to give warrants to the Vice Treasurer there accordingly; and the said allowances shall be inserted in the establishment. If the now Lord Chancellor desires patents for these payments, you shall cause them to be made and passed to him.⁵

The new Lord Chancellor was Dr. Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Dublin, and the collection of state papers from which we quote show him to have been a rapacious and unscrupulous grabber of all estates and revenues he could possibly lay hands on.

Meantime the intrigues to the detriment of religion as well as the personal and proprietorial injustices to which many of the Catholic

³ "Calendar of State Papers (Ireland), 1666-1669," p. 4.

⁴ "Calendar of State Papers (Ireland), 1666-1669," p. 4.

⁵ "Calendar of State Papers (Ireland), 1666-1669," p. 40.

loyalists were subjected had induced some of them to enter into a compact to stand by one another in defense of Catholic principles and in vindication of their claim for the restoration of their confiscated estates. In pursuance of this policy a solemn agreement for common action was drawn up and signed. A copy of this covenant soon came into the hands of Ormond, who endorsed it "Declaration of the Irish Rebels." The wording of the document shows it to have been drawn up either by a foreigner or by some one who had lived so long upon the Continent that his knowledge of English had become defective. The purpose of the declaration is, however, perfectly clear, and—whatever may be thought as to its wisdom or unwisdom—there can be no question as to the worthiness of the motives which inspired it. The following is the text, bearing the signatures of those who approved it:

Jesus. + Maria.

"In the plain appearance of the Heavenly Throne and of the whole world, such of the subjects of England, Ireland and Scotland as have not only been promoters of usurped authorities of states, Commonwealth, Protector and Rump, and also actors in the murdering of the late King Charles, are thoroughly indemnified and in the possession of the estates of [us.] innocent Catholic subjects not concerned in the foul guile of any the aforesaid practices, nor for any other cause kept out of our estates and abridged of our due liberties, but for our being Papists. . . . By the late contrived rules made laws by a selected Parliament of the foresaid possessors themselves, certain Catholics were to be restored to their estates provided they should prove their innocency in such manner as by the said rules was prescribed." "Yet, fearing least Catholics who might easily prove their loyalty to a King who was thereby obliged to see justice done them, might also—notwithstanding the bryery [thorny?] qualifications by the said selected Parliament contrived in the rules aforesaid and through which Catholics must pass, and notwithstanding their subordinating [suborning] for moneys great number of perjurers to be ready for swearing what they would have them declare to criminate Catholics—likewise make out their innocency in such manner as in the said contrived rules was prescribed," a time was limited in which claims must be put in and heard. The greater part of this time was expended by the judges in considering how to hear the claims of innocent Catholics, "or rather, if the naked truth was known, how to make them all innocent." By bribery the rich man was heard first at this court, even if he had a lame case, and the poor, however strong his case, had to wait till the period for hearing him was elapsed. "And if a man who hath been robbed of his cloak by a rebel against the King and his laws shall put the question—if he could not to-day have access to the judges for the thronging clamors of their subjects who also were robbed of many horses and cloaths, why not to-morrow? Who can say that the robber ought to have the cloak soon as to-morrow is come, since it is not the subject's fault he is not heard whilst to-day." [These] Acts [are] "so detestable that the very promoters of them do themselves detect the foulness and tyranny of them, witness these words of the Duke of Ormond in a late speech of his where he brands the precedent usurpers with the wicked practices of taking away the estates of several persons for no other cause but for their being Papists—a tyranny reasonably and justly hinted; but although he abhors it in other usurpers, yet finding it conduce to his party's profit; by himself [it is] now most exactly imitated and practiced.

"We therefore do, in the name of Jesus Christ, under whose banner we resolve to live and die, unanimously declare that the Pope's Holiness is Supreme Head of Christ's Church militant on earth, and that with our swords drawn we will stand against and oppose [such] as believe the contrary and do so unjustly rob us of our due liberties of conscience and rights."

Myles Reyley
Hugh Reyley
Thomas Farrell
Richard Plunkett
Neil O'Neale

Con O'Neale
Faghny Farrell
Edmund Farrell
Walter Reignolds
Charles Hanly

Colonel McCawfill
Cahir Reilly
Patrick Brady
Roger Phillips
Richard Flanigan

Teige Flanagan
Francis Rourke
Dudley Costellogh
Owen Brady
Edmund Nangle
Connor Hanly
Marcy Farrell
Gerald Farrell
William Farrell
James Rennolds
Francis Shanly
Charles Byrne

Christopher Hill
Hugh Reyley
Charles Reyley
John Costelloe
Laghlin Donnelane [?]
Laghlin Reignolds
Richard Reignolds
Harry Byrn
Manus O'Donnell
Daniel McSweeny
Corm[ack] O'Nelle
James Griffin

Morogh Farrell
James Farrell
Daniel Farrell
Roger Hanly
Thomas Plunkett
John Reiley
Garrott Farrell
Richard Farrell
Cormack McDonoghue
Dermot Hanley
Daniel O'Connor⁶

There is absolutely no room for doubt that the indictment laid against the State tribunals in this document was a perfectly just one, while the avowal of loyalty to the Sovereign Pontiff and the Holy See contained in it was eminently creditable to those who signed it, but some allowance must in fairness be made for the enormous political difficulties with which Charles and Ormond were encompassed.

The documents either epitomized or reproduced in the volume of the "Calendar of State Papers" now before us naturally have in the main reference to the larger national concerns, but there are several which cast interesting light upon the domestic and family interests of the period. We find, for instance, a letter from the Duchess of Ormond to Lord Arlington, dated 4th April, 1666, declining a marriage for her son suggested by His Lordship. The Duchess' orthography was archaic even for the time, but this only serves to make her missive the more interesting. In it she told Arlington:

The mache you were pleased to propose for my son John I have consulted my Lord in; and find upon the consideration of the depte yet resting upon his fortune, the unsartantlies of moneys coming in, out of which the same should be discharged, his rents besides falling and ill paid by reason of the great and general poverty of the kingdom by the present war and inhibition of transporting cattell from hense into England, as they did formerly, forses him out of these considerations rather to decline that advantage, that by your lordship's, my Lord Crofts' and Mr. Cofferer's endeavours with some probability might have taken effect, than add to his engagement so considerable a sum as would be expected, and might reasonably be so, by the young lady's friends.⁷

It will be seen that the Duchess was at once courteous and businesslike in her manner of declining the proposed "mache" for "my son John," but it is at least probable that if that young gentleman's affections had not been otherwise preëngaged the various monetary deficiencies set out would not have loomed so large in his fond mother's letter.

On the 16th of May, 1666, the Lord Lieutenant wrote to Arlington giving him the first inkling of the scheme to which he had become a party for the creation of a schismatical Catholic Church in Ireland. In this communication, partially summarized as it is in the Calendar, he said:

⁶ "Calendar of State Papers (Ireland), 1666-1669," pp. 62, 63.

⁷ "Calendar of State Papers (Ireland), 1666-1669," p. 85.

You have no doubt long since heard of a declaration of loyalty presented to the King in England and signed by many of the Roman Catholic Irish nobility, gentry and clergy. "The copy I now send contains assertions contrary to the doctrine which, having been heretofore reduced to practice here, did the last King and our present Master much mischief. They who have subscribed to it and they who have not have endeavoured to support their opinions by arguments from books, and censures have been made and passed upon it abroad as well as at home. Those who have subscribed, and thereby rendered their retreat into foreign parts very unsafe, are much grieved to find their stay at home as uncomfortable as theirs that have not. . . . They that have not excuse themselves upon the want of liberty to meet and consult of a matter of so much weight. Hereupon some of the complying party have desired I would give them leave to assure the other party that the meeting of about the number of forty would be connived at at Dublin, and that there and in their return thence they should be safe.

"This I have presumed to give my word for upon these grounds:

"First, to satisfy the honest clergy, for so I may call them who would be glad to have so unpleasing a doctrine as theirs is to the Court of Rome fortified by a conjunction as considerable in weight and number as they can get. Next, to be able to distinguish in truth between those who are fit to be connived at, and those who ought to be sent out of the kingdom or the laws let loose upon them in it. And last of all I thought this no unreasonable conjunction either to keep up the division or, by the unanimity of such a declaration, to take away the expectation of a conjunction from any foreign enemy."

The meeting is not to be till the middle of June, and any time before that the King's disapprobation will disappoint it. "Some may be of opinion that the shortest and safest way would be to send them all away or let the severity of the laws fall upon them, but they who are of this opinion either do not know the constitution of this kingdom or do not care what the consequences of such a proceeding would be. However, I am sure at this time it would not be prudent; and even in more settled and peaceable times it may be the subject of very serious consideration how the state shall govern itself towards such members as are of that religion, and how far forth the alteration of laws made almost an age since, and of which we have seen no fruit but rebellion, may be cancellable. Few men have ventured to touch upon this point, nor do I determine whether the change of the laws should be to greater severity or lenity; but methinks the unsuccessfulness of them, or of the want of executing them, seems to require something that is not."

It will be observed that Ormond thought that he could count on a sufficiency of "honest clergy" being found ready to break with "the Court of Rome" to enable the establishment of a so-called National Church, under the headship of the dissolute but secretly Catholic King, while he had been forced to the conclusion that the application of the penal laws against the far more manly Catholics of Ireland produced "no fruit but rebellion." It will be interesting to here set out the main influences which had weighed with him in bringing him to these conclusions.

The chief promoter of the religiously traitorous design referred to by the Lord Lieutenant was one Peter Walsh, a priest belonging to the Irish Franciscan Order, who was born at Moortown, in the County Kilkenny, and died in London in 1687. Holding for a time the position of professor of theology in the University of Louvain, he came to Dublin to exercise those capacities for intrigue and fast living which he seems to have possessed in superabundance. Father Peter Talbot, S. J., brother of the Tirconnell and afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, was one of the strongest and most vigorous opponents of Walsh's designs. In one of his denunciations of that

* "Calendar of State Papers (Ireland), 1666-1669," pp. 107, 108.

personage he accused him of flaunting about Dublin in fine dress, bedizened with ribands, in the manner of the men of fashion of the time, and asserted that "a certain lady inquired of him whether his patron, St. Francis, 'ever wore such cloathes.'" Father Talbot included in his censures of Walsh not only that misguided man, but those other clerics who aided and abetted him in his effort to induce the priesthood of Ireland generally to sign the "Remonstrance," or declaration of loyalty to Charles II., which would have been equivalent to a denial of the authority of the Holy See. If the future Archbishop of Dublin was not entirely misinformed, these were a wild, bad lot. He wrote as follows:

All your suffering to see your spiritual children—the Remonstrants—return home to you with money in your purses, and treat you and your Commissary—Father Redmond Caron—very splendidly at the sign of the Harp and Crown in Dublin, almost every night, with good cheer, dancing and dances, or Irish cronans; especially the famous Maquillmore, which was styled in a letter to Rome: "Cantio barbara et agrestis;" and called by the soldiers of the guard in Dublin—hearing it every night at midnight—Friar Walsh and Friar N. singing of psalms? All your suffering to see your grave Remonstrants dance gigys [jigs] and country dances, to recreate yourself and the Commissary, who was as ready and nimble at it as any of his collectors? But indeed it is said you danced with a better grace than any of the company.⁹

Walsh was living at this time in Kennedy's court, off Nicholas street, in the very heart of the then city of Dublin, within musket shot of the castle and, of course, under the protection of the Viceroy. The Harp and Crown referred to by Father Talbot was a well-known hostelry or inn. It was from Walsh's residence the letters were sent out summoning the National Assembly or Synod of the Irish clergy, which Ormond was so anxious to see meet in the capital and which did actually come together in June, 1666. This convention had absolutely no canonical authority, and all its proceedings were pronounced null and void beforehand by the Papal Nuncio at Brussels as well as by a letter from Cardinal Barberini from Rome. That Father Talbot did not in any degree misjudge Walsh may be inferred from the fact that after the death of the latter in London, in 1687, the Protestant Bishop of Salisbury bore testimony that: "He was the honestest and learnedest man I ever knew amongst them"—the Catholics—"and was, indeed, in all points of controversy almost wholly a Protestant." After this it was only natural for his Anglican eulogist to add: "He was an honest and able man much practiced in intrigue."¹⁰ Such was the character of the man on whom Ormond mainly relied for the carrying through of his scheme for the assembling of a schismatical National Synod.

Walsh, however, had his aiders and abettors amongst the clergy in his schismatical designs, and foremost of these was the Commis-

⁹ See Sir John Gilbert's "History of Dublin," Vol. I, p. 194, published 1857.

¹⁰ See Webb's "Compendium of Irish Biography."

sary, Father Caron, referred to by Father Talbot in the vigorous denunciation already quoted. The story of the last sad days of this misguided priest has been told by Walsh himself, and resembles in many particulars that of the closing hours of the leader of the English Modernists, the circumstances connected with whose death and burial recently evoked so much controversy in the columns of both the religious and secular press. Caron had been for years a fierce assailant of the principle of Papal authority and had adopted the worst theories of the Gallican schismatics. Walsh has left on record his account of the final hours on earth of his friend, which may or may not be true. In this he says :

When Caron was on his deathbed, even after he had received the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, and his last viaticum, too, of the Holy Eucharist, when he was every moment expecting his death, without any kind of hopes of recovery, and being in this condition, however, still in his perfect senses, he was told by me and others it had been bruited of him abroad in the city, even amongst lords and ladies, that, being come to this point, he retracted his signature and defense of the Remonstrance, and his whole doctrine or books of that matter. He presently desired me to call into his chamber the whole community of the Franciscan Fathers—who were then next room to him at supper—and as soon as they were all entered, the Commissary General—who a little before came from Spain—Father Mark Brown, heading them, our dying Father Redmund Caron, having first declared the cause of his sending for them at that time to be the foresaid false report; and then his trouble that any religious men should be so unreasonably desirous to advance, or cherish a fiction, as to invent lies of a dying man that was every moment expecting to appear at the tribunal of the Great Judge, to give there an account of both his life and doctrine; in the third place he declared unto them, and desired them all to bear witness of his declaration, that as he was now suddenly to answer God, he both subscribed first the Remonstrance and engaged after in defense of that Formulary and subscription thereof, according to the best and clearest dictates of his inward conscience, without having ever at any time since entertained the least thought of fear, doubt or scruple of any error, sin or unlawfulness, either in doing so or in not retracting what he had so done. And then in the fourth and last place, converting himself to me, and desiring me to sit by him on the bedside, and I accordingly sitting there, he further declared his conscience to be that I was bound in conscience to prosecute still, even after his death, that matter, and continue that defense or advancement of that doctrine which in his lifetime I had for so many years, and notwithstanding so much contradiction, maintained.¹¹

For a dying man Father Caron must have possessed a considerable measure of loquacity, but it is necessary to remember that for this version of his deathbed sentiments we have only Walsh as an authority. On the day following the supposed delivery of the allocution quoted Father Caron died, it may be hoped, repenting—if he ever spoke—the words ascribed to him by Walsh. So great was the toleration now displayed by the government towards the Catholics, in the hope that they might all become remonstrants and rejectors of the authority of the Holy See, Father Caron's obsequies were celebrated with the full ritual of the Church, while his funeral sermon was preached by Walsh. After the ceremonies in the church of the Franciscans had concluded his body was borne, attended by a concourse of some two thousand Dublin Catholics, to St. James' grave-

¹¹ Gilbert's "History of Dublin," Vol. I., pp. 305, 306.

yard, where it was interred. The whole story is lamentably and terribly similar to that connected with the death of the late Father Tyrrell, who, like Father Caron, died amongst those who were determined to persist in the errors they had embraced partially under his influence.

Ormond, naturally enough, was directing all his energies towards securing the success of the so-called National Synod, but he found it necessary to address many reassuring words to London, where some doubts appear to have existed as to whether that assembly, when it met, would prove quite as subservient as he hoped it would. On the 9th of June, 1666, he wrote from Dublin Castle to the Lord Chancellor of England in part as follows:

A meeting of the Irish clergy will take place here next week, though it has, upon the matter, been prohibited by a letter from Cardinal Barberini and the Internuntio at Brussels as a thing threatening to the Catholic religion. The letters sent from them by a Dominican friar, one Farrell, I took yesterday from the titular Bishop of Ardagh and had copies of them made, which I send. They were not opened by him, and he voluntarily gave them up. "I am still hopeful good use may and will be made of this meeting if the zeal that is almost general here against Popery and Irish will let us make the best of it."¹²

On the 13th of June he wrote again, this time to Lord Arlington, saying:

"The meeting of the Romish clergy in this place is now complete by the arrival yesterday of their Primate. They will this day receive a message from me in the words you will find in a paper enclosed. I would be very glad they would make an end of their work quickly, for such an assembly and that of such a Parliament as this is may perhaps not agree well together." And here I must again put your lordship in mind how necessary it is that the remaining bills should be hastened to us, least we might, by some accident, be compelled to put an end to the session without passing messages which are useful for the Government and revenue.¹³

The Parliament with which Ormond had to deal and which he was endeavoring to induce to vote taxes to be levied off those whom it represented was mainly composed of the delegates of the Cromwellian and English settlers. In the letter which he addressed to "the meeting of the Romish clergy" the Lord Lieutenant was candid enough to make clear the purposes which animated him in allowing them to assemble. He wrote thus:

That it is too well known to persons now assembled amongst the Romish clergy in Dublin what attempts have been made upon the Royal authority in this kingdom under colour of pretended authority from the Pope, and how far those attempts prevented many people from returning to their due allegiance to the Crown, or drew away those who had returned to it. This appeared by the violation of the Peace of 1646 and the faith of the then confederate Roman Catholics at the instigation of the Nuntio Rinuccini, and by the proceedings of the titular Bishops at Jamestown in [1650].

That divers of the nobility and gentry of Ireland and of the said clergy in January and February, 1661 [1662], calling to mind the attempts and deplorable consequences thereof to the Crown and to themselves, presented the King with a Remonstrance and Protestation of their loyalty to His Majesty, and their renunciation and detestation of any doctrine or power

¹² "Calendar of State Papers (Ireland), 1666-1669, p. 180.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

from which those practices might be deduced. To this remonstrance and protestation divers others of the nobility and gentry and most of the clergy resident in the kingdom have not yet subscribed, although more than four years are "refluxed" since the same was first presented to His Majesty.

The clergy, whose example and encouragement the laity may expect, have delayed their subscriptions on pretense that they want time to consider. This is given them, and it is expected that they will make good use of it for asserting and owning the King's authority and to the advantage of the clergy themselves. No long time need be spent, since the remonstrance, etc., has now been issued for four years and must therefore be understood.¹⁴

Even now, after nearly two centuries and a half have elapsed, it is impossible to see how any Catholic could have conscientiously signed the Remonstrance. The document was pronouncedly anti-Papal.

The assembly to which Ormond's missive was addressed held their meetings in the house of Father Angel Golding, parish priest of St. Andeon's parish, in St. Andeon's Arch, lying between High street and Cook street, close to the once Catholic Cathedral, Christ Church. Its proceedings appear to have been conducted with suitable propriety and regularity, despite the circumstance that it contained representatives of two factions divided on irreconcilable principles. The meetings, we are told, were "in one room, which manner of sitting they held on all along till they were dissolved; only their committees meeting and sitting in other rooms." The first chairmaff was Dr. Andrew Lynch, Bishop of Kilfenora, but he was superseded in the presidency by the Primate—the Archbishop of Armagh¹⁵ predecessor of the Blessed Oliver Plunkett, the martyr successor of St. Patrick. On the 15th of June Ormond wrote again to London, saying:

Though the Romish clergy have been sitting here now in a kind of Convocation for six days, they have not brought themselves to sign the Remonstrance, but "would elude the force of it by the alteration of the words under pretense of ill manners and indecency of naming the Pope."

I shall keep them to the letter of the Remonstrance unless they give the full sense of it in other terms, and even then I shall not admit of the change without authority from the King.

The end I think will be that some will subscribe and others not; and that I think liberty and countenance should be given to those who do subscribe, and the others smartly prosecuted, "till they be driven out of the kingdom, which is a kind of martyrdom some of them aspire to, that, having suffered as they will allege for the Catholic cause, they may be better provided for abroad." I send the substance of "an occasional message." I sent them yesterday, to show them that nothing but complete signature will satisfy.¹⁶

¹⁴ "Calendar of State Papers (Ireland), 1666-1669," pp. 131, 132.

¹⁵ Edward O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh, born in Dublin in 1636, and educated chiefly on the Continent. He was Vicar General of Dublin from 1642 to 1648, but through the intrigues of Walsh he was arrested, imprisoned and eventually banished. In April, 1657, he was appointed by the Holy See Archbishop of Armagh, but he was only able to visit his diocese at intervals and secretly. For his strong Catholic attitude during sittings of the Dublin gathering Ormond had him again arrested, transported to and imprisoned in England, and eventually sent into exile. He died at Saumur, France, in 1669, aged sixty-three.

¹⁶ "Calendar of State Papers (Ireland), 1666-1669," p. 134.

The message referred to in this communication was as follows:

I understand it is reported that I intend in a few days to leave this city, and that it is feared by the Romish clergy now assembled here that they may, consequently, not have time to consider and conclude the business for which their meeting was permitted. This was the subscribing to the Remonstrance and Protestation subscribed and presented to the King in January and February, 1661 [1662] by divers of the nobility, gentry and Romish clergy. I thereupon think it fit to let them know I have no intention of leaving this city so soon; and that they will have time to resolve on the signature of the protestation, which consists of nothing but an acknowledgment of the duty they owe to the King and a condemnation of all doctrine and practice contrary thereto. Such an opportunity has not been given to them or their predecessors, and, if now lost, may not easily be recovered.¹⁷

It will be readily realized that the purpose of this letter was to intimidate the members of the Catholic convocation who were loyal to the Holy See. Eventually, after a session of nearly a month's duration, it dissolved without approving the Remonstrance—devised by Walsh—which Ormond was so desirous it should endorse.

WILLIAM F. DENNEHY.

Dublin, Ireland.

THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND UNDER THE PENAL LAWS.

ALL educated English-speaking Catholics are more or less familiar with the story of the sufferings of our forefathers in England and Ireland during those dark centuries of triumphant heresy that lay between the great apostasy of the sixteenth and the first act of relief passed at the close of the eighteenth century. The unspeakable cruelties of Henry and Elizabeth, the massacres of Cromwell, the horrors permitted even under the Stuart Kings, are written large on the bloodstained pages of English and Irish history. No Englishman worthy of the name fails to reckon amongst the greatest heroes of his country such champions of the faith as Blessed John Cardinal Fisher and Blessed Thomas More, the Carthusian martyrs, the glorious sons of the Society of Jesus, led by Blessed Edmund Campion, the no less splendid band of seminary priests, with Blessed Cuthbert Mayne as their proto-martyr, the long list of religious and secular, clergy and laity, men and women who despised torture and death for the sake of the eternal truth—all these are as household words to an English Catholic. And close beside them come the yet larger company that confessed that truth to the enduring of loss of liberty and of goods, and of all that makes the social and civic life of a free man. While

¹⁷ "Calendar of State Papers (Ireland), 1666-1669," p. 124.

of Ireland's soil it might almost be said, as St. Gregory the Great said in effect to the imperial ambassador of the dust of the Coliseum, that its very soil is rich in the relics of the martyrs. No country in Christendom, probably, can boast of such a record of long-borne constancy and loyalty in the face of all that was most terrible to flesh and blood. There is not a Christian in all the world but must do homage with his whole being when he thinks of the story of Ireland's sufferings and Ireland's faith.

A strange contrast exists between the recognition of England's and Ireland's conflict and victory for the Catholic religion and the comparatively dense ignorance that surrounds the long story of the Scottish Church during those days of darkness. This is partly due to the fact that with scarcely an exception none of those who suffered for the faith between the Cheviots and the Pentland Firth gave up their lives upon the scaffold. Scottish martyrs there were in plenty, but their martyrdom was such as that of the Pontiffs St. John I., St. Silverius and St. Martin I., who, though they did not shed their blood at the bidding of a pagan or a heretical tyrant, are none the less reckoned among the candidates exercitus. The death that surely comes through the deliberate infliction of chains and fetters, hunger and cold, homelessness and exile, if not technically martyrdom, is surely reckoned to share its glory in the *Acta Sanctorum* of Paradise.

Another reason why the heroism of our Catholic forefathers in Scotland has not impressed itself more deeply on the hearts of the English-speaking faithful is the deliberate and cold-blooded policy of banishment that for nearly two centuries was adopted by the men who had gagged and fettered Scotland and were draining her of her very life-blood. Men and women were sent in their thousands across the sea; their persecutors wished at once to avoid the odium and possible danger of wholesale slaughter, and at the same time to ensure a like result. The very name of Catholic was to be extirpated from Scottish soil. It would be the height of injustice to impute this spirit to Scottish Protestantism as a whole. If it had not been for the warm sympathy and the generous protection afforded by Protestant friends and neighbors the faith would indeed, humanly speaking, have been uprooted from the kingdom. There were thousands who, whatever their own opinions, had no desire but to live in peace with neighbors whom they knew to be God-fearing men, loyal subjects and good citizens. They had no quarrel with a man because he believed and practiced what a few generations before all Scotland had believed and practiced. Some of these sympathizers, no doubt, had themselves a secret leaning towards the ancient faith, while of many more it might be said, to paraphrase somewhat

Charles James Fox's famous words in his speech on one of the Catholic relief bills, that however they might hate Popery, they hated the unchristian fierceness, the blasphemy and scurrility, the fire and sword of the Covenanters infinitely more. But for many decades, whether politically in power or in opposition, it was the spirit of the Covenant that ruled in Scottish ecclesiastical affairs.

A third reason for the obscurity that has for so long brooded over the 233 years of the penal statutes in the northern kingdom has been the comparative scarcity of documentary evidence. Nothing approaching the completeness of the records of the English persecution has been available for Scotland. The northern kingdom was far less in touch with native ecclesiastics abroad; there was no Cardinal Allen or Father Robert Persons to store up and transmit to future generations the sufferings of the Catholic clergy and laity and the brave fight for the truth that was being waged unceasingly in the wild glens and the storm-swept islands of the north. Scottish Catholicity, from a variety of circumstances, was not in evidence like that of England. For many years after the final apostasy under Elizabeth members of the English hierarchy still lingered, bearing witness in their prisons to the religion of St. Augustine and St. Cuthbert, St. Thomas and St. Edmund. Some of them had yielded to Henry's blandishments or threats when the issue was not so clear as it had since become; now there was no shadow of weakness except in one unhappy man—Kitchen of Llandaff—well called by an old writer "the calamity of his see." While there was no apostasy among the Scottish Bishops, there was no such heroic stand for the faith. Only six sees were filled at the time of the change of religion; their occupants remained at large, unlike their brethren in England; they even enjoyed, in part at least, their former incomes, though they were, like all Catholics, technically outlaws under the acts of the pseudo-parliament of 1560. The Primate, Archbishop Hamilton, who, whatever may be said of his career, had shown himself wise and tolerant to a high degree in his dealings with heretics, was judicially murdered at St. Andrews in 1571. Archbishop James Beatoun, nephew of the great and patriotic Cardinal, escaped to France and died in Paris in 1603. With him the ancient hierarchy of Scotland came to an end, to be restored 275 years later by Pope Leo XIII.

From the catastrophe of 1560 until the union of the crowns the state of the country was one of perpetual commotion and of ever-deepening moral degradation. Patriotism seemed almost dead. The Protestant leaders unblushingly sold their country for English gold. The sorrows of Queen Mary, from her arrival in Scotland until the day she was done to death at Fotheringhay at the hands of

the worthy daughter of Henry Tudor—the rapacity and venal corruption of the Lords of the Congregation—the abominable tyranny of the “reformed” preachers, headed by John Knox, apostate priest and traitor—all these are outstanding facts of history, and the verdict of history grows ever more unmistakable with regard to them. But the sufferings of the thousands who still clung to the ancient faith are only by slow degrees coming to be recognized by their successors of to-day. We owe an immense debt to Father Forbes Leith, S. J., for the devotion, diligence and literary skill with which he has, in a volume published some years ago, brought together original documents hitherto unpublished, that have let a flood of light upon the obscure story of Catholicism in Scotland during those terrible days. And he has now added indefinitely to the debt owed him alike by the historians and the student, by two recently published volumes of “Memoirs of Scottish Catholics During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” which form a mine which will be assiduously worked by all future writers on this period of Scottish history. No apology is surely needed for bringing a literary contribution of such extreme value before the readers of the *AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY*.

By the acts of August 24, 1560—passed by an assembly that had no legal right to the title of Parliament, in consequence of its entire lack of royal warrant and the utter defiance of constitutional methods that characterized it—the jurisdiction of the Supreme Pontiff was abolished in Scotland, all previous acts in favor of the Church were repealed, and the practice of the Catholic religion was prohibited under penalties of forfeiture for the first, banishment for the second and death for the third offense. Broadly speaking, this was the legislation under which Scotland groaned for more than two hundred years. The execution of the laws differed greatly in severity at different periods; the capital penalty was in scarcely any cases exacted, but there was the statute book ever threatening the peace of a considerable proportion of the population of the country, and no man knew from day to day whether his home and property, his family and his personal liberty might not be placed in dire peril. Scottish Catholics seem at times to have complained of a lack of sympathy and help on the part of their brethren in England, more particularly during the later period of the persecution. The hideous cruelties of Elizabeth, that had given the English Church—the true *Ecclesia Anglicana*—so glorious a roll of martyrs, had no exact parallel in Scotland, but English Catholics do not seem to have realized altogether how their lot in after times became really more tolerable than that of the faithful beyond the Tweed. There is no doubt that in the latter half of the seventeenth and the whole of the

eighteenth century this was the case. The political troubles of the time bore more heavily on Scotland than on the sister kingdom, and, bad as the record of Anglicanism is—horrible in the early days of the apostasy—in this later period it compares favorably with the pitiless and senseless hatred of religious liberty exhibited by the dominant party in Scotland. The fact is that while Anglicanism is *au fond* the very quintessence of Protestantism, and Erastian Protestantism at that, there are a number of external conditions, principally connected with social culture and hierarchical tradition, which makes the average Anglican regard the Catholic Church in a totally different way from that in which he looks at Scottish Presbyterianism or English Nonconformity. The present writer remembers many years ago hearing an earnest and devout Anglican, a man of intellectual power and a barrister of high standing, when a fellow Protestant spoke with some condemnation or regret of a recent conversion to the Church, reply: "Not at all—he's only gone back to the old stock." And this represents the feeling of a large number of good Church of England people, and one result of it long ago was that the penal statutes lay less grievously upon the children of the Church in the southern kingdom than in the northern for many years before their repeal.

To turn now to the volumes before us. Father Forbes Leith for the whole of his first and the greater part of his second volume has had abundant material to draw upon in the shape of the letters of the Jesuit Fathers working in Scotland and the annual reports of their work sent by them to the general of the society. These come to an end in 1712, owing probably to the loss of many papers when the order was suppressed in 1773, and "the archives of the society passed into the keeping of its unfriends."¹ Fortunately, however, another source was open to the author. A manuscript, hitherto scarcely known and quite inaccessible to the public, lies among the records of St. Mary's College, Blairs. It has for its title, "Some Account of the State of Religion and of the Mission in Scotland Since the Reformation, Compiled from Letters and Other Original Monuments," by the Rev. John Thompson, who in 1767 was rector of the Seminary at Scanlan. This training-ground for priests intended to serve on the Scottish mission was founded in the very depths of the darkest times, and was the predecessor of Blairs. To both the Church in Scotland is indebted for a long record of high courage, unflinching devotion and the self-sacrifice that counts the cost and rejoices to pay it to the uttermost. It is fitting that this record should be joined to those of the fathers of the Society of Jesus in a single work, since side by side, during those long and weary

¹ Introduction to Vol. II., p. 5.

centuries, secular clergy and Jesuit fathers gave themselves to the cause of God and Scotland. Mr. Thompson's intensely interesting compilation is followed by some "notes and minutes" dealing with the period 1761-1787, written by the Abbé Macpherson, who for many years was agent in Rome for the Scottish clergy, while letters from Bishop Hay and other documents close the story of the penal days and bring the reader to the triumphant and unopposed passage of the Catholic relief bill through both Houses of Parliament in the early summer of 1793. Thus ended the 233 years of outlawry, of vindictive persecution and refined cruelty, which had tried as in a seven-times heated furnace the children of the Church in Scotland, and which must have destroyed beyond hope of resurrection any society that was not quickened by a divine and therefore an undying life.

The records of those who actually lived during and took an active part in stirring times of history have always a value that cannot attach to any later documents bearing on the same period. It may well be that the contemporary writers are unable to take so wide a view of the whole series of events as those who come after them; just as during the progress of a battle the commander of a battalion is unable to realize what is taking place in every part of the field, while the historian, writing in times of peace, can give a connected picture of the whole conflict. But the historian's work would be of little value but for the witness of those who had lived through and taken part in what he records. In the case of the Scottish Catholics the witness of contemporaries is especially precious, partly because of the obscure conditions, so far as the world at large was concerned, under which the struggle for the faith had to be waged. Scotland was, in those unhappy days, far more remote from the comity of European civilization than she was before or since. The kindly old alliance with France was a thing of the past; the Scotsmen who had experience beyond their own country were for the most part exiles for their faith or their political loyalty, who had perforce to place their service and their valor at the feet of a foreign ruler. The old religion existed, indeed, in Scotland, but it was out of sight, except at the Vatican and the Scots colleges abroad. Europe had almost forgotten that there still was a Catholic remnant beyond the Tweed. The religion established on the ruins of the ancient Church was, in addition to its other disadvantages, profoundly dull and uninteresting. An acute modern writer remarks that since the act reestablishing Presbyterianism in 1690, "the ecclesiastical history of Scotland ceases to possess general importance and becomes matter only of provincial or parochial interest;"² and he might with truth

² *The Church of Scotland, 1070-1560*, by R. Morris Stewart, pp. 400, 401.

have substituted 1560 for the later date. It is good, therefore, for all historical students to be reminded that behind all the dreary and unlovely strife of Episcopalian and Covenanter, Resolutioner and Remonstrant, Cameronian and Established Presbyterian, Burgher and Anti-burgher, Original Secessionist and Relief Secessionist, there was even at the worst of times a body of brave men and women holding fast to the faith St. Ninian brought to Galloway and St. Columba planted on the lonely shores of Hù—a body which was part of the *Sancta Ecclesia per orbem terrarum*, as much the Holy Catholic Church in the recesses of the Highland glens and on the storm-swept Hebridean isles as beneath the shelter of Rome's glorious basilicas. To the successor of St. Peter the handful of priests and laity, with their vicars apostolic (from 1694 onwards), were children and brethren as dear as the hierarchy and faithful of lands that still were true to the Throne of the Fisherman. In the history of Christendom there is a place of undying honor for the confessors of the penal times. Their position, like that of the Church herself, is the position of a *civitas supra montem posita*. Their story is of the deepest import to their fellow Catholics in every time and every land—while that of their persecutors, apart from the cruelties that bring it into relation with the ancient faith, is a story of the narrowest interest and the most local significance. What does it concern the Universal Church to know the quarrels and the divisions, the loud assertions or denials, the petty politics and administration of a religious society whose very being is limited by the bounds of a single nationality? Except in so far as she can aid and restore the souls that have been separated, almost all simply through their fathers' sins, from her blessed unity, such a society is simply devoid of religious interest. Individuals in it may be of the deepest interest, but the system to which they happen to be attached is of no historical significance in the records of the kingdom that has jurisdiction in all the world, and to whom all nations are but children, whether living in loyal obedience or revolted from their Mother's loving sway.

At the time when the first of Father Forbes Leith's volumes takes up the tale of the struggles of the Scottish Catholics, King Charles I. had but recently come to the united throne of Great Britain. Under his father persecution had been rife, and in 1615 the Venerable Father John Ogilvie, S. J., had died for the faith in Glasgow. But the last years of King James and the first of his successor were a time of quiet; the fact that the new King had married a Catholic Princess and the strong representations on the part of the ambassadors of the Catholic powers seem to have been the reason of this lull in the storm. Besides, though himself probably the only con-

vinced Anglican that ever sat on the English throne, King Charles hated persecution and only consented to it, as he did to the other deplorable incidents of his reign, under compulsion from stronger and much worse men. As early as 1628, however, the storm broke about Christmas time, and for more than two years the most barbarous cruelties were exercised upon the Catholic population. It must be borne in mind that excommunication on the part of the Protestant ministers carried with it civil outlawry. Those who incurred this sham excommunication were turned out of their houses and cast adrift; sickness, old age, infancy, the sorrows of motherhood could plead no exemption. The annual letter to the father general of the Society of Jesus (Vitelleschi) for 1629 states that midwives were even instructed to cause, directly or indirectly, the death or ruin in health of the children they helped to bring into the world and of their mothers. Father Forbes Leith quotes a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* (Vol. xxvi.), who asserts that "the complete extirpation of the Catholic Church, not merely as a public establishment, but as a tolerated sect, was the avowed object of our Scottish Reformers . . . even to massacre the Catholics, man, woman and child." No tenants were allowed to pay their rents to a Catholic landlord, but the amount due was to be paid into the Exchequer. No debts were recoverable by Catholic creditors. The horrible penalty of high treason was incurred by all who were excommunicate, and who either joined in Catholic rites, gave hospitality to a priest or neglected to assist at heretical sermons and to receive the Protestant communion. While there is no evidence that this extreme penalty was ever put into execution, it can easily be imagined, in times of such unrestrained license, that no Catholic could feel secure in life or limb under such legislation.³

The brave old Marquis of Huntly, one of the pillars and chief protectors of the Catholic cause and people, was a special mark for the hatred of the Puritans, and by an apparent refinement of cruelty his eldest son, Lord Gordon, whom King James had compelled to be brought up with the Royal Princes as an Anglican, was nominated "commissioner for suppressing Popery in the north" at the close of 1629. It seems clear that Gordon was at heart a convinced Catholic; in any case, he placed his authority in the hands of three "vicars" for the time being, and even when compelled to act used what delay and evasion he could consistently with his own personal and political safety. The result of this outburst, in addition to terrible suffering and heavy loss, was, as Father James Macbreck, S. J., writes to Fr.

³ Almost more brutal than all else, the children of Catholics were torn from their parents and forcibly brought up in heresy. To this abominable practice we owe the apostasy of several of our leading families.

General Vitelleschi in October, 1631, "every day some leave their country and their possessions for their religion."

In the following year, however, the persecution slackened in vehemence, the King setting himself against the cruelties of the Calvinistic party and writing to the Council in Edinburgh that he recognized the Catholics as his faithful subjects and desired that they should be left in peace. On June 18, 1633, Charles was crowned King of Scotland in the church of Holyrood, and Father James Leslie gives a long account of the ceremonial used on the occasion—the Protestant rite, then as now, differing but little from the mediæval. The King's determination to introduce a somewhat modified Anglicanism into Scotland, as to rites as well as government, set the two Protestant parties at each other's throats, and this domestic strife gave a breathing space to the Catholics, who increased greatly in numbers at this time. But the troubles of the "White King" soon gathered around him. The Puritan element in England and Scotland alike, though by no means in sympathy with the majority of the people, was, as ever, noisy, violent, cruel and intolerant and succeeded in overturning all government in the State, as it had in the previous century grown to power on the ruins of the Church. Within a very few years of the Edinburgh coronation the south of Scotland was largely in the hands of the rebel Covenanters—a party which, whatever the mistaken zeal and sincerity of some of its members, was simply the outward expression of all that was most narrow, tyrannical and intolerant in the kingdom. The tyranny of autocracy is mild beside the tyranny of political nonconformity! The liberty claimed by Puritans is the liberty to extinguish all freedom but their own.

The dismal story of the sufferings of Catholics at the hands of these fanatics is brightened by the record of new gains to the Church, which included a prominent doctor of Aberdeen University, and by the brilliant story of the campaigns of the gallant Marquis of Montrose, who though himself a Protestant, had the greatest respect for the ancient faith and welcomed Catholics to his standard on account of their proved loyalty. In spite of all they had suffered, they were loyal to the Royal House and the settled government of the country. The Puritans turned rebels as soon as the proceedings of either did not please them. Time after time history has proved in this way who are the citizens upon whom a government or a country may rely. The most enlightened nations all recognize the fact. A great republic like the United States, or a monarchy with immense personal powers such as Germany, are alike in this. To declare war, as France has done, on the Catholic Church, is to proclaim national decadence and governmental imbecility.

The troubles that led to the tragedy of Whitehall and the protectorate naturally bore with special hardness on Catholics, though Anglican Protestants were now their fellow-sufferers. At the beginning of 1644 so severe was the persecution that Father Macbreck could write to father general that he was the only member of the society who had managed to remain in Scotland. With Montrose's army, however, there was more than toleration. A number of clergy accompanied the Scottish and Irish Catholic troops, Mass was openly celebrated and the consolations of the sacraments afforded to the soldiers, whose piety seems to have been genuine and fervent. The disastrous defeat and massacre of Philiphaugh at length sealed the fate both of Montrose and of the King's cause in Scotland, while the cold-blood atrocities committed at the instigation of the Puritan ministers stained their party with deep and indelible infamy.

One of the most memorable confessors for the faith at this time was Father Andrew Leslie, S. J., who after sixteen years of devoted worth and much danger and suffering on the Scottish mission was seized at Inverness in May, 1647, and imprisoned in Aberdeen jail for over a year. He trusted that the crown of martyrdom awaited him, and the intention of his persecutors seems unquestionably to have been to murder him by starvation and disease. He was eventually released and banished, made his way to the Scots college at Douay in much suffering, and then to Rome, where he became rector of the Scots college. In 1652 he returned to Scotland—so a later hand states on the MS. in which he describes his sufferings with the simplicity and modesty of a true saint; but to our deep regret no information exists, so far as is known, of when or how so noble a life came to a close.

On May 29, 1660, the King came to his own again. Charles II. is a man who has been probably much misjudged both by his contemporaries and later critics. There seems no doubt that the Merry Monarch was at heart a Catholic during the whole of his reign, though he was only reconciled by Father Huddleston on his death-bed. The roystering merriment (to call it by no worse a name) in which he seemed to delight covered a fervent desire to bring back his country to the obedience of the faith and a firm determination to effect this, if it were compatible with the keeping of his throne. Under happier circumstances Charles would have left behind him, probably, the name of a religious, wise and strong monarch. He certainly desired to extend toleration to his Catholic subjects in recognition of their splendid loyalty to his father and himself; but the anti-Catholic spirit, both Anglican and Puritan, was too strong. Yet in spite of parliamentary enactments, the state of Catholics in both Scotland and England greatly improved during the first years

of the new reign. The number of converts was wonderful, and their fervor recalled that of the early days of the faith. They had much to suffer at the hands of relations as well as ministers and magistrates. A touching story is told of a girl of good family whom Divine grace brought to the Church. Her Puritan father (no doubt merely a type of his class) twice flogged her pitilessly in the presence of the assembled and horrified household, in spite of the remonstrances of her mother and brother. He then imprisoned her in a "secret chamber," and for two years tried to break her constancy by various forms of suffering. At length his heart was touched. Her parents, filled with respect for her courage and truthfulness, gave her even an added share of their affection as well as of their property, and she had the happiness of becoming the wife of an excellent man, son of a Catholic nobleman, who was attracted to her in the first instance by her heroic virtue. This brave girl was but one of many, of every age and both sexes, who rejoiced to be counted worthy to suffer for the name of the Divine Master.⁴ No wonder that the Church at this time grew in numbers as well as sanctity, and that the holiness of many of her children was attested, as various letters bear witness, by miraculous favors. No wonder, too, that the malice of her enemies was aroused to greater efforts of cruelty.

In 1670, to the astonishment of many and the indignation of all the better Protestants, the Privy Council issued an order to the effect that all the penal laws against Catholics should be put into immediate execution. The occasion and pretended justification of this barbarity was the refusal of a young Catholic nobleman to remove his hat, when requested to do so by the Calvinistic ministers, during the burning of "certain witches" at Aberdeen—one of the numerous atrocities of this kind committed during the seventeenth century, both in England and Scotland, by the men of the "reformed" religion. The young man's act "was denounced as a mark of public contempt for the Protestant religion on the part of all the Catholics of the kingdom." During the remainder of the King's reign persecution continued in greater or less degree, while the infamous lies of Titus Oates brought renewed suffering to the Catholics, a traitor's death to some, both priests and laymen, and imprisonment on suspicion to two thousand persons. This appalling instance of how a government and the majority of a whole nation can be deceived by

⁴ The Jesuit Fathers, it should be remarked, exercise an extraordinary, but no doubt necessary, caution in their letters with respect to the use of names, so that we are left in ignorance, in almost every case, as to the individuality of those of whose heroism we read. "Sunt quorum non est memoria;" yet "nisi eorum propter illos in æternum manent: semen eorum et gloria eorum non derelinquetur."

the preposterous fictions of an unredeemed scoundrel belongs, however, to English history and only indirectly affected Scotland.

It is impossible to study the short reign of King James II. and VII. without the sad reflection being incessantly forced on the student that here was the grandest opportunity lost, through no evil intention or lack of many of the qualities that make a good ruler, by a really devout and able man. We are compelled to conclude with Father Forbes Leith that James seemed "incapable of understanding difficulties." If the King had followed the counsel of Rome, and imitated that "mora" which is so characteristic of the wisdom of the Eternal City, the history of Great Britain might have been a brighter and less blood-stained record. Yet there was much to excuse any man in his position. He had grown up with the Stuart convictions as to the extent of the royal prerogative; he had been welcomed enthusiastically by the nation on his accession, and the Catholic cause was still strong in the country. When the Papal Legate came to court, his cross borne before; when a Vicar Apostolic was consecrated in the banqueting hall of Whitehall, and when the Holy Sacrifice was again offered in public, it must have seemed to the long-suffering Catholics as if their time of struggle was at an end, and the "second spring" was about to dawn for England and Scotland a century and a half before it actually came. Besides, the King's declaration ensured liberty of conscience for all his subjects, and he might well expect that a common boon would meet with common gratitude. But the Puritan spirit is implacable; it is never content with freedom for itself so long as other people have freedom also. Liberty of conscience is its supreme abhorrence; better rebellion, torrents of blood and unspeakable suffering for the innocent than that other men should worship God according to their convictions. Happily Protestants have long ago declined to be dominated by this spirit of ignorant hatred, and it would be utterly untrue and unfair to imagine that even in the darkest times there were not thousands of non-Catholics who refused to become its slaves.

The Revolution of 1688 brought renewed persecution. William of Orange, himself a man totally devoid of personal religion, so far as appears, had to pose as the Protestant champion and to yield to the clamors of the noisiest and most insistent of those who had helped to place him on King James' throne. This period was, however, marked by the definite organization of the Scottish mission, the Rev. Thomas Nicholson being in 1694 nominated by Innocent XII. Bishop of Peristachium *in partibus infidelium* and Vicar Apostolic in Scotland. For 184 years, until the restoration of the hierarchy in 1878 by Leo XIII., the Scottish Catholics were thus governed. Bishop Nicholson was consecrated on February 27, 1695, and for

more than eleven years bore single-handed his apostolic burden, until the appointment of Mr. James Gordon as coadjutor in 1706. The heroism, sufferings and labors, not only of these earliest Scottish vicars of the Holy See, but of their successors, adorn some of the brightest pages of the history of the Church militant. The missionary journeys among the almost pathless mountains and to the farthest outlying islands were experiences that, in those times and under such conditions, demanded the courage of a confessor.

The penal times dragged on their weary length. Under Queen Anne (who granted toleration to Scottish Anglicans) and the first two Georges one anti-Catholic bill after another was passed by the United Parliament, and there was at frequent intervals a recrudescence of active persecution. Mr. Thompson testifies that as late as 1710 "the ministers formed a design to extirpate Catholics and the Catholic religion out of Scotland by sheer force," and ascribes to this intention the foundation of the Scottish "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." The temper of government was, however, becoming milder, and Mr. Carnegie, one of the Scottish clergy, was sent to London on behalf of his Catholic fellow-countrymen. He was successful in gaining the support of the Duke of Queensberry and Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for England, and orders were sent forbidding any Catholic to be molested on religious grounds. The risings of 1715 and 1745 for the restoration of the exiled King brought new and grievous trouble. Many Catholics had, naturally, espoused the cause of James III. and VIII., but the Church was not in the least degree committed as such to the support of any particular dynasty. The political question, however, was an excellent pretext for fresh cruelties, and once more the Catholics found fellow-sufferers in the proscribed and cruelly oppressed Anglicans. With the reign of George III., however, a better state of things began to dawn. There were still instances of disgraceful intolerance, but government was determined to clip the wings of the persecutors.

Relief was at hand, but there were still some hard battles to be fought. And, apart from all definite acts of persecution, there was in these later decades of the eighteenth century a sense of exhaustion and a kind of hopeless content so long as there was no active appeal to the penal statutes on the enemy's part. "There were no signs of the times from which any could have gleaned that the season of hope was at hand."⁸ A more subtle form of cruelty than that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had for several generations worn down the spirit of the Catholics of Great Britain. What a recent French novelist says of the plan of action pursued by the

⁸ Dr. Burton's "Life and Times of Bishop Challoner," Vol. II, p. 180.

anti-religious French Government to-day is true, almost word for word, of the treatment meted out to English and Scottish Catholics in the later times of their outlawry from the national life. "The state of things was just enough to damp their energies instead of rousing them. This was exactly the aim of those who had organized this persecution, in which the weapons were fines and summonses. The persecutors calculated on the depressing effects of a daily struggle against petty worries and attacks, limits to thought and action, discomfort, poverty leading to starvation, and at least inevitable shrinkage. They profited by their ancestors' experiences. . . . They knew that martyrs are very troublesome folk to get rid of, and that when once the axe has been set going, it has a queer knack of cutting off the judges' heads after the victims."⁶

To trace the various steps that finally led to the initial measure of relief for Scotland would require a separate article. But there is one name that stands out in the history of the last years of the penal laws and the first of the new state of things which can never be mentioned without deepest reverence and admiration, and which cannot be omitted when those years are in question—the name of George Hay, the Edinburgh physician, born in 1729, of Protestant parents, a loyal follower of Prince Charlie (on which account he suffered imprisonment in London), received into the Church on his return to Scotland in 1748 by Father John Seton, S. J., ordained at Rome on Holy Saturday, 1758, and on Trinity Sunday, 1769, consecrated, at Scanlan, Bishop of Daulis in *partibus infidelium* and Vicar Apostolic of the Lowland District. One of the greatest of the vicars of the Holy See in Scotland, that country owes him to the most illustrious of the English vicars; for it was the influence of Bishop Challoner that led George Hay first to turn his thoughts to the priesthood. It was Bishop Hay's wisdom, patience and untiring devotion to the cause that was the chief factor in the passing of the Scottish relief act of 1793. The corresponding act for England had become law fifteen years earlier,⁷ and but for a strange jealousy of episcopal coöperation on the part of the English committee, it seems certain that Scotland would have been included in that measure. That opportunity once passed, riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the following year and the Gordon riots in London in 1780 delayed for long the first measure of justice. Sydney Smith might well write some years later: "If ever a nation exhibited symptoms of downright madness or utter stupidity, we conceive these symptoms may be easily recognized in the conduct of this

⁶ "For My Name's Sake." Translated from the French of Champot's "*Soeur Alexandrine*" by L. M. Legget, p. 124.

⁷ A further and much more extensive Relief Act had also been passed for England in 1791.

country upon the Catholic question."⁸ The leaders of both political parties, however, were happily not obsessed like so many of their fellow-countrymen. The Anglican Bishops had the wisdom not to oppose a measure of toleration; indeed, the name of Bishop Horsley, of St. David's, deserves to be ever gratefully remembered by Catholics for his generous and large-hearted assistance in the work of emancipation. In Scotland there were leading Presbyterians who no less earnestly helped in the good work. Principal Campbell, of Aberdeen, who several years before had preached against the Catholics, now appeared as their champion in an able pamphlet. A sermon to the same effect was preached before the Aberdeen Synod, and the magistrates of the "Granite City" joined in the determination to allow no such anti-Catholic tumults within their jurisdiction as had disgraced Edinburgh and Glasgow. Principal Robertson, head of the University of Edinburgh, the learned and illustrious historian of his own country and of Charles V., was warm in his support of toleration, and in the *Scots Magazine* for 1779 he describes how the Protestant agitators had treated him: "My character as a man, as a citizen and as a minister of the Gospel has been delineated in the most odious colors. I have been represented as a pensioner of the Pope, as an agent for Rome, as the tool of a King and a Ministry bent on overturning the Protestant religion. In pamphlets, in newspapers and handbills I have been held out to an enraged mob as the victim who deserved to be next sacrificed, after they had satiated their vengeance on a Popish Bishop. My family has been disquieted; my house has been attacked; I have been threatened with pistols and daggers; I have been warned that I was watched in my going out and coming home; the time has been set beyond which I was not to live, and for several weeks hardly a day passed on which I did not receive incendiary letters."

All that was best in the kingdom was thus united on the question, and thus on June 3, 1793, the royal assent was affixed to the Scottish relief act, and henceforward Catholics were free to follow their consciences without let or hindrance; their lives, persons and property were alike secure. Thirty-six years, however, had still to run before they were to take their place on a footing of absolute equality with their fellows as members of the body politic. And the full measure of justice is still lacking. While any restrictions remain on the statute book that hinder the Sovereign, the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from sharing the liberty of the humblest subject in matters of religious faith and practice, Scottish and English Catholics have still cause to complain that entire freedom is yet to win. We may have to wait long for it, but come it

⁸ *Edinburgh Review*, 1807.

will some day. Puritan ignorance, prejudice and intolerance are not immortal.

Such memoirs as those which Father Forbes Leith's scholarship and historical insight have now given to the world—in such English that the rendering of the Latin documents reads like an original record—should enlighten for all time the obscurity that has too long surrounded the history of the Church in Scotland during her days of suffering. To what glorious effect the Bishops, priests and laity of those times endured and held fast the truth in the face of unspeakable wrong and when to human sight all seemed hopeless, the present state of Scottish Catholics bears witness. Men are still living who have spoken with those who remembered the pressure of the penal statutes. Even half a century ago the spirit of Puritanism prevailed sufficiently to make Scottish Catholics a body more or less isolated, even in secular concerns, from the mass of their fellow-countrymen. Now every day sees the mists of ignorance and hatred dispersing beneath the restored beams of truth and charity. When the relief bill of 1793 became law Catholics in Scotland numbered perhaps 30,000; at the time of the emancipation of 1829, about 70,000; to-day, some 520,000. The immigration from Ireland has no doubt much to do with this immense increase, but is by no means the only factor in the result. We hear almost daily of conversions among the Scottish people. The numerous religious houses scattered all over the country are so many centres of new life and progress, and it was only in 1835 that the first of these—the Ursuline Convent of St. Margaret's, Edinburgh—was opened through the zeal of Mr., afterwards Bishop, Gillis; and the splendid, strong faith of the Highland Catholics, that never wavered in the worst fires of suffering, is bearing fruit worthy of itself to-day.

Outside the Catholic Church there is a no less remarkable change of feeling. As across the border, though in a less marked degree, Scottish Anglicans are steadily approximating in both belief and ceremonial to the Church of which they would fain believe themselves to be a part. There are but few "advanced" churches, as advancement is reckoned say in London or Brighton; but that there is a steady movement in the Catholic direction is shown by the number of conversions from the Anglican body. The Established Presbyterian Church has developed to an extraordinary degree in the same direction. A Presbyterian minister some years ago remarked to the writer that what his Church needed so grievously was restored devotion to the Mother of God! A business man belonging to the United Presbyterian body has told the writer that he rejoiced to see the country turning back towards the old faith, "because," he said, "it's the only religion that can reach the masses." No doubt a great

deal of lately introduced ceremonial in the Established Church is æsthetic, not doctrinal, in its origin, but the minds and eyes of Presbyterians are being constantly trained for something more definite in the future. And besides all this, there is a steadily growing current of increased sympathy and large-hearted mutual respect between Catholics and their separated friends. The spirit of the so-called "reformation"—the spirit of deliberate heresy and schism—is by no means dead, but it is stricken mortally. There is a desire for a better understanding and a sense that separation cannot be a permanent ideal. Good feeling between Catholics and Protestants is almost universal. There is, indeed, a knot of survivals from the Covenanters' days and imbued with their spirit. There are a few men who go about spreading the grossest calumnies and striving to stir up strife and hatred, and who naturally attract to their party hooligans of no religion, but who delight in a row of whatever kind. Catholics can afford to smile at these gentry, so far as they really do any harm to the Church; but they are the shame of their own co-religionists. Protestants of good will, of honor, truth and decency are revolted by their lies and their campaign of abuse and slander, and their influence on the thinking people of Scotland is practically *nil*. If it were not that they have command of a well-filled treasury in the shape of a "trust" left for the propagation of Protestantism by such methods, the whole campaign would collapse. In the meantime it is useful as drawing attention to the Catholic religion, and by the very vileness of the means employed inclining thoughtful men in the direction of the faith.

The night has indeed been full of heaviness and the dawn slow and chequered by many clouds of disappointment. But the day has come, though it is far as yet from the fullness of the sunshine.

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Eskbank, Midlothian.

THE PARABLE OF "THE LABORERS IN THE VINEYARD."

OF this parable Archbishop Trench remarks that it stands only second to that of the unjust steward in the number of explanations which have been proposed for it, and that it is hardly less—if, indeed, it is less—difficult than that parable.

27. Then Peter answering, said to him: Behold we have left all things, and have followed thee: what therefore shall we have?

28. And Jesus said to them: Amen I say to you, that you, who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the son of man shall sit on the seat of his majesty, you also shall sit on twelve seats judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

29. And every one that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake shall receive an hundred fold, and shall possess life everlasting.

30. But many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first.

St. Matthew xix., 27-30.

1. The kingdom of heaven is like to an householder, who went out early in the morning to hire laborers into his vineyard.

2. And having agreed with the laborers for a penny a day, he sent them into his vineyard.

3. And going out about the third hour, he saw others standing in the market-place idle.

4. And he said to them: Go you also into my vineyard, and I will give you what shall be just.

5. And they went their way. And again he went out about the sixth and the ninth hour, and did in like manner.

6. But about the eleventh hour he went out and found others standing, and he saith to them: Why stand you here all the day idle?

7. They say to him: Because no man hath hired us. He saith to them: Go ye also into my vineyard.

8. And when evening was come, the lord of the vineyard saith to his steward: Call the laborers and pay them their hire, beginning from the last even to the first.

9. When therefore they were come that came about the eleventh hour, they received every man a penny.

10. But when the first also came, they thought that they should receive more; and they also received every man a penny.

11. And receiving it they murmured against the master of the house,

12. Saying: These last have worked but one hour, and thou hast made them equal to us, that have borne the burden of the day and the heats.

13. But he answering said to one of them: Friend, I do thee no wrong: didst thou not agree with me for a penny?

14. Take what is thine, and go thy way: I will also give to this last even as to thee.

15. Or, is it not lawful for me to do what I will? Is thy eye evil because I am good?

16. So shall the last be first, and first last. For many are called, but few chosen.

St. Matthew xx., 1-16.

All manner of answers have been proposed to the radical question, What is the primary lesson of the parable? Some would see the main lesson in the fact that all received the same reward; others insist that we are taught that God rewards not so much the length of service as the intensity of it; others, again, single out the different hours at which the various bands were called to work as being the principal lesson, while many of the fathers seem to see the rejection of the Jews as taught in this parable. Trench points out the weak spot in all these views and himself suggests the view which we fancy claims the suffrages of most expositors—namely, that the parable

is directed against a wrong temper and spirit of mind as betrayed in St. Peter's question, "We have left all things and have followed Thee; what therefore shall we have?"

With this conclusion we agree, but Trench arrives at it rather by a process of elimination than by the application of exegetical principles. Let us see, then, whether by the application of sound principles of exegesis we can determine the precise meaning and scope of this parable.

It will, perhaps, help us to arrive at a conclusion if we examine two commentaries on this parable which are to be found among the works of St. Chrysostom.

In the Benedictine edition of St. Chrysostom we find two sets of homilies on St. Matthew. The one contains fifty-four homilies and is commonly known as the "*Opus Imperfectum*." It is not really in homiletic form, but proceeds from chapter to chapter like any commentary. Neither is it the work of St. Chrysostom, hence its author is generally referred to as Pseudo-Chrysostom. The second collection of homilies is the genuine work of the saint. It covers the whole Gospel, and is made up of ninety-one homilies which form a continuous commentary. It will be of interest to compare the exposition of the parable before us as presented in these two collections.

In the "*Opus Imperfectum*" Hom. xxxiii. deals with St. Matthew xix., and concludes with an examination of the words, "But many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first." On this Pseudo-Chrysostom remarks that by the "first" is represented the synagogue—first called, but languishing. Then comes the Church, rising superior, by faith, to this languor; and then the synagogue, seeing the Church thus made the Daughter of God, comes in her turn to Christ.

Homily xxxiv. opens with the parable in question. There is no word of introduction nor of indication that its explanation is to be sought in St. Peter's previous question. The "hours" at which the laborers are summoned represent the calling of Adam, Noe, Abraham, etc. It is well pointed out that only those called at the eleventh hour say, "No man hath hired us." This, says the author, is because the Jews, who are represented by those called at the earlier hours, could not have said it with truth, whereas the Gentiles, called at the eleventh hour, could truly say that they had had no preachers. On the words "beginning from the last even to the first" we are told that since the "first"—viz., the Jews—had become holy by "works," whereas the Gentiles had become so by "grace," and since, too, we are more inclined to make presents than to pay our debts, the "householder" began with the Gentiles, to whom he

had no obligations. With true insight the author remarks on these "murmurers" that they grumbled not so much as though they felt themselves defrauded, but rather because they disliked seeing the last-comers get more than they had strictly earned. He then comes to the corollary which Our Lord appends to the parable: "So shall the last be first and the first last," and here he remarks on the fact that the parable had been set forth in order to explain these same words, which stand at the end of the previous chapter; but he does not note the fact that the order is now inverted to fit the parable. Neither does he appear to realize the difficulties in the parable and its corollary. He does see, however, that whereas the parable set forth an absolute equality of rewards the corollary indicated the very reverse, for he says: "He called the last first and the first last, not as signifying that the last were better than the first, but merely that they were made equal to them." This is, indeed, the teaching of the parable, but it can hardly be extracted from the words "the first shall be last," etc. At the same time Pseudo-Chrysostom endeavors to meet this difficulty by referring to a remarkable passage in IV. Esdras v., 41-42, where God is represented as saying, "*Coronae assimilabor iudicium Meum, sicut non novissimorum tarditas, sic nec priorum velocitas.*" No part of a crown or circle, remarks Pseudo-Chrysostom, can be said to be before another.

Finally, on the concluding words of the corollary, "For many are called, but few are chosen," he says: "This does not refer to the Jews, but to the Gentiles"—a conclusion which certainly seems as uncalled for as it is unexpected!

S. Chrysostom, Hom. lxx., in Matthew xx. No one familiar with the exegetical style of St. Chrysostom could have possibly taken the foregoing homily for a genuine work of that saint, but when we turn to Homily lxx. in Matthew, which is among the undoubted works of St. Chrysostom, we feel at once that we are in the hands of a master. He begins with the question proposed by St. Peter in the previous chapter: "Behold we have left all things, and have followed Thee; what therefore shall we have?" For St. Chrysostom, as indeed for all commentators, this question is the key to the whole of what follows. But St. Chrysostom feels obliged to absolve St. Peter from any taint of ambition. He makes him say: "Not from any ambition or vain glory do I say this, but I speak in the person of the poor, lest any of them should think that because they have not much to offer they cannot arrive at the height of perfection." After dwelling on the promise made to the disciples that they should be His assessors in the judgment, and on that made to all who should imitate them in their self-renouncement—viz., that they should receive a hundredfold in this life and in the world to

come life everlasting—the saint says: “And then immediately our Saviour added: ‘But many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first.’ This He said indiscriminately of the many as well as of the unbelieving Pharisees. He then proposes a parable whereby He kindles the enthusiasm of those who are late-comers.” St. Chrysostom gives the parable in full and at once proceeds to point out the difficulties it involves. He does this with startling insistence and in a way which makes us wonder what kind of an audience he had; for he does not hesitate to put before them difficulties in the Gospel narrative which we nowadays would be chary of forcing upon people’s attention.

And first of all he asks how the parable can be said to agree with the corollary, “So shall the first be last, and the last first?” For the parable insists on equality of rewards, whereas the corollary is clearly indicative of a remarkable inequality. Again, if the different “hours” at which the laborers are called are to be taken as signifying the different ages of the world in which men were called to the service of God and were approved for their service, how can we conceive of those first called, and presumably now in the possession of the kingdom, breaking out into murmurings?

It is most interesting, from the exegetical point of view, to see how St. Chrysostom solves these difficulties. He begins with the second, how, namely, the saints could murmur. After dwelling at great length on the difficulty and presenting it in various ways, he solves it by saying: “He called it a *parable*, and in parables we must not torture ourselves about the force of every single word. We must find out what is meant by any particular parable, and when we have made our profit out of that, we have no need to make further anxious inquiries. Why, then, was this parable set forth and what was His precise purpose in telling us this (about the murmuring)? He wished to kindle the enthusiasm of those who were advanced in years, and to show them that they must not think that they would therefore have a less reward. Hence he introduces into His story some who cavil at the blessedness of these latter, and this—not to show that they who cavilled were filled with envy—but to show how great a reward was offered even to those advanced in years, since it could become a subject of envious murmurings.”

This is bold exegesis. Trench rejects it as “untenable,” though he nowhere states his reasons for so doing. We shall return to it at a later period.

St. Chrysostom then asks what precise teaching is intended by the parable. He answers that Our Lord hints that all emanates from His mercy, and that for this reason those who come at the last hour shall not fail, but shall receive an unspeakable

reward. And this leads him to the first difficulty he had proposed—viz., how does the parable agree with the corollary to it? The parable teaches apparently that all will be equal; the corollary—"so shall the last be first," etc.—seems to teach the very opposite. St. Chrysostom acutely notes that these words are not really the conclusion of the parable, but, as we have been careful to term them, a species of corollary. "Our Lord," he says, "does not draw this conclusion from the parable, but shows that just as it came to pass (in the parable) that, contrary to expectation, all received the same reward, so will come to pass what is far more remarkable—namely, that the last shall be first and the first last. The parable is one thing, this (the corollary) is another."

St. Chrysostom concludes by saying that the final words, "For many are called, but few chosen," are to be referred to the Jews and to some of the faithful who first shone with virtue and then relapsed, whereas others turned away from their iniquities and became conspicuous for their virtue.

These commentaries undoubtedly contain many beautiful things, but from the exegetical standpoint they cannot be considered absolutely satisfactory. In judging of their value it should not be forgotten that they are always homilies—*i. e.*, sermons preached to the people. But the preacher's duty is to make such moral applications of the parables as shall tend to the spiritual formation of their hearers, as St. Chrysostom himself says in this very homily: "Christ rarely discussed dogmatic questions; on the contrary, He was always occupied in teaching us how to live well." Hence St. Chrysostom and the fathers in general were, as preachers, only concerned with the literal sense of the Scripture in so far as it was necessary to grasp it if we would derive from it any spiritual profit. And the charm of St. Chrysostom's expositions lies in this—that, even in these homilies, he does so insist on the literal sense, but he never discusses it for its own sake when he is treating of the Gospels; the moment he has, so to speak, cleared the ground he develops the moral application. But when we turn to his homilies upon the Epistles we find him driven to be very exact in determining the precise literal sense, because he finds it otherwise well nigh impossible to decide what St. Paul's teaching is. The sense of Scripture is, as we know, that which is conveyed by *the words and the things or persons*. From the former we derive the literal sense; from the latter, the mystical or spiritual sense. But the latter is essentially founded on the former, and though we can give moral applications to detached portions of Scripture, yet it cannot be said that these applications are really the spiritual sense of Scripture; they are

rather accommodated senses. They can only be termed the "mystical" sense when they are derived, not from the literal sense of an individual verse, but from that of the whole passage. And it seems to us that in the case of the "murmurers" in the parable under discussion we have a very notable instance of the difficulties into which expositors fall through neglect of this truth. It was all very well to interpret those who were called at different hours as representing the Patriarchs, etc., but commentators who did so necessarily found themselves in difficulties when they came to explain how it was that the Patriarchs broke out into complaints anent the admission of the Gentiles to an equal degree of glory with themselves. We have seen above how deeply St. Chrysostom felt this difficulty, and we have seen also the somewhat violent mode of escape he proposed. We must not be understood as opposed to such moral applications; they are the life of our souls and are the means by which we apply the Gospel teaching to ourselves, but we feel that such applications are not justified unless they are in accord with the *entirety* of the letter throughout any given section. It is true that in some parables—*e. g.*, that of the good Samaritan—the mystical sense is clear throughout, and we can, as it were, trace the figure of the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of our souls in every detail; but it is not so in all the parables. Nor must we suppose that because the mystical sense is not clear, it is therefore absent; nor that we are not to endeavor to find a mystical signification except where it leaps to the eyes. Far from it. All we insist on is that the more careful we are in determining the precise literal signification of any passage, the more clearly will the true mystical sense appear and the more solidly will it be founded.

To return, then, to the expositions given above, whether from Pseudo-Chrysostom or from St. Chrysostom himself, there are in them many points on which we feel that the exegete will not be satisfied. Thus St. Chrysostom has well pointed out that the key to the parable is St. Peter's question, "Ecce nos reliquimus omnia." But how many will be satisfied with his explanation of that question? Again, his treatment of the "murmurers" is masterly. No one can object to his view regarding the function of parables, but one cannot help feeling that if he had applied the same treatment to the remainder of the parable certain pitfalls would have been avoided. Thus if he sees in the different "hours" at which the laborers were called an allusion to the Patriarchs, he has no right to regard those same Patriarchs as merely brought upon the stage to emphasize a point. If they were really intended by the laborers, they must have been equally really intended when they were spoken of as "murmuring." Further, St. Chrysostom nowhere develops the point

that the word, 'But many that are first shall be last, and the last first,' serve both as the introduction to the parable and also as the corollary to it. Neither does he seem to notice that the order is inverted in the corollary where we have, "So shall the last be first, and the first last."

Let us, then, examine the context of the parable in question and see whether a clear and connected statement of it may not enable us to arrive at a clearer idea of the teaching involved both in the parable itself and in the words, "But many that are first shall be last, and the last first." In chapter xix. begins what we may conveniently term "the Peraean preaching." It opens with the question of the Pharisees about divorce. Little children are then brought to Our Lord, after which the rich young man comes forward, and, being told that he must sell all that he has, departs sorrowful, whereupon Our Lord dwells upon the difficulty the rich shall experience in attaining to the kingdom of heaven. This leads up to Peter's question: "Behold *we have* left all things and have followed Thee; what therefore shall we have?" St. Chrysostom, as we have seen, rightly saw that this question motivated the parable, but he does not explain *how* it did so, and this, we fancy, is because of the strained interpretation he puts upon St. Peter's question, as given above. But St. Peter was not then a saint; he was a fisherman brought up in a narrow sphere and with all the prejudices of a Galilean. It is true that he had already made his confession of faith (xvi., 13-19), but that he was by no means fully illumined regarding "the kingdom" is clear both from the rebuke he immediately drew down upon himself—"Thou savorest not the things that are of God"—and from his subsequent fall. Hence it seems impossible to exonerate him from a certain amount of undue elation at the thought that he *had* left all. We have, then, to distinguish his question from the underlying spirit which prompted it, and only in this way can we do justice to the whole of Our Lord's answer. We say "the *whole* of Our Lord's answer," because in it there are several parts. The first part is contained in the words: "Amen I say to you, that you, who have followed Me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the seat of His majesty, you also shall sit on twelve seats judging the twelve tribes of Israel." This is the special reward of the Apostles. There then follows the promise to all who should later follow in their footsteps: "And every one that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands, for My Name's sake shall receive an hundredfold, and shall possess life everlasting."

So far Our Lord has answered the question, "What shall we have?" He now adds a solemn warning: "But many that are first

shall be last, and the last shall be first." In these words He states a fact. In the parable which immediately follows He illustrates this statement, as is evident from the repetition, after the parable, of the same words introduced by "so;" but the order is inverted—*i. e.*, He now says: "Thus shall the last be first and the first last"—and the rider is added: "For many are called, but few chosen."

As St. Chrysostom has so well pointed out, the parable is essentially a parable, and only holds good for the argument directly deducible from it. All other interpretations are accidental to it, though they are possible as long as they do not go against the plain sense of the letter taken as a whole. They were foreseen by the Holy Spirit, to whom the parable is due, and we were meant to make such applications according to our varying capacities and needs.

But it seems to us that for the real exegesis of the whole passage the reason for giving the warning contained in xix., 30, "But many that are first shall be last," etc., the warning itself, the parable which is meant to illustrate it and the repetition in xx., 16, of the words of warning must all be explained on the same lines—*i. e.*, no explanation which covers one portion, but does not cover another, can be accepted. Hence we have to ask four questions: (a) *Why* was this warning given? (b) *What* did it precisely mean? (c) *How* did the parable serve to illustrate it? (d) In what sense is it true that the first will be last and the last first?

The parable is the key to all these questions. We cannot explain the words of warning, neither their meaning nor their *raison d'être* until we have made up our minds as to the precise teaching meant to be conveyed by the parable. What, then, to repeat St. Chrysostom's question, was Our Lord's purpose in setting it forth? What was it meant to teach us? Answers innumerable have been suggested (see above), but few will quarrel with St. Chrysostom's solution—viz., that Our Lord's purpose is to teach us that all emanates from His mercy, as is shown by the words: "They also received every man a penny. . . . Friend, I do *thee* no wrong; didst thou not agree with Me for a penny? . . . I will also *give* to this last even as to thee. Is it not lawful for Me to *do what I will?*" In other words, the parable is not meant, at least primarily, to teach us that God is essentially just, nor that all in heaven will receive the same reward—though this latter is in a sense true—but that just as the householder in the parable rewarded the last-comers equally with those who had worked all the day, simply because he chose to do so, so also, though God will reward us all according to our merits and will thus fulfill all justice, yet even in so doing He is but exercising His prerogative of mercy. And here, so at least it seems to us, is the point which has proved a stumbling-block to

so many commentators, for many argue as though some would be rewarded in heaven for no merits at all; or if they fear to draw such a conclusion from the parable, they tell us that the lesson is that *we* are not the judges of a man's merits, and that those who seemingly have done far less than we who have been called at the first hour may yet have done far more in reality and in the eyes of God. But the implication underlying such an interpretation must necessarily be that those who were first called had grown slack in their work, a notion which cannot be justified by anything in the parable. Indeed, it should be noted that in the parable nothing is said about those who were called at the third, the sixth and the ninth hours; the contrast is solely between those who were called first and those who were called last, thus showing that the parable is meant to explain the words previously addressed to the Apostles, "But many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first." It is true that the reward given to the last-comers was due solely to the mercy of God, but is it any less true that the reward given to the first-comers was equally due to His mercy? If we understand the parable aright, its lesson is precisely this, that the whole, not merely the specially indulgent treatment meted out to the last-comers, is due to the Divine mercy. For the whole procedure of the "householder" is spontaneous; he goes out at all hours of the day, and that not for his own convenience, but for the profit of those whom he deigns to call. And if we now pass from the "householder" of the parable to Him who is thereby signified, it will be evident that in the order of grace not only was the offer of work in the vineyard purely gratuitous, but even the power to coöperate with the offer thus spontaneously made was also a gratuitous gift.

And the parable, when interpreted on these lines, affords a key to the interpretation of the other portions of Our Lord's answer. Those other portions are, as we have seen, the promise to the Apostles, the promise to all who should imitate them, the words of warning and the ultimate repetition of these latter as a species of corollary to the parable. The two promises, then, are attached to the free and spontaneous surrender of all for Christ's sake. This was an act of the *free-will* such as the rich young man had just refused to make; lest, then, the Apostles should begin to plume themselves on the sacrifice they had made, and so perhaps esteem themselves as better than others, Our Lord adds His word of solemn warning—viz., that it is not purely a question of *free-will*, but especially of *grace*. And this grace is set forth as having a three-fold function—the opportunity offered to the Apostles was gratuitously proposed to them, the power to coöperate was equally gratuitous and so also was the ultimate bestowal of the reward, since it

would far exceed their merits, as is indicated in the murmuring of some, according to St. Chrysostom's commentary given above.

If we now ask *why* these words of warning were spoken in xix., 30, we shall get no help from St. Chrysostom. He seems to regard them not so much as words of warning, but as a continuation of the promises made in the preceding verses to those who should leave all for Christ's sake. For he refers them to the Pharisees, as though Our Lord meant to say that the Apostles were not to think that they themselves would be at least inferior to their quondam guides who had "sitten in the chair of Moses," and St. Chrysostom repeats this when he comes to the same words at the close of the parable, though he also includes those Christians who have begun well, but afterwards fallen away. Neither does it seem possible to accept Cajetan's explanation, which he derives from his interpretation of St. Peter's question. In this he follows St. Chrysostom, at least in part, for he regards St. Peter as showing a certain dismay at the contrast between what he himself had left and what the rich young man might have left. He pictures St. Peter as supposing that the reward was to depend on the amount left rather than on the spontaneity with which we offer the little we are in a position to leave. Hence Cajetan understands the words "the first shall be last" as affording consolation to St. Peter, much as though Our Lord had said "it is not the first in this world, those namely who have the most to leave, who shall be the most rewarded; those who are the last in this world shall be the first in the next according to the completeness with which they make the sacrifice, not according to the amount they relinquish."

But if this was Our Lord's meaning, we may well ask why He added the parable at all, and still more how the parable served to illustrate His meaning? If, however, we agree that the parable primarily teaches us that all depends upon the mercy of God, we can understand *why* Our Lord spoke those words "the first shall be last," etc. They were intended to correct an underlying tendency to self-complacency as manifested in St. Peter's question, "You must indeed leave all for Me," Our Lord seems to say, "But remember that it is not merely a question of your free-will; it is a question of grace as well. You have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you. And just as I have chosen you, so also I may have chosen many others unknown to you, the seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal, and of whom Elias was ignorant when he said repeatedly, 'And I alone am left.' You ask how this can be? I will show you." Our Lord then spoke the parable in which, as we have already shown, all was a work of gratuitous mercy, and He concluded: "*So shall the last be first, and the first last.*"

The whole doctrine of this is wonderfully summed up in the invitatory of the Office for a Confessor according to the Dominican rite: "Confessorum Regem adoremus qui coelestis regni *meritum et gloriam* contulit sancto Suo."

When we have thus cleared the ground, so to speak, we can begin to cast about for symbolical explanations—*i. e.*, we can endeavor to see what the actors in the parable were figurative of; for, as pointed out above, it is not the words which supply the mystical sense, but the persons or things, though, of course, we can only arrive at the mystical signification of these latter by a study of the things said about them. And it is a remarkable fact that even the exegetes of the Alexandrian school who were insistent with regard to the literal sense as the foundation of all other interpretations, yet pass from the literal to the mystical without any hint that they are so doing. It is not that they were unaware of the distinction; they were fully conscious of it, but being preachers first and foremost, they naturally turned at once to the moral application of the parables. Thus for the majority of the Patristic Homilists on our present parable the "laborers" are the Patriarchs—*i. e.*, Adam, Abraham, Moses, etc. It is nowhere pointed out that this is not the literal sense of the parable, but the mystical. Indeed, it is not till we come to the later schoolmen that we find the distinction between the *parable* and the *sense of the parable* insisted on. This point is one of the distinguishing features of Cajetan's commentaries on the Gospels, and it is undoubtedly due to his care in always keeping these apart that his commentary is so exact. His treatment of the present parable affords us a good instance of his method, though, as we have seen above, his interpretation of the words of warning seem to call for improvement.

Thus St. Peter's question drew from Our Lord the most magnificent promises for those who should freely leave all and follow Him; but the possible self-complacency which underlay that question was checked by a word of warning—*viz.*, that rewards are not merely a question of justice, but of mercy; both are in the hands of God, who is a patient rewarder; it is not for us to judge His acts, and that though free-will must play its part, grace must play a far larger part.

HUGH POPE, O. P.

Rome, Italy.

SIR ROBERT ANDERSON'S "PARNELLISM AND CRIME."

IN a series of chapters published in *Blackwood's Magazine* since October last, and not yet concluded, an ex-official of the Home Office and Dublin Castle furnishes his biography from 1867 until he retired in 1901, with the respectable pension of £900 a year. What induced this gentleman, Sir Robert Anderson, a Knight of the Bath, to speak of many matters presented in his articles is plain enough from the temper of the documents, and can be also fairly enough inferred from the history of the Tory party ever since the great reform act of 1832 opened the constitution to the commercial classes and to the substantial mechanics and smaller shopkeepers. The act, having regard to the conditions of the time, was a great emancipation of industry, energy and ability, but the masses were left without political rights.

I am not prepared to say that the compromise made with the landed gentry was unwise. It may have saved England from a civil war, the issue of which would be hard to foresee. The army was in the hands of the oligarchy in Church and State, which controlled the King and treated all ranks outside the squirearchy and ecclesiastical magistracy¹ as they were treated under the early Plantagenets and again under the House of Tudor, when it was the privilege of blood and birth to rob merchants and shopkeepers, graziers and artisans on every road from York to London.² The "Peterloo Massacre" well enough indicates what the governing class was prepared to do. Rather than concede manhood suffrage or even household suffrage, the protection of the ballot and the disfranchisement of those seats of bargain and sale, the close boroughs, they were prepared for a new Edgehill without thinking that a Naseby and a Marston Moor and a Whitehall scaffold closed the history of the sovereign whom they had made the upholder of their violence and pride. The Whig leaders abandoned much and the advisers of the oligarchs sternly recommended them to concede a little in order to preserve a great deal.

This in brief is the story and extent of the great reform act, which Mr. Warren in his novel, "Ten Thousand a Year," sarcastically and mendaciously entitles the "act to give everybody everything." We are face to face to-day with issues important as those of the later twenties and earlier thirties of the nineteenth century. The only

¹ The squire-parsons, who are merciless on the country benches, are known as the "squarsons."

² The only police in Europe was the splendidly organized Holy Brotherhood in Spain at the time I speak of, viz., under the Tudors. I might add there was no effective police in England until Peel's.

utility I can conceive in Anderson's articles is that they uncover to a large extent the undying Bourbonese hatred of the landed gentry for everything that savors of democracy. He must have thought his articles useful; for he tells the reader that a friend informed him they would be of great service to the party. This, of course, explains their acceptance by the editor, a shrewd and able man, who could hardly have been impressed by the schoolboy horseplay of the Home Office, the vulgarity of the late Lord Morris and Killannin, which did duty as Irish wit; "the maiden speech" in the Historical Society of Trinity, when Anderson triumphed over his nervousness; the inanities and spitefulnesses in every page; the egregious vanity whose offensiveness is almost unmarked by consideration of its phenomenal folly. The editor, I say, must have seen that the revival of the terrible story told in the *Times* under the title "Parnellism and Crime" might utterly shatter the government of the poor man's budget, of the Lords' veto, of the licensing bill, of Welsh disestablishment, the avant-courier of English, of the one man one vote policy—in a word, the government by economic opportunity for all subjects of the Crown, whether they are Anglo-Saxon aliens, Irish helots or Scotch crofters on the fringes of ducal and lordly deer-forests.

Sir Robert Anderson was secretary to the Prison Commission, an office of sinister importance when one is aware that political prisoners were serving long terms, even in some cases terms for life. People have read of Russian dungeons and the visits of the tempter to the inmate. We had passionate appeals to civilized Europe to terminate the atrocities in Neapolitan and Venetian prisons, which prepared the way for the official and the informer to gloze on the beauties of nature in sky and air, mountain, river, wood to the broken-spirited, ragged, vermin-covered, manacled and fettered creature breathing fetid air in a place dark as the grave. Will those who have read of the approach of the Russian police officer, of the Austrian and Italian jailer be surprised that Fenian convicts in English jails were argumentatively requested to win freedom and reward by "recollecting" matters to convict Parnell or his colleagues of participation in dynamite plots or otherwise to aid the case of the *Times* before what we call the Parnell Commission? Sir Robert Anderson, who has claimed the authorship of the *Times* articles on which the act of Parliament constituting this commission was based, had the virtual control over access to the prisons in which the political offenders were incarcerated. He considers everything he has done, even the writing of the *Times* articles from information obtained as a commissioner of police in control of secret service, as performed in the pursuance of duty and therefore only deserving commendation.

It is not, then, a very violent assumption, apart from other sources of knowledge, if we suggest that he gave permits to visit the prisoners to the agents of the *Times*. The detectives and other persons who went on this work—their activity came out in cross-examination by Parnell's counsel—must have obtained the "permits" from some one belonging to the Prison Commission. I should find it hard to think an English gentleman would be a party to a proceeding of this kind. I am sure no Irish gentleman would be unless he was one of the detestable brood generated in the decomposition of subordinate Dublin Castle officialdom. Great crimes have been committed by high personages in that palace of violence and fraud, but they wore more the character of public acts in defiance or contempt of opinion than the subtle and chicane performances of the petty-fogger of Green street or the spy hunting for blood-money or any other creeping reptile of the Castle gate. It was from this abode of venality the arrangement went out under which counsel for men awaiting their trials on a charge of treason sent their briefs for perusal to the Crown; from this seat of fatal policy it was that "the deputy" of the superseded sheriff terrified jurors, bought jurors or drenched their brains with copious whisky until in their fear, or confusion, or purchase they found the required verdicts. It is idle to speak of this as ancient history. Sir Robert Anderson, Mr. Campbell,³ the Tory members who yelled the name "dynamitards" at the Irish members the other day, Mr. Balfour, who flung the entire blame for the creating of that monstrous tribunal, the Parnell Commission, on the man who had most to dread from its Tudor constitution and the prejudices of its members than any other—these men one and all prove that the passions, instincts, the hatred and the scorn which were the inspirations of Dublin Castle rule of old are the motives at the bottom of Tory government of four-fifths of the Irish nation to-day.

That Anderson's action may be better understood we shall change his autobiography into a biography, but condense it considerably. We have already mentioned that he held the post of secretary of the Prison Commission, and we have now to say in express terms that he was a Commissioner of Police and head of the criminal investigation department. He speaks of himself as "political adviser of the Home Secretary," and tells us that this high functionary was highest of all the Secretaries of State. This has no bearing on the action of the Home Office with regard to Parnell and the Irish members, except so far as Anderson might be supposed to hold the threads of the Fenian conspiracy in Ireland, England and America in his hands, and this by virtue of the superiority of the Home Office over the

³ Irish Attorney-General for the late Government.

Irish Office in London and that mysterious and Oriental-like home of absolutism, Dublin Castle.⁴

Taking the early part of his official existence into account, it appears that, according to a Treasury minute, his "service for pension" dates from 1867. Of course, we are not told of the services of that year. They do not appear in the civil service estimates or the Treasury accounts. We only know from Sir Robert Anderson that the Treasury is a sort of embodied meanness which refuses to pay volunteers or unplaced place-hunters, and gives its reasons in language not easily borne by impostors. At any rate the Treasury clerks were beaten and the unrecorded services of 1867 must have been paid there and then and counted as the beginning of his pension date.

That he had a right to recognition for services in that year any one must admit who has any knowledge of the devious and unscrupulous paths of political service in Ireland. That was the year the most formidable, because the most capable of the American Fenians were expected in Ireland and England. There were some Americans in hiding in both countries. It appears there was a brisk manufacture and sale of revolvers in England and an exportation of them to Ireland, while some of the lesser Irish leaders who had not been made amenable in 1865-6 were visiting various parts of the country in disguise. I have no doubt all this was known to Anderson in London, as it was known in every apartment of the Castle and every police barrack in Ireland. The habeas corpus act had been suspended; so there was ample power to force the movement underneath the surface. Instead of doing this, the police and their sub-inspectors contented themselves with irritating persons whom they disliked or who were obnoxious to the small gentry in the commission of the peace as agents of estates,⁵ and who in this way made themselves prominent.

Some thirty Irish-Americans crossed the ocean in a small vessel at this time, but were arrested on their landing on the west coast. I have an idea that all, or most of them, had passed through the

⁴ The claims put forward for the Home Office are technically correct, and the statement that the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant is not one of the principal Secretaries of State may be admitted. I question the view that the Lord Lieutenant is under the control of the Home Secretary, although the late Isaac Butt thought so. *Byrne v. Hartington* would contradict him.

⁵ I confess I cannot understand that time. I can say the police officers and their men behaved with great fairness to the body of the people. I am inclined to think that when some over-zealous magistrates and others desired persons to be subjected to domiciliary visits or to be arrested they were not always gratified. A prudent R. M. can keep a district in peace which the ordinary practices would drive to insurrection.

changes of the Civil War on one side or the other and had held rank as commissioned officers. One regrets it, it is so much of the old, old story, but if his historic memory goes back passionately to those who came from the Danube and the Guadalquivir, the Seine and the Maine, when the first really Irish Parliament exercised sovereign power for a brief period in Kilkenny, he cannot deny at least his admiration to those gallant gentlemen who came as a forlorn hope in 1867 to redress seven centuries of contumely—contumely harder to bear than infinite inexpressible wrongs. Men can die as in the dragonnades of Elizabeth and Cromwell, or starve as in the footsteps of fire left by Mountjoy and Carew and a thousand others, but to be called ferocious savages or cowards without the gall to make oppression bitter, by every scribe who lives by libel, by every spouter who earns the wages of mendacity on the platforms of Chamberlain and Balfour demands a patience which only an immortal hope for the yet unborn can confer.

As I was saying, Anderson held office for the Home Department in connection with crime generally, and political crime in particular, but as I understand he did not in 1867 play the part of a secret policeman in Dublin Castle so much as that of an illuminator of witnesses. If any one in prison under a charge of treason preferred the witness-box to the dock, why, Mr. Robert Anderson, barrister-at-law, could prove himself a guide, philosopher and friend. The instruction of the informer Massey opened a career to the young barrister. He was receiving briefs already from his brother, Mr. Lee Anderson, Crown Solicitor at the Castle, which means Crown Solicitor for all Ireland. It is significant that Anderson never appeared in the prosecutions in Green street in 1867. Could it be possible that counsel for the Crown refused to act with him? This is a question I should like to have answered. If Sir Robert Anderson was *persona grata* to Liberal and Tory Home Secretaries; if he were on terms of domestic intimacy with them; if the fierce old Liberal, Sir William Harcourt, paid court to him while snubbing great officers of state, I should wish to know if he were such an abomination to Irish law officers and their colleagues, why was he so unsavory? What caused the professional putrefaction? For the sake of the most honorable institution in the world, for what at one time was the greatest bar in the world, I should like to know the inner merits of this dissociation. It is a plain matter. It is not involved in the shrouds of motive like Mr. Smith's offer of the services of Sir R. Webster, the Tory Attorney-General, to Parnell as his counsel. Mr. Smith, as leader of the House of Commons, controlled the situation, but he did not control the Attorney-General. The latter must have assented to the chivalrous rôle of defending

Parnell from the conspiracy of the Tories and the *Times*. I cannot quite understand the incident, but I assume that Mr. Smith meant to deal fairly with Parnell and the incriminated Irish members, with Davitt and such other champions of landlordism as disguised their real feelings by founding the Land League and inaugurating the plan of campaign.⁶ Mr. Smith may have known the secret sentiments of the party of Parnellism and crime. Again, Sir Richard Webster was said to be a very pious man, given to much church-going. No one can say, then, he would take a leaf from the book of that horrible and Godless MacNally, who betrayed his clients in Ireland. Mr. Smith⁷ and Sir Richard Webster were *arcades ambo*, which means "Tories both" or "churchmen both." Strafford warned the House of Lords against raising the sleeping lions of despotic precedent. The Tory party ought not to thank Sir Robert Anderson for awaking the unparalleled infamy which slept in the grave of the wretched Pigott and on the fields of South Africa, where forty thousand soldiers died, to distract attention from the conspirators against Parnell and the honor of the English people.

The late proceedings in Parliament are astonishing. Mr. Balfour seems to believe, as Anderson does, in what is called "the guilty knowledge" of Parnell. This is a long sustained baseness, for one can hardly say where it began. But for the moment suppose this "guilty knowledge" goes back at least to the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and the Under Secretary, Mr. Burke, in 1882? Anderson states himself outgeneraled and Mr. Balfour's opinion loses the credit even of a dialectical⁸ doubt. "The guilty knowledge" of this matter rests on the first Pigott letter. Anderson himself admits what the inquiry in Dublin Castle in a sort of French police office under a police magistrate established—that there was no connection between the Land League and the score of fools and desperadoes who called themselves "The Invincibles." Unhappy Pigott admitted in writing before Mr. Labouchere and Mr. George Augustus Sala that he forged the letter, every word of it, the signature, and explained the manner in which he accomplished the forgery. He admitted the same on cross-examination. His flight and suicide followed, as everybody knows.

It seems clear to me that Mr. Balfour is so much in the habit of using words as counters that his sentences become as ambiguous as a Delphic oracle. Why should Parnell take an action against the *Times* when he knew that he did not write the letter in question or

⁶ This expedient was canonically condemned. The context shows the meaning of reference.

⁷ He was known as Old Morality.

⁸ Has it never occurred to anybody that Mr. Balfour's book should be a vindication of dialectical doubt and not of philosophy?

any of the letters sold to the *Times*? He was not an employe of the government or of Mr. Smith. When Lord Spencer, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, compelled the Secretary of the Post Office to take an action against Mr. W. O'Brien it was another matter. Lord Spencer himself paid no attention to the libels of Mr. Healy, a reserve exactly on all fours with Mr. Parnell's.

This I wish to make clear even at the cost of drawing out this article to a greater length than I might desire. In the debate on Anderson's pension Mr. Balfour declared with unusual asperity that a tribunal described, and correctly described, as unconstitutional by the Home Secretary⁹ and which was set up to ruin the political adversaries of the government was appointed for their benefit. The charges against Mr. Parnell and his colleagues and allies that they were guilty of promoting and sustaining a treasonable and murderous association whose ramifications extended throughout Ireland, the large towns of England, the United States and, as I gather, in a more guarded manner through parts of Canada and parts of the great provinces of Oceanica were to be tried by this unfair tribunal. In a compendious form the activities and dooms of this world-wide conspiracy were expressed in the title "Parnellism and Crime," the caption of the *Times* articles.

Through these various malignant, paralyzing and deadly crimes Parnell and his followers were to march to Home Rule. Something like this Mr. Balfour once said. Mr. Disraeli said something with the same meaning in that bizarre and un-English rhetoric of which he was a master. I think it was that the Irish Party were moving through treason to the decomposition of the empire. Now if Parnell were identified in Balfour's mind with the assassinations in the Phoenix Park on the 6th of May, 1882; with certain terrible acts of peasants in the west of Ireland earlier still; with boycotting carried to a degree far beyond the non-intercourse of Innocent III.'s Interdict when John was making the mansions and castles of his barons theatres of his insane licentiousness; with the relentless councils of the Clan-na-Gael, I can only wonder why in the policy of "resolute government" he did not find some method like the Invincibles to "remove" him.

Be it remembered that an English gentleman of high birth and considerable estate, Mr. Wilfred Scawen Blunt, was informed by Mr. Balfour when he was entering on the government of Ireland that he intended, under the exceptionally oppressive act just passed, to deal in such a way with the Irish members that there would be an end to Home Rule. The reader may have heard that one of the items of the method was to deny them, if sent to jail under the act

⁹ Mr. W. Churchill.

in question—popularly known as the crimes act and also spoken of as the jubilee coercion act—the treatment of political prisoners. They were to be dealt with as felons lying in jail for robbery with violence, or the crime of the convicted ravisher, or of the murderer whose sentence had been commuted to penal servitude for life. That he did not kill Parnell and some others must be held due to Blunt's revelation, but Blunt himself paid for it in Galway jail,¹⁰ while Shaw Lefevre came to Ireland in defiance of him with the openly avowed intention of holding a public meeting. Balfour blustered, but Shaw Lefevre held his meeting and went back to England unscathed.

The sort of terror prevailing in Ireland under Balfour's administration in 1887-8 was due to Anderson's *Times* letters, so he says. No doubt he has since given credit to others for the "native" documents, as I may call them, while he supplied the articles known as "Behind the Scenes in America," the materials for which came and had been coming for twenty years from a spy and *agent provocateur* named Beach, living there under the name of Le Caron. To Anderson Beach wrote, and the latter kept the letters in his own house until Beach wanted them to refresh his memory before entering the box at the Parnell Commission.¹¹ The mode in which the construction of evidence to be given by Beach was carried out is instructive. Anderson selected some forty documents from the mass that had accumulated. There were reports of Clan-na-Gael meetings, resolutions of all kinds, names of proposers, seconders, debaters; and one may say without improbability that there may have been foolish and dangerous things said by irresponsible and inconsiderate persons which would cast grave suspicion on Parnell and his friends if the connection between the Irish movement and the Clan-na-Gael or any physical force party alleged by the *Times* were once established.

Anderson sifted the documents and a man named Houston thitherto an employe of the Property Defense Association, the organization of Irish landlords against the tenants' trade union known as the Land League, gave them a second sifting in the interest of the *Times*. Le Caron was a failure. The only attempt at germane evidence was a statement that he had half an hour's interview with Parnell in the House of Commons, at which meeting he communicated, if I recollect rightly, a message which if true might warrant

¹⁰ Might I take the liberty of asking why Shaw Lefevre was not batoned by the police, put in jail, compelled to perform degrading offices for the common prisoners and compelled to wear the prison garb? Why were not the Marquis of Ripon and the now Lord Morley subjected to these indignities for holding public meetings in Ireland?

¹¹ Mr. Churchill has obliged Anderson to give Beach's letters up to the Home Office. They are public property, but one may ask: Why, after Beach's testimony, the then Home Secretary did not demand them?

a suspicion that the Irish leader was leaning on the support of extreme men in America. The interview, according to Le Caron, took place in the lobby of the House of Commons. No one would believe that half an hour's treason secrets, dynamite and dagger secrets would be interchanged where people were passing to and fro every second and police in uniform were standing and probably Anderson's own secret police were gliding in and out. At any rate, the stern reserve of Parnell was of incomparable value at this moment. He described this man's accosting him and his own passing away without condescending to notice him. The passionless contempt of Parnell seems to have irritated Beach, for there seemed to me, as I read the evidence long ago, that Beach spoke of the occasion with some excitement. If we can believe Anderson,¹² and on this matter I accept his statement, he asked to be allowed into the witness-box to corroborate Beach's version of the meeting with Parnell. Sir Henry James would not hear of it, though Sir Richard Webster was desirous he should be examined. Sir Henry's excuse was that he had too great a respect for Anderson to subject him to a cross-examination by Russell, and it was suspected, moreover, that Russell knew all about the authorship of the *Times* letters.

Taking all this apart, there is only one bit of truth in the account—namely, Anderson's idiotic request to enter the witness-box. Sir R. Webster was the leader, and consequently controlled the conduct of the case. If he wished to examine Anderson he had only to insist upon doing so. He could take a witness even out of James' hands in the course of examination, whether in chief or in cross-examination. It would not have been safe to expose Anderson to the tender mercies of Russell, for the authors of the *Times* letters would be wrung from him and the complicity of the Home Office, the management of the campaign in Ireland, the employment of the police there, the eager services of Crown solicitors and the solicitors of every member of the Property Defense Association, the looking at all these manifestations of activity through his fingers *in more Scotico* by Mr. Balfour—all this might have been dragged out to the ruin of the Unionist party; nay, certainly would have been dragged out. But there is another point—Sir Henry James clearly did not believe Beach's statement, and it is highly probable if Sir R. Webster ever believed it, that he saw its improbability when considering the man's demeanor, his pushing officiousness, which would be so distasteful

¹² There is good reason to disbelieve him where it is his interest to misrepresent matters. For instance, he states that he had the permission of Mr. Monroe, the Police Commissioner, his superior, to write the *Times* articles. Monroe has contradicted him. It would be unlikely that a shrewd old Scotchman would permit such a breach of discipline.

to a man so cold and haughty as Parnell. Anderson was not present; he simply took Beach's account of the meeting; so all his evidence would amount to would be that Beach gave him the narrative within half an hour of the so-called interview, and that it was in the terms of his testimony to the commission.

I have spent a good deal of time over Anderson, but his connection with imperial forces about him—Liberal Unionists on the warpath against Gladstone, Tories adding ramparts to the Established Church and the massive structure of the landed interest—his connection with these forces lifts him from the level of a policeman apparently victimized by his spies, an Irish hunter after fortune, by the base and intricate ways of the prison tempter and the manufacturer of testimony. In this character of the go-between of Secretaries of State and the shady instruments by which they uphold law and order he is a curious study; in this character of moulding or at least starting one of the greatest conspiracies against a political party since Italian republics passed into the night of history he is more than interesting. Why, even in his old age his incredulity as to Parnell's acquittal serves as an inspiration to Mr. Balfour, and what the most charitable would characterize as the obstinacy of age works on young Tories as a call to arms.

It is amazing that a person like him—like what he must have been in youth and what he is to-day—should be the means of causing that frost-bound politician, Mr. Arthur Balfour, to boil and erupt lavatides of unforeseeing eloquence. It would appear that a political or a class passion carefully hidden for a long time under the carefully acted poses of reserve will break out. Balfour, who plays the part of an aristocrat in the Greek sense of the word, lacks the consciousness of inborn aristocracy.

He is an academical aristocrat in the way that the late Lord Beaconsfield was a cavalier and a High Churchman; but the meaning here is that these aristocrats of the stage, of the poetry-book hate the people with a greater hate than the long descended squires, ducal or armigeral. Mr. Balfour is too near the masses with his Indian nabob blood not to feel in his soul the bitter passion of the freed man's son,¹⁸ who in his way was as fine a gentleman as Disraeli tried to be. But if, since poor old Anderson's thick-headed vanity has opened the page of aristocratic intolerance anew, the English Commons allow themselves to forget the terrible circumcision from the Norman Conquest until yesterday, they are the degenerate

¹⁸ "*Odī profanum vulgus et arceo*" would be insolent enough for the Mulberry-faced dictator or his ancestor, the decemvir. "Don't hesitate to shoot!" By the way, Balfour consented to inquire into the conduct of the police at Mitchelstown. Bob Acres feared the English "plebs."

descendants of the bold artisans and tradesmen who told a Plantagenets ministry if they submitted to lawless levies they were like Frenchmen, no longer free. For the present that danger is over. The proud baronage must pay on their lands what they have escaped since the commutation of the military tenures. The idea of demanding their share of the burdens of the country has almost caused a revolution. Just fancy, the Percys were forever in the saddle with their tenants and their followers to defend the border; the present Duke of Northumberland is now to pay a small percentage of the annual value which his predecessors have been escaping since the seventeenth century. Murrough O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, obtained a grant of the great estate of St. Mary's Abbey in consideration of maintaining men at arms and archers to help in the defense of the city of Dublin against the "mere Irish" and degenerate English of the metropolitan counties. What does the recently ennobled Hamilton pay out of that extensive and rich possession which passed by mortgage to his ancestor, one Ian Trant Hamilton? Anderson's articles were well intended to divert attention from the landlords and the English Church. I am afraid they failed in showing that an alliance between Liberals and Irishmen to pursue a policy of justice to the people at large is a greater evil than the maintenance of the power and privileges of the squires.

The escape was a marvelous one; for a person acquainted with the fluctuations of opinion in England may be prepared for any change, any excitement. It was on this the Tories reckoned, and in pursuance of this the venerable magazine launched Anderson on the public. He has shown a certain skill in the interweaving of side lights of Irish life with the graver matters of assassination, civil war and separation. It was not without a motive he bears testimony to the liberality and courtesy of the Catholic gentlemen educated in Trinity. Professor Maguire, a Catholic in that institution, supplied, if I mistake not, the £500 to purchase the forged letters from Pigott. When Mr. Balfour had been appealed to he recommended the agent to offer them to the *Times*. Others, including a Duke, refused to negotiate. It was this Catholic professor in Trinity, a man of limited means, who first vouched for the credit of those forged letters written in confirmation of Anderson's articles on "Parnellism and Crime" or his part of them.¹⁴

¹⁴ I am compelled to say that men who fully approved of the result looked for by the publications in the *Times* and the forged "autograph" letters remarked that four Catholics were important workers in the iniquitous scheme. One Mr. Woulfe Flanagan, I am sorry for his father's son; another Sir Roland Blennerhassett; a third Maguire, and the fourth Pigott. I know that Mr. Woulfe-Flanagan's father hated the Land League movement, and possibly the young man believed that it resorted to extremes in Ireland.

With Anderson's "political advice" to the five Home Secretaries with whom "he worked" I have no concern, but I think it a serious thing he should be allowed to publish in a respectable organ like *Blackwood* his pretended belief—it cannot be anything else—that the Home Rule party were "dynamitards." I have just referred to his view of Catholics educated in Trinity. Very well; I add that among the promoters of the Home Rule movement the very earliest advocates were Professors Galbraith and Haughton, two Protestant clergymen of the then lately Disestablished Church. It would be an impertinence for me, writing to Irishmen or educated Englishmen, to say anything in praise of these most estimable and most distinguished gentlemen. Writing to Americans, I can say their scientific attainments were worthy of the university that led the sister island from the time of George Berkeley to the time of Salmon and Dowden, Lloyd and Ingram in the walks of exact and speculative science and literary criticism of that type which approximates to the severity of scientific analysis while preserving the brilliancy and the glow which make literature an inner world, rivalling external nature in its effect upon the imagination and the heart.

From the latest demonstrations in the House of Commons we learn that the Tories still profess the belief that "dynamitards," "assassins," "Invincibles," "Fenians," "Parnellites," "Home Rulers" are not even varieties of one political species, but are one and the same party, bearing different names for travel and social admission. Why, this was the very essence of Anderson's ideas as transplanted in the mind of the informer Beach. To give vraisemblance to what I think was particularly called "the autograph letter," Pigott makes Parnell, while regretting the accident of Cavendish's death, express the opinion that Burke "met only with his deserts." Soames, the *Times*' solicitor, and MacDonald, the manager, I think, swore to the authenticity, because it was like what Parnell would write. Irishmen have a difficult line along which to walk. The landed interest and the Established Church are committed to a view of what Irishmen are; then if the informer, or perjurer, or conspirator invents some rascality fitting into this view as written by an Irishman, of course he wrote it. In vain does the victim prove that he could not have written it; in vain the forger admits the forgery; the prejudice of the privileged classes in Church and State has stamped the Irishman as "an incorrigible and predestinated criminal."

At any rate, I might be allowed to suggest as reasonable the opinion that if Nationalists pursue their objects by the recognized methods of parliamentary warfare, they are entitled to be listened to, and, what is more, trusted. In this series in *Blackwood* Anderson

tells an anecdote of Disraeli which I apply here. When Jonathan Pim went up to the speaker to take the oath after his election for Dublin Disraeli asked: "What is that?" He was told. He replied: "I always thought an Irish member was a gentleman or a blackguard, but he is neither." There is more than meets the ear in this retort of Disraeli's. The Tory always looked upon the Irish Tory member as possibly a gentleman, the Liberal as a blackguard. I am exceeding my space, but I should like to speak of the contempt with which Irishmen, despite their services in policy and arms, were regarded across the Channel. Fancy that a man spawned in a colony in the days of its struggling infancy spoke of Irishmen as "aliens." I have the highest respect for our brethren of the Celtic fringe, but I think Irishmen, despite Mr. Arthur Balfour's "Don't hesitate to shoot," which is the translation of his uncle's description, Hottentots are as much entitled as Scotchmen to a place in the empire which they have done so much to build up. The pretence of Tories willing to wound, but afraid to strike, is that the Liberals have dishonored themselves, have expunged themselves from the society of gentlemen and "honorable members" by their alliance with the Irish and the Labor representatives.

Be it so. But despite conspiracies of "the gentlemen of England" and their Andersons, Beaches and Pigotts—all honorable men—all serving the State, despite the scorn with which these honorable men regard the laborer of industry, one may venture to say that the Labor member, seeking for justice toward him whose hands are maintaining "the gentlemen of England" and their companions in arms—such associates as Anderson, who explicitly denies that he was "an agent provocateur,"¹⁸ Beach, a man whose life was one continued, circumstantial, elaborate infamy, that one who cannot deny that he made or tried to make criminals to betray them, as Anderson does, and Pigott—despite the conspiracies and *the scorn of these honorable men*, the Irish and Labor M. P. may rise in the morning and seek their rest at night with the consciousness that they are not like "the gentlemen of England" or Anderson, Beach and Pigott.

If I have not succeeded in incriminating the Unionist party—the landlords of England and Ireland and the Church Establishment as a territorial keep in the possession of the landlords—I say if I have not succeeded in showing that this party was leagued in a con-

¹⁸ Did any one say he was? He admits the Home Office might go to the verge, but not become actual makers of criminals. The idea of a man trained in the Crown Solicitors' entourage of 1867 jibbing even at the name must be due to meeting decent men in the Home Office. If not this, I give it up.

spiracy with the *Times*, every word of this paper has been wasted. Anything more immoral than the conduct of the Tory party no one can conceive. Lord Carnarvon in 1885 was prepared on behalf of Lord Salisbury to enter into an arrangement for the Irish vote at the election then looming.¹⁶ Carnarvon had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and became while there a convert to Home Rule. He was a most high-minded man, and had he thought that Parnell was behind the "knives" and the murders in the Park in 1882, he would not have approached him in 1885. No one ever had the slightest doubt of Lord Salisbury's adhesion to the pourparlers of Carnarvon and Parnell, the only doubt was with respect to the extent of the concession. He spoke of Parnell as the one man in the three kingdoms who knew what he wanted, and the whole Tory party bowed to the conception of the "Dictator," as they called him. In 1886 Gladstone brought in his Home Rule bill. He was beaten. He appealed to the country; was cast in a minority. Lord Salisbury took office, Mr Balfour went as Chief Secretary to Ireland, and then began the dragooning of the peasants, the arresting of Irish members, editors, priests, public men of all kinds and the prison episodes of what Lord Salisbury described with very bad taste as Mr. O'Brien's "tragic nudity."

From this forth the plot against Parnell and his colleagues entered the domain of action. The elements were being industriously collected ever since Anderson corrupted the wretched Massey in the Dublin police office or Kilmainham jail. There was no scruple allowed to stand in the way. Mr. Forster, the Chief Secretary in 1880-1, was in the hands of Pigott, a man whose reputation in Dublin was so fetid that every clerk in the Castle, every inspector of police, every sergeant, every one of the three thousand men who patrolled the streets from Dollymount to Pembroke road knew it. Protestants spoke in mysterious terms of the children of a Catholic gentleman cast upon their charity.¹⁷ Forster himself had fallen into the hands of the permanent clerks, and these for the occasion valued the letters from their country cousins in the magistracy. In 1882, that May day in which Forster's successor and the Under Secretary were murdered, a gloom palpable as the darkness of Egypt fell upon the country. To suppose that Anderson really believed that Parnell was not sincere in his denunciation is to make him out one of those

¹⁶ What is meant by the stab to Redmond by the present Prime Minister when their own party, under its greatest chief since Peel, was ready to bargain with Parnell?

¹⁷ I did not know that the children were Pigott's. I only heard of him as a man too sensible to believe in the wild articles in the papers, but this hardly convinced me of his honesty.

pernicious minds so much under the dominion of political hatred that the feeling will occasionally take the form of personal malignity. Parnell was really in despair. He offered to Ministers to resign his seat and retire from public life.

He could do no less. It was a moment of immense conciliation offered by the imperial nation. It would take too much space to present the considerations leading to this view. One may suffice. Forster was a tower of strength in advanced Liberalism. I believe his being sent to Ireland was mainly due to Charles Russell, then the easily acknowledged leader of the Liberal bar. To supersede him, as Gladstone had done, against the wishes of Catholic and Protestant landlords, the opinion of old friends like Bright and Hartington, Palmer and all the Whigs and moderate Radicals in the Cabinet, in the administration, in the houses, was an act no other Minister would dare to execute. His successor, so far as I have ever heard, was in full sympathy with the land legislation, and he was a member of the great house of Cavendish. The son of a great Irish and a great English landlord was the man to undo the insolent and exasperating policy of Forster, who hated the developed land legislation, though he had not a perch of land himself.

The enemies of the people could only see in this murder a vindication of the harsh government which won for the ex-Chief Secretary the ill-omened name of Buckshot, and, of course, the recreant Radical could only behold in these assassinations a judicial punishment of the great Minister who had dismissed him.

Yet the signature to Parnell's so-called autograph letter is held to be genuine by Anderson, and yet this gentleman admits the murders were committed, as we have said, by a murderous trade union started by two brothers of the name of Carey, in order to secure for themselves the monopoly for the paving, and, I think, building contracts from the Corporation of Dublin.

I am now done. I may on a future occasion find room for much that I have omitted, for the expansion of some things too briefly stated. But this much I may say in closing as suggestive of the part played by the Unionist government in the conspiracy of those sad and awful years, that as every one in Scotland, England and Ireland knew what exertions the *Times* was making to provide evidence, that the jails were ransacked, that the chambers of the Castle¹⁸ were asked to give their secrets, that police barracks were centres of activity, it is inconceivable that the Home Secretary was ignorant and his subordinates silent, notwithstanding the idleness, the gossip, the reciprocities of sarcasm or the

¹⁸ Family communications I mean, of course, in the shape of complaints about incendiary fires, cattle mutilation, threats, boycotting, and so on.

interchanges of curiosity of which Sir Robert Anderson writes so genially.¹⁹

GEORGE McDERMOT, C. S. P.

New York City.

THE IRONY OF FATE AS BEHELD IN MADAGASCAR.

M. AUGAGNEUR, Governor of the French colony called Madagascar, is now enjoying a visit to his native France. Judging from the terms in which he is referred to by Protestant organs here and in Great Britain, he is no friend to any form of Christianity. The inference is probably true. His employers, the French Government, at this particular epoch, have not attempted to dissemble their feelings toward Christianity, or, indeed, for that matter, any religious cult which does not acknowledge the State to be the highest object of human devotion and the present Republican *régime* as the authority entitled to the claim of the Bourbon monarch, "I am the State." When the heavy hand of that State began at first to make itself felt on one Church only, the organs of the sects did not make any attempt to dissemble their feelings either; and for so much sincerity they deserve to get credit. In Madagascar the sects they represent had long had their day, and they made the most of their opportunity to triumph over the earlier missionary Church there, the Catholic, while they enjoyed the royal favor. The reduction of the island to a French prefecture, in the year 1850, brought a great accession of strength to the long feeble

¹⁹ It is only reasonable to assume that in the double sifting of the Le Caron documents that Anderson, a detective police minister, and Houston, the agent of the *Times* newspaper, selected the most damning documents. It is well to add that the American Fenian and Clan-na-Gael papers sent by Le Caron during the twenty years from 1867 until the Parnell commission were not originals. His statement on oath was that he could not keep the originals longer than a week. What interpolations might have been introduced one cannot think. The documents were, of course, only used at the commission to refresh his memory, but they probably supplied conversational material to Houston and to Anderson himself. Houston, as the ex-secretary of the Property Defense Association, may have had pabulum for his former employers. At any rate, the way the whole of the landed interest in Ireland speaks of the tenants, and particularly of the Irish members of Parliament, is more like the declarations of instructed anger than the incoherent utterances of changing passion. They have got out of their difficulties marvelously well. The *Times* has not been so fortunate, yet surely the newspaper deserved as well of "the prominent partner" as the gentlemen who have been the difficulty of the United Kingdom since the Union, as they were the framers of the penal code before it.

and tottering Catholic missions; but it likewise brought heavy reinforcements in men and money from the English missionary headquarters, and a violent anti-Catholic propaganda, with shocking outrages on native and foreign Catholics, as a corollary.

American and British histories and geographies, with easy insouciance, tell the reader that "Christianity was introduced into Madagascar by the London Missionary Society in 1810-28. True history tells us that it was introduced nearly two centuries earlier than that era. A French Huguenot settler, named Pronis, who had established a station on the neighboring island of Bourbon (the Isle of France), founded another on Madagascar and built a fort, which he called after the Dauphin. He had Catholics in his train, as well as Huguenots, and he encouraged them in their religion, as well as their labor, with wise generosity. History says that the well-meant efforts of Pronis and his followers resulted in no gain for the cause of Christianity.

In 1648 a more systematic effort was made. At the request or command of the Congregation of the Propaganda a missionary band was despatched by the saintly Vincent de Paul to the shores of Madagascar. The work was so hard and the climate so adverse that the heroic little band dropped out one by one, while five more of the brotherhood who had been sent to reinforce them met with shipwreck off the Cape of Good Hope and never reached Madagascar. The successor of St. Vincent de Paul, Father René Almeras, a short time after his appointment, despatched another band, who reached the island in safety. The French King, Louis XIV., determined to abandon the island and forbade French vessels to touch there. At that time there were four of the missionaries alive. Two of these returned to France, one was burned alive by the natives and the other was killed in a less shocking fashion. After this there were no renewals of Catholic missionary effort until 1844. There had been some independent work by Father Stephen, a Lazarist, as mentioned by the Abbé Rohon in his "History of Madagascar." He endeavored to win over a powerful chief named Menangne, a faithful ally of the French, and some of his followers, but it does not appear to have been a successful attempt, as the abbé's work does not give any record of the results.

At length, in 1844, something more promising was undertaken. The Rev. Father Dalmont, of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, who, when stationed at Bourbon, was appointed Prefect Apostolic for Madagascar, called the Society of Jesus to his aid. Soon a little band, under the leadership of Father Cotain, landed at St. Augustine's Bay, on the west coast of the island. They found a party of Methodist missionaries from London on the ground before them;

and these had gained such influence with the government and some of the natives that they were able to neutralize the efforts of the newcomers. The ruler of Madagascar at the time was a woman of a sanguinary and masculine temperament, a pagan, Queen Ranavalona I., one of the wives of the monarch, Radama I., who succeeded to the throne upon that King's death. She began a savage persecution of all Christians, Catholics and others, but was halted for a time in her bloody work by the accession of her son, Radama II., who had become a follower of Christianity and made a treaty of commerce with France.

The aborigines in Madagascar are classified by ethnologists as Malayan, yet the physiognomy suggests a large admixture of Hindoo blood. The Malayan strain asserts itself in the cruelty of its character. When this revolting trait manifests itself in the female gender, the lowest point is reached. Such was the case in regard to some of the Madagascar Queens. They were as cruel as the English Tudors or the Russian Romanoffs—and this is saying a great deal. The most cruel of all the Queens who are known to modern history appears to have been Ranavalana, the wife of King Radama I. While he was alive her cruel impulses had to be kept in subjection, because her husband was a kindly-disposed sovereign. But when he died, she seized the reins of power, thrusting aside the heiress whom the King had decreed should succeed him, on the pretense that so the gods, through the mouths of idols, had so ordered. She was described by the English historians of the missions as a woman given to drunkenness and savage passions, and controlled completely by the astrologers and sorcerers who filled the court at Antananarivo, the capital. We are compelled to take the evidence of these missionaries with reserve, for their reports were prepared for home consumption—and we know, from present-day revelations of the practices of Methodism in Italy, how large a part is played by fiction in missionary statistics and chronicles. The account of the severities adopted toward the London missionaries, when the determination to suppress the missions was taken by the Queen, must be read with caution. Even so ardent an anti-Catholic publication as the *North British Review* remarked, commenting on what was reported by the London Missionary Society as the situation in Madagascar (May, 1847), that the conduct of the Europeans in the country had been such as to draw down on them the wrath and vengeance of the natives: "Alas! how generally has this been the conduct of Europeans in their intercourse with barbarous nations! Treacherous, rapacious, cruel, licentious, they have produced against Christianity and its missionaries unconquerable prejudices, rancorous animosity." And again, after due introspection and honest heart

searching: "With all the severity of those measures toward the natives, if we take into account the despotic and feudal character of the government (Malagasy) and the nature of the established religion, we shall be, perhaps, *surprised at their moderation*, and at the solicitude manifested to conduct them with due regard to what was right and just, according to the standard of rectitude in that part of the world. *Our own country was guilty of more savage persecution 300 years ago.*" (The italics are our's, not his.)

We may appropriately add to this ingenuous confession of disingenuous attempts to excite sympathy by dwelling upon the shortcomings of a semi-savage people—and for the plain and avowed purpose of swelling the treasury of the richest missionary organization in the whole world—that when the persecuted missionaries gained the upper hand again they did not hesitate to excite the same spirit of savage cruelty in the natives toward the Catholic missionaries and their converts. Of this discreditable fact we shall adduce abundant evidence in the course of this imperfect survey.

Madagascar is a very large and compactly shaped island, situated on the eastern coast of Africa. Resembling in this respect the larger and not very remote island or continent which we call Australia, it shows a comparatively unbroken coast line, dotted with a few outlying islands, and hardly any at all on the Pacific side, for half its length; while the absence of gulfs or bays on the same side, for a great stretch of the coast, forms a curious feature in the map. Its extreme length, from Cape Amber, on the north, to Cape St. Mary, on the south, is about 975 miles; while its breadth, which does not vary exceedingly, at the widest part is approximately about one-third of the length. The island was known to the ancient geographers, and was described by Marco Polo. The island is as large in acreage as all the British Islands in Europe, while the population was estimated, half a century ago, as between four and five millions, but in 1900 it was estimated at between three and four millions only. The people are described in the earlier histories and sketches as industrious, intelligent and semi-civilized. They are of various races—Arab, Malay and Negro. The Negroes differ considerably from those of the African Continent, and they have not the wooly hair which characterizes that branch of the great black-skinned family. The Malayan is the predominant race. They are called Hovas, and they inhabit the upland and hilly portions of the country, while the Negroes are confined chiefly to the sea coast and low-lying country. The island is rich in minerals and cereals, forest trees, flowering shrubs and fruit trees, many of the latter producing food of the most varied and nutritious kinds. Immense forests cover large tracts of country in the interior, and the

variety of wood they yield is unsurpassed. Orchids of immense size and beauty abound in the forests, and gigantic ferns and palms are also a prominent feature of the tropical landscape. A great number of medicinal shrubs are also found in Madagascar. Sugar, rice, cotton, sweet potatoes and several other crops are cultivated, while amongst the strange edibles which are served up to travelers are to be found grasshoppers and silk-worms! Hemp, silk, indigo, tobacco, gum, ebony, beeswax, honey and many other valuable products of the field and the forest are part of the store which Nature offers for the use of the human race, almost without the trouble of gathering or cultivating on their part, so exuberant is the soil and so royal the bounty of the gorgeous and lavish giver.

Possibly the best accounts of the varied riches of Madagascar are to be found in the works of the Rev. Mr. Ellis, head of the London missionaries. He spent several years in the country, and, being a man of a scientific turn and good education, he was enabled to present so tempting a picture of its natural wealth and commercial possibilities that it warmed the missionary-merchant heart, and gave a great impetus to the zeal of the philanthropists of Exeter Hall, London, England.

Lest it might be charged that in making the foregoing observations regarding the general character of British non-Catholic missionary enterprise, we shall summarize portions of the first chapter of the Rev. Mr. Ellis' book on his "Visits to Madagascar" (Bradley, Philadelphia, 1859)—viz.:

"It is only since our (the English) possession of Mauritius, and the subsequent treaty of friendship and alliance entered into between the late King Radama and the Governor of Mauritius (Sir Robert Farquhar) in 1817, that our countrymen have given much attention to the island or its inhabitants.

"In the treaty with Radama the English sought chiefly the abolition of the slave trade, and in order to compensate the King and his chiefs for the loss which this measure would entail upon them, and to secure their coöperation in rendering it effectual, an annual payment was made by the British Government to the King. This payment consisted partly of ammunition and arms, and men were sent to Madagascar to instruct the native soldiers in the use of firearms and in military tactics. To the arms and discipline thus supplied, and used with a wanton disregard of human life and human suffering happily unknown in warfare among civilized nations, are to be ascribed much of Radama's success in extending the dominion of the Hovas far beyond the central province of Ankova, its original boundary."

So that in order to put down one form of barbarism another was

taught the natives, which they speedily turned to account in driving the missionaries of the government which taught it out of the kingdom, bag and baggage—a fact which showed that these semi-savages were by no means so dull as to be unable to distinguish the immense difference between precept and example in the messengers of a “superior” Christianity. As for the effects of the “deal” upon the slave trade, they must have been for many a year practically nil. The Mozambique Channel was the richest place in all the world for the Arab owners of the dhows which bore the human freight from Africa and Madagascar toward the Red Sea and the Mediterranean markets.

The Rev. Mr. Ellis dwells, in his work on Madagascar, on the results of the treaty between King Radama and the Governor of Mauritius as one of the great epoch-making transactions of this mundane sphere, inasmuch as it abolished the slave trade that had been carried on from Madagascar as the source of supply. Yet, with delightful unconsciousness he proceeds to describe, in a succeeding chapter, the universal prevalence in Madagascar of the very thing whose supposed extinction he had lauded as a blessing so great and uplifting as to offset the awful horrors attendant on the giving of firearms, gunpowder and military training to a savage people already notorious and execrated for their shocking disregard of human life and their fiendish appetite for blood and the horrors of human sacrifices, as great, it would seem, as that of the ancient Aztecs of Mexico. Forty years after the making of the treaty which was supposed to bring this great compensatory blessing Mr. Ellis saw and heard for himself how illusory was the hope held out. He saw slavery everywhere prevalent on the island, and he gives moving pictures of some of its inhuman practices and conditions; he tells of the Hovas going forth to battle with neighboring tribes and of their returning with trains of captives devoted to the slave market, by the hundred and by the thousand. He tells in another place of his having been entertained by a chief who, besides great wealth in gold and live stock, was the owner of one thousand slaves. He tells us that the treaty was observed by King Radama, but violated by General Hall, English Governor of Mauritius, who restored the slave traffic. How, then, could the treaty be justly described as “epoch-making?” He tells also of some humiliating scenes of drunkenness and rioting that followed in the train of public ceremonials he had witnessed, and of the establishment of stations for the sale of intoxicants to the already debased savages. This is the usual story of the advance of civilization. The rum comes after the gunpowder and the musket, to complete the work which the London brand of missionary begins. It began it in the days of French and English

commercial rivalry, in the interests of the octopus East India Company; and now that an end came to the power of that huge agency for evil, in the sanguinary drama of the Indian Mutiny, the work is continued for the benefit of the whole commercial solidarity of Britain, from the Thames to the Yang-tse-Kiang.

The first practical fruits of the efforts of the London missionaries were the establishment of trade relations with England and the transference of several thousand young men from the soil of Madagascar to the decks of British warships to learn seamanship and navigation, so that they might become useful to the British as pilots and fighting men in Madagascar waters. More thousands were placed as apprentices under the English craftsmen whom the missionaries had brought over with them or followed after them on hearing of the prospects which the great rich tropical island offered to enterprising and ambitious British workmen.

In a little while there sprang up a pretty considerable foreign settlement at Tamatave, the principal port on the eastern coast. There had been an earlier settlement of French traders and shipping men from the neighboring island of Mauritius; and it was not long ere the inevitable conflict between native interests and those of the foreign settlers arose. The Malagasy Government wished to have the laws of Madagascar govern the foreign settlers; the latter, according to the usual pretensions of the European races, thought that difference in the hue of their skin entitled them to have a code of laws for their own government; and when the issue thus raised became serious, the traders appealed to the authority and armed strength of their respective home governments. The answer was the despatch of a joint French and British squadron to Madagascar waters, and the landing of a party to endeavor to arrange an amicable settlement of the questions in dispute. The attempt proved abortive; the negotiators returned to their ships, and the next thing the Malagasy people knew was that cannon were roaring along the coast and the town and port of Tamatave were being blown to atoms and the houses going up in flames all along the shore and far inland. Forces of marines and sailors were landed at the same time, and these made an attack on the fort, killing many natives in the course of the fight and wounding a great many more. Ultimately, however, they were repulsed and driven back to the ships—for the Hovas are gallant fighters—and they left thirteen of their number dead on the field. The heads of these the natives cut off and fixed on poles, as a warning to other possible intruders.

The effects of this brutal and stupid act of aggression were in the last degree disastrous—and more disastrous to the wicked powers who were responsible for it than to the people of the injured party,

for the Government of Madagascar at once stopped all intercourse with the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius. At one blow all shipments of cattle and rice to these islands were cut off, and as a consequence great distress prevailed for several years in those remote and helpless dependencies. Moreover, a furious persecution of the Christians, Protestant and Catholic, was the cruel punishment visited on the innocent victims of official folly. All suspected of leanings toward Christianity, though not professors of it, were pounced upon and forced to undergo the punishment of the ordeal—generally the drinking of the Tanguena, or poison water. Death almost invariably followed the taking of the unsavory draught. Many Christians were burned to death, many more were flung from top of a high rock outside the capital, as in old Rome culprits were punished by being thrown from Tarpeian Rock; thousands of recusants were sold into slavery. The reign of terror lasted several years.

Ranavolana had a particular dislike of the English and their missionaries. She expelled them all from the country in 1835. Some of the French Catholic ones still held their ground despite her utmost efforts to expel or capture them. The Jesuits were not to be dismayed in the enterprise they had undertaken by any dangers. They made the island of Réunion, or Bourbon, their *point d'appui* for the Madagascar campaign. They established there a large industrial school, as well as a training school for teachers and a seminary for a native priesthood. They set up missions at various points on the coast of Madagascar. These were burned down again and again by the Hovas, but as soon as these enemies had departed from the scene of ruin the patient Jesuits were again on the spot, rebuilding and repairing the ravage. At last quiet came when Queen Ranavolana died, in 1861, and her son, Radama II., succeeded. Although not a Christian, the new sovereign was liberal, and he at once abolished all his mother's laws against Christianity and re-opened communication between the island and European nations. The London Missionary Societies were prompt to take advantage of the altered conditions, and their emissaries were received with great favor at Antananarivo, and soon found themselves in a position of great influence there. In like manner the Jesuits were received by the liberal monarch and his Queen, Rasoherina, and encouraged to resume their work for the redemption of the natives for civilization. But this did not suit the programme of the London missionaries. They were there with designs ulterior to the conquest of the island for Christianity. Their headquarters in the capital soon became the centre of political intrigue. Whether the King was the victim of this situation or not, no one knew, but shortly after his accession he was murdered, and the commander of the army, Rainivonina-

hitriony, became virtual ruler of the country as Prime Minister under Queen Rasoherina, whom he had married soon after her husband's murder. This fact, together with the circumstance that it was a number of chiefs under the influence of the English missionaries who had led the revolt which terminated in the death of Radama, discloses a remarkable resemblance between Madagascar ways and ancient Egyptian and present Oriental ones—in regard at least to palace intrigues. The British Government looked askance at the appearance of the French on the island, because the possession of such a strong position as Madagascar, on the Indian Ocean, menaced their power in India not a little.

At last the secret efforts of the missionaries were crowned with success. The British Government secured a treaty with Queen Rasoherina, and this forward step was immediately countered by a demand from the French one for an indemnity for losses to French traders, amounting to one million dollars, guaranteed under an earlier treaty made with the late King, Radama II. The demand was enforced by the French representative, and the levy enraged the Malagasy people so that the lives of French residents seemed to be in imminent danger. Hostility to the French was fanned artfully by the missionary agents, and so it came about that Catholicity and French governmental policy became in the native mind identical—a truly ironical outcome of a situation wherein the enemies of Catholicity in France were at the time in power there and had begun the movement for the expulsion of the religious orders, which has been so thoroughly finished in our own day. For a long time France had had a protectorate over the Madagascar coast, but never stretched the claim so as to clash with the government of the interior. It required great address and ingenuity on the part of the French representative to avert the peril of an uprising and massacre of French residents, consequent on the levy of the indemnity and the use to which the act had been put by the English missionary societies, and fortunately the danger blew over after a little while. The irony of the situation became more remarkable from the scrupulous abstention from politics which the Catholic missionaries in Madagascar had always been known to observe.

A crisis came in 1881, when the infidel French Government decreed the closing of the industrial school at Réunion and the expulsion of the Jesuits in all the French possessions. The closing of the school had been brought about by the machinations of an infidel who represented the island in the French Legislature. It was the signal for a persecution of the Catholics in Madagascar, instigated by the English missionaries. But the trickery had a very different outcome from that anticipated by the missionaries. It brought on

a declaration of war on Madagascar by the French Government because of the high-handed proceedings of the Queen and her Ministers, prompted by the English emissaries, toward French residents.

The first step taken by Ranavolana's government, on receipt of the declaration of war, was to expel all the Catholic missionaries in the country. The converts, left thus without spiritual guidance, behaved as a whole remarkably well. For the most part they assembled at their places of worship at the usual time, and were not to be intimidated even by threats of massacre. At one time the pagans went so far as to train artillery on the Cathedral, but the worshipers held their ground undismayed, and the design to blow them to pieces was, for some unknown reason, abandoned by those who had conceived it, or else had never really existed and the show of preparation been only intended to overawe the Catholics and cause them to fall away.

The war dragged on for nearly three years, but without any decisive move on either side, beyond the occupation of the ports of Tamatave and Majunga by the French. The Queen tried to effect an alliance, first with England, then with Germany, but fruitlessly. She died in 1884, and was succeeded by a female relative, who took the same name and married the Prime Minister. Peace was made with France in the following year, the conditions being that Madagascar was to come under French control, so far as its foreign relations were concerned, and pay an indemnity of two million francs for damages sustained by French citizens during the war. By the terms of the treaty perfect freedom for the teaching of the Catholic religion was guaranteed—a somewhat paradoxical condition to be insisted on by a government which was engaged at home in curtailing the freedom for which it was stipulating abroad. Similar inconsistencies have arisen since that time, in the dealings of the French Government with outside powers with regard to French religious settlements in the countries involved, especially in Mahometan countries. But the French are a peculiar people, in this regard. They seem to enjoy the humor of a paradox, even when it turns the laugh on themselves.

Thus ended all the plotting of the English missionaries. It was they who had incited the savage Queen to begin the persecutions which had drawn down upon the country the vengeance of the French Government, and by which it had now forfeited its independence of action. The English Government was furious, but it was powerless to resent the action of France, since it was its own allies and emissaries that had brought the calamity (as they regarded it) about. All it could do was to gain from France an assent to a

recognition of Britain's suzerainty over the Sultanate of Zanzibar, which had been forcibly assumed on pretense of putting down the slave trade. On obtaining this concession from the French the government of Lord Salisbury withdrew all opposition to the Madagascar policy of the republic. This arrangement left the missionary companies the same freedom of action as was accorded the French missions. As to the Madagascan Government, it has since occupied a curious position. It adopted a Christianity without any definite formula and made it a State religion, but the great mass of the people held aloof and clung to the old paganism of their forefathers—a paganism marked by features most loathsome and cruel and immoralities most shocking. An institution called the tribal dance is described as being more bestial than that of any other pagan people, being accompanied by orgies of debauchery and drunkenness of the most frightful character, and which are carried on in full view of thousands of spectators. Even the Malagashes who become converts to Christianity are often very unstable and volatile in character. In this they seem to resemble the Negro races with which we are familiar here, whose religion is largely emotional and whose passions are almost uncontrollable. Under the most favorable conditions the elevation of such a population must be a matter of slow and patient effort.

The Hova Government showed no great anxiety to carry out the terms of the treaty of 1885, particularly in regard to a clause providing for a disarmament of the native troops. The French Government, on being informed of the deceptive character of its proceedings and the covert preparations it had been making for a rupture of the treaty, under the secret promptings of English missionaries, sent over an envoy, M. Larrony, in October, 1892, to ascertain the truth as to the situation. He found that the treaty had not been observed, and that the English party was again in full control. The French Catholic missions were being ruthlessly persecuted. These missions had their headquarters in four different centres—first, in Antananarivo and Imerina, with thirty fathers; second, Fianaraulsoa, with ten fathers, who had gathered in their schools more children than all the English ones combined; third, Tamatave, with three fathers; and fourth, Fort Dauphin, which was beginning to promise great results in the future. It was this progress which had aroused the envy and the ire of the English missionaries. There were seventy-five missionary priests in the island, eighteen lay Brothers and sixteen Christian Brothers, and of Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny, twenty-seven. There were one college and nine normal schools, eighty-three churches and 277 chapels, with 443 "posts" (stations). There were 136,175 Catholics and catechumens. The missions had

established a colony for lepers, a great printing house and an observatory. There had been during the year preceding the new rupture nearly four thousand baptisms of adults and children. These things were a cause of great concern to the London gentlemen. In fancy they beheld the whole island going over rapidly to the hated religion of "Rome," and so they spared no effort to bring about a situation which would change the whole movement into one toward "England." They were successful in bringing about a change—but it turned out to be one for the worse for the contrivers. They lost in the game, in the final outcome.

The French Government despatched a formidable expedition to Madagascar. It suffered many disasters by sea and land, owing to mismanagement and inefficiency in preparation, having been something like a repetition of the dismal story of bungling on the English side at the outbreak of the Crimean War. The medical service was lamentably inefficient and inadequate, and in consequence many of the troops lost their lives or became disabled during the long and trying voyage; and when the remnant was at last put on *terra firma* many more went down before the deadly diseases of a tropical climate and the exhausting trials of a long march in a country swarming with wild beasts and enemies hardly less dangerous than the *ferae naturae*, as well as poisonous reptiles and impure water. By a desperate *coup de main* General Duchesne, commander of the expedition, succeeded in getting a column of 2,000 men to make a forced march of more than 200 kilometres and assault the capital. More than 25,000 Hova soldiers defended the position, while the inhabitants numbered more than 60,000. But the onslaught of the desperate Frenchmen was irresistible, and soon the white flag proclaimed the downfall of Hova-cum-British rule in Madagascar.

The Catholic missionaries quickly set to work to recuperate their strength when the clouds of war disappeared. But with the arrival of a new commander, General Gallieni, a change altogether unexpected came over the situation. The Missions Évangéliques de Paris had got the government to assent to the despatch of French Protestant missionaries to help their English confreres in opposing Catholic missionary effort, and on their arrival an alliance was formally entered into between the several heads of the French, English and Norwegian societies in Madagascar, laying down zones of work for each body in the island, and allotting a certain portion to the unclassified sub-section known as Independents. The new "holy alliance" lost no time in arranging plans to embarrass the Catholic missions in every way possible, and its efforts were aided to a large extent by the forces of Freemasonry, which by that time had obtained a footing of some strength in the island. Still the Catholic forces

did not suffer much defection. The churches which had been levelled or injured during the war were quickly rebuilt or repaired and the schools re-opened and filled with scholars, without loss of time. The Malagasy Catholics came to the aid of the missionaries with a generosity altogether unwonted—for ordinarily they are an avaricious people. But the lack of priests and teaching Brothers was for long a lamentable drawback, until the creation of the Vicariate Apostolic of North Madagascar and its juncture with the Prefecture of the Smaller Isles, which took place in July, 1898. The Fathers of the Holy Ghost were given charge of the new Vicariate, and Monsignor Cabel was the first titular dignitary. A great impetus to Catholic work was the immediate result of the wise change. Still the action of the clergy was at times much hampered by the military and maritime authorities, but the obstacles then encountered were trifling as compared with what was to follow when the war on the Church began in France. When this was inaugurated, the Protestant press generally took up an attitude of approval, since the Catholic Church and Catholic institutions were the first to feel the breath of the coming cyclone. Soon, however, it became apparent that it was not aimed exclusively at the Catholic Church, and then the tone of the press underwent a very marked alteration. Separation between Church and State meant the same thing to French Protestants as to French Catholics; and the colonies were placed in the same category as the mother country and treated in much the same way, so far as the application of the new laws was concerned. Consternation seized upon the Protestant missionary societies, which had long lorded it over the Catholic ones in Madagascar by reason of their influence over successive rulers and the governing class. There is no longer freedom to assemble for public worship unless by permission; no longer freedom to erect houses for worship; permission to build must be asked for, and when requested is frequently denied. Churches built under the old *régime* are being closed, on the ground that they were built without permission; others which have fallen into dilapidation are being shut up. The same rule is impartially applied, whether the petitioners and complainants be Catholics or Protestants. Bitter murmurings are heard, as a consequence, from the Protestant press; as for the Catholics, they seem to be resigned to the situation. They are the children and heirs of suffering, and know how to bow before the storm, trusting in Divine Providence to bring about a better era in His own good time.

There is a movement on foot to endeavor to arouse the United States Government to remonstrate with that of France as to the attitude of the Governor of Madagascar. It is in the last degree unlikely that any complaint based on the objection that the Governor

is an atheist and a Socialist, and an enemy to the Christian religion, as charged in the Protestant press, would receive any attention from the present French Cabinet, for any attitude but one of indifference would be out of harmony with the affiliations and hustings pledges of the Ministry. The Governor has been asked to give his side of the question as to conditions in Madagascar. Lately he was approached by the president of the Protestant Missionary Society with a request for redress of the grievances complained of, and he said in reply: "I ask myself with what right you come to me with this request? On the ground of what statute, with what mandate, do you place yourself between a troop of natives and their government?" To a representative of the *Matin* the Governor gave an exposition of the reasons why he has adopted such an attitude toward the missionaries—a very curious example of logic it must appear when considered in the light of the events now transpiring in France, where no such conditions prevail as in the case of Madagascar. He said: "The struggle against Protestantism has lost its sharpness; it concerns far less the question of education than the other, 'What attitude should the Government assume towards religious worship?' We are confronted with a question of political significance; whether Madagascar shall belong to France or to the missionaries. The inhabitant of Madagascar has no religious conceptions. He joins the mission only to avoid the Government. In order to make a Frenchman of him you must force him to break with the priests and missionaries and bring him in close touch with the French officials. I have tried to reach this object by restricting the propaganda of the priests and missionaries. Among the two hundred missionaries there are only fifty Frenchmen, the rest are Englishmen and Norsemen. This shows plainly enough the spirit of this propaganda; moreover these people are very restless."

As the Catholic missionaries are all Frenchmen, it might seem to be a task of supererogation to try to make them Gauls. Moreover, it is difficult to conceive how Madagascar Hovas can be transformed into Frenchmen, unless by claiming that all Frenchmen now are pagans like the majority of Hovas, and a common bond of hatred of Christianity nullifies the distinctions of nativity. However the case be reasoned out, it must have a chastening effect on those former persecutors of Catholics in Madagascar to have the searing irons of persecution applied now to their own corporeality for a season.

When one looks beneath the surface of professions and analyses the admissions made by many of those who persuade themselves and others that they have no motives but altruistic ones in setting forth to bring the word of salvation to heathen peoples and worse than heathen Catholics, it will often be found that the process of self-

deception is so simple as to be amazing to reasoners who follow the lines of plain logic. A single illustration taken from the works of the Rev. William Ellis, the principal leader in the London missionary movement in Madagascar, will suffice to show the animus of the great philanthropists. It is taken from a work called "Three Visits to Madagascar" (Bradley, Philadelphia, 1859), p. 318-19. The author is telling of an interview with the Prince Royal:

"The Prince inquired with much earnestness whether I knew if there was any truth in the reports of an intended invasion of Madagascar by the French, of which he said there were rumors at that time in the capital. I told him I had seen something about such a thing in the public journals of Europe, but that they were in all probability only reports, and without foundation; as I did not think it likely that the French Government would send troops to fight against them, and that I was sure the English cherished toward them only friendly feelings. I told him there were many statements in the newspapers in Europe, which we who were living there did not know whether to believe or not, and for which in reality there was sometimes no real foundation; adducing as an instance that I had read in a newspaper in England that he himself had become a Roman Catholic, and that an agent from himself had actually been in Rome negotiating for Roman Catholic priests to be sent to his country. He declared there was no truth in any such statement; but added, that there was a Roman Catholic priest at the capital who had tried to persuade him to become a Roman Catholic, and had given to the Princess, his wife, a crucifix, and to himself a silver medal, stating to them that if they wore these on their breasts, and put confidence in the Virgin Mary, the Princess would become a mother. 'But,' he added, 'it has not proved true; my wife has no child.' He then opened his vest, and showed me the silver medal suspended from his neck by a silken cord. On one side was the letter M, with the cross interwoven, and surrounded by stars; on the other side was a figure of the Virgin in relief, standing with outstretched arms, and around the figure were these words: '*O Marie! conçue sans péché! priez pour nous qui avons recours à vous.*' At the bottom was the date 1830. The Prince said he had no wish to become a Roman Catholic; but I could not help reflecting that, had it so occurred that the Princess, after wearing the crucifix, had become a mother, this might have been ascribed to the influence of the symbol, or the efficacy of the Virgin's intercession; and thus a very different effect might have been produced on their own minds, and on those of many of the people."

Those English missionaries constantly told the natives that Catholics were idolators, just like themselves, and that they worshiped

the Blessed Virgin. Yet the only evidence that such was the case was such as was furnished by this pathetic invocation of the help of our Blessed Lady inscribed on the medal. And it was plainly the wish of the Rev. Mr. Ellis that the petition might not, in this case, be granted and the divinely-planted maternal desire on the part of the Queen might be disappointed, all in order that no token of the efficacy of Catholic prayer might be given, to thwart the schemes of the London Missionary Society! Could the force of human malice any further go?

Does not this story recall the incident of Elcana and his barren wife, and the prayer she made to have the reproach taken from her? The prophet Heli deemed her drunk because he saw her lips moving in prayer and yet no sound issued from them. But when she piteously told him the cause of her sorrow, Heli did not mock her or inwardly hope that her petition might not be granted, but prayed that God would be pleased to make her fruitful, as a true prophet and servant of God ought to do. And the son who was given in answer to her prayer was by Anna and Elcana vowed unto God to be His servant, and he became in time the great prophet Samuel. How very different from the Jewish prophet Heli was the British prophet Ellis! What an example of the English missionary idea of Christian charity do we find him giving over his own signature!

Despite persecution, Catholicism continues to make steady progress in Madagascar. From a report by the Rev. Hilarion Gill, in *The Catholic Mind*, of February this year, we gain the following information as to the state of the mission in the island:

"After fruitless attempts in former centuries, and equally vain efforts between 1830 and 1861, our missionaries finally succeeded in establishing themselves there, in the person of French Jesuits, who had their share of success in spite of the hindrances put in their way by Protestantism, which was at the time the religion of the State in Madagascar. By 1882 the mission numbered 80,000 souls, including converts and catechumens. To-day, after having ceded the northern district to the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and the southern to the Lazarists, the Jesuit mission has 174,533 Catholics and 258,000 catechumens, and 1,253 schools with 62,961 pupils. In the vicariate which the mission constitutes there are two Bishops, 183 priests, 72 lay Brothers, 94 nuns and 1,604 school teachers. The missionaries reside in certain central stations, whence they go forth to preach the word and to give special instructions to the catechumens and children preparing for first Communion. At the head of each minor station is placed a catechist who teaches the children, leads in the prayers recited in common, and forms with some of the principal personages a sort of patriarchal council for the village.

The catechists, who are commonly schoolmasters as well, are trained with great care by the missionaries. As a help towards keeping up the spirit of their training, they pay a monthly visit to the nearest central station, usually on the first Friday, receive the sacraments and consult with the fathers. Once a year they make the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius."

Nor are the Catholic converts milk and water ones, or only veneered with religion. We have some evidences of their general quality in the reports of the fathers who labor in the field. One of these, the Rev. Father Castets, S. J., who is in Central Madagascar, wrote in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* for February, 1908:

"One must not be too eager to multiply conversions. The field is here, but it must be cultivated before it can be extended. We must guard against having merely mediocre Christians. It is necessary to confirm in the faith the families already won to Catholicism and insure this heritage of truth to their children.

"Formerly the majority of the natives followed, without knowing why, the religion of their masters. Now the sects are disappearing. To give but one example—at Ambohimalaza, the centre of my district, of the four thousand inhabitants who formerly filled three Protestant churches there are now hardly a hundred people who meet in one church and ten or twelve others in the second. The third has been opened only once to receive the relatives of the pupils of a school directed by a Swiss deaconess of the French (Huguenot) Mission.

"This assembly in the largest of the three churches was not a prayer meeting, but a gathering brought about to insure the pay of the teachers. At our chapel we have three hundred and sixty baptized Catholics and six hundred adherents who declare they belong to us. Among these a number have set to work resolutely to study the Catholic doctrine. The others content themselves with coming to us and repeating *mbola hianatra*, 'I will study some time in the future.'

"Where are the three thousand inhabitants of Ambohimalaza who are neither Catholics nor Protestants? They have fallen back into paganism, and have resumed their old heathen practices.

"Though at each station there are some indifferent Christians, whose carelessness is often the result of ignorance, others are well instructed and faithful to the practices of piety and to the frequentation of the sacraments.

"Thus it is that always on the first Friday of the month I number more than one hundred communions of people who come, sometimes, from great distances. Frequently they arrive the evening before, having walked about twenty miles.

"The next morning after communion they set out on their return journey. Their perseverance is most edifying, and must be very pleasing to God.

"In a month from now we are to furnish Bishop Cazet with a report of our work. Already the number of communions during the year exceeds five thousand. There are among these people many beautiful souls, who struggle against imperfection with a constancy for which I bless Our Lord.

"Some members of my congregation communicate daily and on Sundays travel after me to the different stations in order that they may not be deprived of the Holy Eucharist. The apostolate, notwithstanding its bodily fatigues and hardships, assuredly often affords the soul great consolation. We would fain have Christians perfect in a day and we are occasionally a little discouraged at the inconstancy of a few. But we must not forget that Catholicity is a new religion in this land of Madagascar and that our Christians are surrounded by many dangers.

"The generosity of these people is really surprising. Recently I happened to remark that the roof of the church of Anjeva was badly in need of repair. The following Sunday every one had sold a certain number of chickens and ducks and the collection amounted to ninety-five dollars. Yet forty-seven baptized Christians had died of the fever during the year in this small settlement and the survivors were dragging out a miserable convalescence. I thanked them for their liberality, and they replied that they were well pleased thus to *lend* something to God."

The Rev. Father Castel, S. J., writes also from another part of the same island, as follows:

"Ikongo is a district at a considerable distance from Betsileo mission. Situated in the southeastern part of Fianarantsoa, on the wooded border of the great plain of Central Madagascar, it is difficult of access, and the Tanales, who inhabit this region at the present day, were not evangelized until 1906. At that time Peter Lépa, one of the natives, was baptized. Through his zeal a little Christian congregation has been founded among these people.

"Thanks be to God, not one of the young men and young women who received into their hearts the good seed sown there by a Madagascan neophyte has turned back to paganism.

"The Tanale Catholic congregation founded, one may say, without a missionary priest, augmented and kept up without a missionary, appears a miracle of grace. The instance is more surprising because this is a congregation of young people; its leader being a youth, only seventeen or eighteen years old.

"Often placed in positions calling for the exercise of extraordin-

ary tact as well as judgment, forced to consider, on the one hand, the authority of the French officials on the island, and on the other, the native government, Peter Lépa has respected both. His conduct has remained irreproachable. The spirit of faith, love of God, zeal for the salvation of souls, surely these traits are the foundation of solid virtue. We find them in this young catechist to a marked degree.

"But what is the present state of affairs at Ikongo? What will become of this Catholicity so marvelously implanted, of this piety without divine worship and the sacraments? The young Christians of the forest are, at present, as destitute of spiritual aids as in the beginning. Recently a fire swept through Ikongo, destroying many houses of the village and, among them, the cabin used as a chapel. Since then the French Government has refused permission to the young Catholics to build even a hut of reeds and straw wherein to assemble.

"Despite these misfortunes and difficulties, however, the sacred spark of the true faith burns brightly amid this little band of neophytes, and is ready to glow into a flame, when the district can be more widely evangelized.

"The catechumens and neophytes daily gather around their young leader, assemble for devotions in the cabin of one of them, and strive, as far as possible, to keep the Sundays and festivals of the Church as days of prayer."

A still more remarkable report is that given by the Rev. Father Rouffiac, another member of the zealous Jesuit band, in the *Annals* for August of last year. We give only a portion of it here, but this will suffice to show the quality of the Catholic converts in Madagascar:

"From the beginning of their labors in this apostolic field, the missionaries of Madagascar have recognized the importance of Holy Communion for the sanctification of their neophytes, and that no other devotion can so effectually accomplish this object. The first Friday of each month is observed throughout the mission with almost as much solemnity as Sunday.

"On the first Friday all the Catholics of the village where the missionary resides assist at the Sacrifice of the Mass, and many approach the Holy Table. Many others come to the services from the neighboring villages and sometimes travel long distances in order to be present.

"This monthly communion does not satisfy the missionaries, however; they wish their penitents to communicate oftener, and labor for this end. To give an idea of the growth of this pious practice we quote the figures of the mission report:

"In 1897 there were 70,000 communions; in 1904 the number had

increased to 218,000; in 1908 there were 417,000. The custom is now, therefore, well established.

"In order to consider more in detail the spiritual benefits achieved by this salutary devotion, we will observe the results obtained in a locality particularly well known to the present writer—namely, Saint Michael's School, Amparibé.

"The students of this institution are intended to become models of the Christian life for their compatriots, whether they return to their native villages as teachers or follow the careers of interpreters, planters or merchants.

"Especial care is, therefore, given to their training. Every day, in all the grades, there is a class of religious instruction, lasting three-quarters of an hour. After spending five or six years in this establishment, a young man may truly be considered well informed with regard to the teaching and practices of the faith.

"To this education the Holy Eucharist adds a new strength and enlightenment. In 1903 or 1904 the practice of frequent communion was inaugurated at Saint Michael's. Previously, the most devout among the students contented themselves with the weekly or Sunday communion. Then they were told that those who wished might also approach the Holy Table during the week.

"The most fervent availed themselves of the privilege. Others sometimes permitted a fortnight, three weeks or even a month to elapse between their communions.

"After the publication of the decree of His Holiness Pope Pius X., exhorting the faithful to have recourse to frequent communion, the document was explained to the students. The devout were encouraged to follow the counsel of the Holy Father in order to preserve and increase their fervor; the less pious and more difficult of restraint, in order that they might become more docile and devout. All were, however, left free to follow the dictates of grace in their hearts.

"A certain number of the students began to receive Holy Communion daily. The greater number approached the altar several times a week. Not one let more than a week pass without communicating.

"If the saint of the day was one whose life was familiar to them, or was the patron of one of the missionaries, almost all the students received Communion.

"On these mornings the teacher in surveillance during the early study hour found the study hall deserted. Instead of ninety or ninety-five students he found before him ten or twelve, and these were, probably, youths not yet baptized, or small boys who had not yet made their first Communion.

"Moreover, the students prepare for the reception of the Blessed Sacrament with much care and purity of conscience. Some are dispensed from confessing, without necessity, before each Communion, but few avail themselves of this permission. The majority approach the Sacrament of Penance before every Communion."

Protestantism in Madagascar was for many years the religion of the State, and a persecuting one at that, like its maternal source in Britain, is now dwindling away and perishing of inanition. It calls on the Governments of Great Britain and the United States to come to its aid. The Catholics call upon no earthly help. They look, as they always have done, to Him who is watching over what is going on in Madagascar, as in France, and who will not fail in time to answer the prayers of His own people.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

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JOHN BANNISTER TABB, POET.

IN modern times the death of no poet has called forth the universal attention which for the last few months has been focused upon the late John Bannister Tabb. Living he was accorded a place among the best of contemporaneous poets. But dead—when his voice was forever stilled, when the last sweet note had trilled from his liquid throat—the literary world suddenly realized its loss, and the critics dipped their pens in tears and unanimously placed him in the loftiest choir of lyric singers in the English language—into the small and select circle wherein sit Shelley, Coleridge, Keats and Poe.

Their noonday never knows
What names immortal are:
'Tis night alone that shows
How star surpasseth star.

This quatrain exemplifies his own life. His "noonday" little dreamed that in it walked the most beloved child of the Muses in the unpoetic days of the early twentieth century. But when he was gone, when "night" came, his glorious scintillations were missing, and then the truth was known. Yet "the song-bird, not the song, is hid," and down through the halls of years it will continue to reëcho, charming all who care to listen to its simple sweetness.

Tabb's claims to preëminence as a poet are many. To enumerate and exemplify them all is not our intention. We will note but a few and let them speak for themselves. His foremost and most

striking attribute is originality. Originality in poetry is creation. Every man at some time or other feels sweeping upon his soul a flood of emotion which thrills his very being, but which he is unable to express. The ability to that is the prerogative of the poet. Poetic feeling is common to all; poetic expression, the gift of the few. Upon the manner of expression depends the ultimate worth of a poet. He may imitate, he may improve upon a model, or he may spontaneously burst forth into a rhapsody whose exemplar exists only in his own imagination. This last is creation, and no one will gainsay that it is the highest form of poetic composition. It is the direct result of genius and inspiration, and carries with it a tone which is lacking in the work produced under other conditions. Every line from Tabb's pen bears this mark of originality. Nowhere are we conscious that he is merely saying or reëchoing something which we have read before. His subjects may be old. They are—as old as nature herself. But his treatment is original; the message he draws from them is new. The more familiar the reader is with English poetry, the more evident will this quality be.

He is a master colorist, knowing full well the secret of every combination which will better bring out what he is trying to express. Just as color mastery marks the great artist, so it stamps the great poet. The use of adjectives and explanatory phrases are the principal colors which lend themselves to the poet. Tabb realized the value of them, and to his mastery of them is due his wonderful power of crystallization. He said more in four lines than many other poets said in four times as many. He not only said more, but said it more beautifully, more perfectly. Like Shakespeare, one word cannot be disturbed without the beauty of the entire structure being defaced.

Being a musician, he understood the inseparable bond between music and poetry, and never overlooked its importance. His ear, trained to musical cadence, was ever alert to the slightest whispering of nature, which he immediately took in and made his own. Hence his verses sway and dance in perfect measure like the fabled nymphs of antiquity. In his poems he has voiced the twittering of skylarks, the sighing of echoes, the rippling of brooklets, the whispering of boughs and the murmuring of zephyrs in a most exquisite manner. Listen to the melody in the following lines from "The Dews:"

We drip through the night from the starlids bright
On the sleeping flowers,
And deep in their breast is our perfumed rest
Through the darkened hours:
But again with the day we are up and away
With our stolen dyes,
To paint all the shrouds of the drifting clouds
In the eastern skies.

Through the fields of fancy he wandered with careless abandon. Into the haunts of bird and flower and brooklet he quietly stole and entered into close communion with the beauties of the visible world. Everything spoke to him, and he was ever ready to listen. Thus he becomes the interpreter of the things that pass the ken of the ordinary eye. His vision penetrates the thin veil which hides the "things unseen," and he gives the "exquisite expression of exquisite impressions." He lives in the ideal world so near and yet so far from our actual workaday world. For him sunbeams transform dewdrops into sparkling diamonds, and the spray of brooks is fairy kisses thrown to bashful flowers by sportive water-imps. Up the ladder of argent moonbeams he climbs to the meadows of space and roves among the "forget-me-nots" of the angels. He solves the magic of moonbeams, the mystery of starlight and holds familiar converse with the clouds, and when the night is spent, looking toward the reddening east, he cries out at "Dawn-Burst:"

Lo, now the dead volcano, Night,
In silence cold,
Throbs; and the prisoned lava, long controlled,
Bursts forth in molten gold—
A torrent mightier far than rolled
From Ætna or Vesuvius of old,
Or ever prophet, on the sacred height
Of song, foretold.

Back to the earth he comes and sports with the lark, the robin, the mocking-bird, the violet, the water lily and the rose. He loves them all, but his love does not lose itself in nature-worship. He never runs against the hidden rocks of Pantheism, upon which so many singers have been wrecked. No; he sees God in all things and hears the glorious anthem the material world forever raises to its Creator:

I see Thee in the distant blue;
But in the Violet's dell of dew,
Behold, I *breathe* and *touch* Thee, too.

He remembers that here we have no lasting city, but as pilgrims are journeying to another land foreshadowed by the beauty of the flowers:

Like stars that in the waves below,
With heaven's reflected splendor glow,
The flowers in all their beauty bright
Are shadows of a fairer light.

To make a brief examination of his works we will divide them into three classes—quatrains, lyrics and sonnets. In all classes we wish to emphasize the clarity of thought, the witchery of expression and the delicacy of touch. Brevity, too, is one of their noteworthy features, for Tabb never aspired to long flights of song, but, like the lark, was content to sing a short, sweet lay, to outpour the rhapsody

of his soul in a few melodious bars, and then to lapse into silence. Some have objected to the extreme brevity of his compositions. But they who do so have but a superficial idea of his work. For did they examine carefully the poems they consider too short, they would find in them much more than is revealed by desultory reading. Take, for example, the famous couplet:

All men the painter, Youth, engage;
And some the famous sculptor, Age.

Who will deny the world of meaning held within these two lines or complain because the thought was not stretched out into more verses? To such objectors the poet himself makes answer, for in "To a Songster" we read that it was his ambition:

O little bird, I'd be
A poet like to thee,
Singing my native song—
Brief to the ear, but long
To love and memory.

And all who have read his poems know how well he has succeeded in following his ideal.

Tabb's mastery of the quatrain is his crowning glory. No matter what place among the great lyric poets he is eventually assigned, it must be conceded that he is surpassed by no writer in the language in the richness, the beauty and the strength of his quatrains. The power of condensation evidenced in them is marvelous. They are thoughts crystallized, so that when the light of the reader's intellect plays upon them they refract and scintillate in a thousand different ways. One never wearies of them. Some new beauty is found, some secret thought hitherto hidden is revealed at every reading. Woven into them are the dyes of the rainbow, the iridescent hues of the butterfly's wing, the shimmer of star-gleam, the foam of billows, the solemnity of silence, the sternness of philosophy and the consolation of religion. He is fond of the paradox and frequently uses it with telling effect. To select some of his quatrains to exemplify his artistic excellence is like trying to pick the most perfect specimens from a casket of glittering diamonds. The task is almost hopeless, for we hesitate in the presence of absolute beauty. Yet we offer the following:

MOUNT EVEREST.

As in the furnace fared the holy feet,
Unblemished by the seven-fold fervor, so
Nearest the sun, cold-whitening in the heat,
Is thine eternal chastity of snow.

BETRAYAL.

"Whom I shall kiss." I heard a sunbeam say,
"Take him and lead away."
Then, with the traitor's salutation, "Hall!"
He kissed the dawn-star pale.

TWILIGHT.

Like Ruth, she follows where the reaper, Day,
Lets fall the slender shadows in her way;
Then—winnowing the darkness—home again,
She counts her golden grain.

WOMAN.

Shall she come down and on our level stand?
Nay; God forbid it! May a mother's eyes—
Love's earliest home, the heaven of Babyland—
Forever bend above us as we rise.

SLEEP.

What art thou, balmy sleep,
Foam from the fragrant deep
Of silence, hither blown
From the hushed waves of tone?

FANCY.

A boat unmoored, wherein a dreamer lies,
The slumberous waves low-lisping of a land
Where love, forever with unclouded eyes,
Goes, wed with wondering music, hand in hand.

THE POSTULANT.

In ashes from the wasted fires of noon,
Aweary of the light,
Comes Evening, a tearful novice, soon
To take the veil of Night.

HOLY GROUND.

Pause where apart the fallen sparrow lies,
And lightly tread;
For there the pity of a Father's eyes
Enshrines the dead.

WHISPER.

Close cleaving unto Silence, unto Sound
She ventures as a timorous child from land,
Still glancing, at each wary step, around,
Lest suddenly she lose her sister's hand.

With these selections from the quatrains we leave them and pass to the lyrics. Here we will sub-divide to facilitate consideration, classifying them as major and minor lyrics. Among the former we will include all the poems which represent his longest and most sustained flights in song, and among the latter the little gems which come between the quatrains and major lyrics. The same characteristics which mark his quatrains are to great extent found in the minor lyrics. Delicacy, condensation and vivid expression are ever prominent, coupled with a tripping and harmonious metrical arrangement. They are beautiful word pictures, filled with exquisite imagery, some of them woven of such gossamer texture that they glisten like spiders' webs in the sun. Every little thing he comes in contact with he beautifies and crystallizes. The flimsiness of the mist at dawn he has thus incorporated into the lines of "The Mist:"

Eurydice eludes the dark
To follow Orpheus, the lark
That leads her to the dawn
With rhapsodies of star delight,
Till, looking backward in his flight,
He finds that she is gone.

The destruction of the dream world wherein love fain would dwell
is told in "Life's Ramah:"

Day after day
The Herod Morn
Of dreams doth slay
The latest born;
And Love, like Rachel o'er her dead,
Will not again be comforted.

Here we have a striking example of Tabb's power in the use of the explanatory word. Is there a word in the language which could better qualify "Morn" than "Herod," or explain "Love" than "Rachel?"

Who is there that in early spring when listening intently to the choir of frogs chanting their nocturnal hymns has not been impressed by the melancholy tone of their limpid, monotonous notes? Are there not many who have experienced what Tabb thus interprets in "Meadow Frogs:"

Ere yet the earliest warbler wakes,
Of coming spring to tell,
From every marsh a chorus breaks—
A choir invisible—
As though the blossoms underground
A breath of utterance had found.

Whence comes the liquid melody?
The summer clouds can bring
No fresher music from the sky
Than here the marshes sing.
Methinks the mists about to rise
Are chanting their rain prophecies.

The triumph and defeat of Death furnish the thought clothed in the lines of "Foiled:"

Ah, Death, thou art a lover,
And with thy rival, Life,
For proud possession of her
Didst wage perpetual strife,
Till Fate adjudged thee victory;
But Life's eternal spoil is she.

In "Conscience," that intangible something which makes up the better part of us, he robes sound philosophy in the beautiful garment of poesy:

I am that Tamerlane,
The scourge of God;
With me alone remain
The sword and rod
Wherewith in wrath throughout His world-domain
Doth Love avenging reign.

I am that Joseph, bound
And sold in vain;
From dungeon darkness found
To rise again,
At God's right hand, whate'er of good redound,
His sole vice-regent crowned.

From the depth and solidity of thought as expressed in the foregoing poem we turn to the delicately wrought lines of "A Legacy,"

in which the poet converses with a cloud. The sudden transition from the opposed poles of thought as evidenced in these two poems show Tabb's remarkable versatility:

Do you remember, little cloud,
This morning, when you lay
A mist along the river, what
The waters had to say?

And how the many colored flowers
That on the margin grew
All promised when the day was done
To leave their tints to you?

Among the major lyrics "The Cloud," "The Swallow," "Echoes" and "To a Wood-Robin" are preëminent. In conception and execution the work of no American poet approaches these lyrics. They are the poems which gain for Tabb admission into the exclusive circle wherein are Keats and Shelley. For they rival the best poems of these acknowledged masters. In "Echoes" he has caught the wistful sadness of the sighing phantoms and in tremulous verses bequeathed it to us.

Hark! the wavy chorus,
Faint and far away,
Like a dream returning
In the light of day—
Too fond to flee, alas! too timorous to stay.

Pausing, still they linger,
As in love's delay,
With sybillic omen
Seeming thus to say:
"Of all the vanished past, we Echoes only stay."

In "Swallow,"

. . . sweet child of spring:
A slanting arrow sent
From yon fair-tinted bow,
In promise bent,

the rippling music of the lines is like the twittering of the bird whose flight it portrays. The sentiment of the closing stanza is exceptionally sweet and calm:

For day is done,
And, cloyed of long delight,
Like me, thou welcomest
The sober night;
Like me, aweary, sinkest on the breast
That woos all nature to her silent rest.

The poet, contemplating the evanescent beauty of the cloud drifting aimlessly through the ocean of the sky, thus soliloquizes in "The Cloud:"

Far on the brink of day
Thou standest as the herald of the dawn,
Where fades the night's last flickering spark away
Ere the first dewdrop's gone.
And when the evening dyes
Still to the fringed vesture clings the light;

The last sad glimmer of her tearful eyes
On the dark verge of night.

So, soon thy glories wane.
Thou, too, must mourn the rose of morning shed;
Cold creeps the fatal shadow o'er thy train,
And settles on thy head.

And then, moralizing from the fate of the cloud, the poet would have us learn the great truth:

Thou, like the cloud, my soul,
Dost in thyself of beauty naught possess;
Devoid the light of heaven, a vapor foul,
The veil of nothingness.

There is a joyousness in "To a Wood-Robin" which is charged with the very breath of spring. When we read this poem we distinctly hear the piping of the robin as he trills his welcome to the awakening woodlands. The song of the bird awakens the poetic spirit of the poet, and in his inspiration he cries out:

The wooing air is jubilant with song,
And blossoms swell
As leaps thy liquid melody along
The dusky dell,
Where silence, late supreme, foregoes her wonted spell.

Thy hermitage is peopled with the dreams
That gladden sleep;
Here fancy dallies with delirious themes,
'Mid shadows deep,
Till eyes, unused to tears, with wild emotions weep.

Yet thou, from mortal influence apart,
Seek'st naught of praise;
The empty plaudits of the emptier heart
Taint not thy lays:
Thy Maker's smile alone thy tuneful bosom sways.

Tabb's sonnets are as near perfection as it is possible for mere human genius to attain. They are as stately and as chaste as the marble of Angelo, and are models of classic grace and elegance. Despite the fact that the sonnet limits the elasticity of expression, Tabb lost none of his power by submitting to its rules. In them he writes with the same clarity, with the same outpouring of poetic feeling as is found in his lyrics. Teeming with elevating sentiment, their tone and color bespeak a master hand. "Daybreak" is as noble a structure as we have in the whole anthology of English sonnets:

What was thy dream, sweet Morning for, behold,
Thine eyes are heavy with the balm of night,
And, as reluctant lilies, to the light
The languid lids of lethargy unfold.
Was it the tale of yesterday retold—
An echo wakened from the western height,
Where the warm glow of sunset dalliance bright
Grew, with the pulse of waning passion, cold?
Or was it some heraldic vision grand
Of legends that forgotten ages keep
In twilight, where the sundering shoals of day
Vex the dim sails, unplotted of Sleep,
Till one by one the freighting fancies gay,
Like bubbles, vanish on the treacherous strand?

Shelley, Keats and Poe were the favorite authors of our poet, and he honors their memory in some beautiful and touching sonnets. Mark the beauty of the following sonnet, "At Keats' Grave:"

"I feel the flowers growing over me."
Prophetic thought! Behold, no cypress gloom
Portrays in dim memorial the doom
That quenched the ray of starlight destiny!
E'en death itself deals tenderly with thee:
For here the live-long year the violets bloom
And swing their fragrant censers till the tomb
Forgets the legend of mortality.
Nay: while the pilgrim periods of time
Alternate song and holy requiem sing,
As through the circling centuries sublime
They scatter frost or genial sunshine bring,
With gathered sweets of every varying clime
They weave around thee one perpetual spring.

Poet and priest—doubly blest indeed was Father Tabb. To the simple, confiding faith of the priest were united the inspiration and spiritual insight of the poet. And with what glorious results! From the deep-rock springs of Christianity he drew his inspiration and made poetry the handmaid of religion, as she from the earliest times was ever wont to be, without intruding his own personal and private religion. The religion of his poems is a part of every man who believes in a Supreme Being; it is part of the scheme of the universe. Every line of Tabb's poetry uplifts, is ennobling and tends to make the reader a better man. Can as much be said of many other poets?

Tabb the man is gone, but Tabb the poet remains and will remain forever. True poetry is as immortal as the human heart, because it is the language of the heart. It cannot die as long as man is man. Tabb understood and spoke that language as did few others. Poetry to him was a passion; he sang for "the very joy of singing," from the fullness of an inspired soul. There is no false ornament, no glamor in his work. It is pure and unalloyed. It is

A gleam of heaven; the passion of a star
Held captive in the clasp of harmony;
A silence shell-like, breathing from afar
The rapture of the deep—Eternity.

JOSEPH L. O'BRIEN.

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Book Reviews

THEOLOGY OF THE SACRAMENTS. A Study in Positive Theology. By *Very Rev. P. Pourrat, V. G.*, rector of the Theological Seminary of Lyons (France). Authorized translation from the third French edition. 12mo., pp. 417. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 1910.

The third edition of this valuable book, brought up to date, in which the author has profited by the latest studies that have been published on the sacraments and the latest decrees, is most timely. As he said in the first edition:

"Liberal Protestantism triumphantly affirms, in the name of history, that the Catholic dogmas concerning the sacraments are purely human doctrines, and even that these Christian rites were borrowed from paganism. Other errors have also been put forth of late in regard to the relation of history to sacramentary theology.

"Called upon by his functions to submit those biased and exaggerated doctrines to a critical examination, the author has carefully studied the facts with the aid of a rigorously scientific method. The result of this impartial examination has been to show that an exclusively Christian inspiration presided over the origin of our dogmas regarding the sacraments and over the origin of those sacraments themselves, and that between the spiritual and patristic data in this matter and the sacramentary definitions of the Council of Trent, there exists a conformity sufficient to satisfy any reasonable mind."

Conditions have not changed since this was written except for the worst. Protestantism has become more liberal until even the limited number of sacraments which formerly were acknowledged by some of the sects are now much more generally denied, or, at least, accepted in a lukewarm, careless, indifferent manner, which is almost equivalent to a denial.

At such a time positive theology is necessary, and it must be carefully and fearlessly taught.

"This study of positive sacramentary theology is based on the traditional conception of the development of dogma, that which St. Vincent of Lerins outlined in the fifth century, which Newman has set forth so powerfully in modern times, and which the Vatican Council has made its own."

This doctrine of the development of dogma finds, indeed, in sacramentary theology a particularly striking application. For the historical development of the Catholic dogma coincides fairly well with its logical development.

"It was the Trinitarian doctrines which first and almost exclusively absorbed the thoughts of ecclesiastical writers of the first four cen-

turies. Then in the fifth and sixth centuries, the Nestorian, Pelagian and Monophysite heresies obliged the Church to fix the attention upon the Christological dogma, and upon those concerning original sin and grace. Only afterwards did Christian thought turn to the formal consideration of those means of grace and of remission of sin which are the sacraments.

"Therefore, while the development of the Trinitarian, Christological and Soteriological dogmas was almost entirely completed during the patristic period, that of the sacramentary dogmas went on more slowly. It was worked out in the Middle Ages by the scholastic theologians, who are the representatives of Catholic tradition in their time, as the fathers are in the first centuries.

"But although the development of the dogmas of the sacraments was rather late, the sacraments themselves have, from the very beginning, been used by the Church, which received them from Jesus Christ. 'The rites which possess the power of producing grace have always been practiced in the Church. To each ceremony was joined a traditional doctrine which explained its nature and effects. . . . But the systematic and philosophic form (of the doctrine) did evolve.' This quotation from the Abbé de Broglie expresses well the manner in which the dogmas of the sacraments developed; they are for the most part theoretical expressions of the practice of the Church with regard to the sacraments. The well-known saying, 'Lex orandi, lex credendi,' finds here its full justification.

"The reader, then, will not be tempted to conclude from the rather late formation of the theology of the sacraments to the late appearance of the sacraments themselves. Such an inference would be absolutely wrong."

It must be evident from these quotations that the author is working in a valuable and fruitful field. The result of his labors should be great in a quickening of faith and a spread of doctrine even among Protestants and unbelievers.

ST. VINCENT DE PAUL AND THE VINCENTIANS IN IRELAND, SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND, A. D. 1638-1909. By *Rev. Patrick Boyle, C. M.* 12mo., pp. 318. R. & T. Washbourne, London.

Some one has truthfully said that a complete life of St. Vincent would entail the history of his times. Father Boyle helps us to realize this by showing us his great power and influence in a limited field. He says:

"The biographers of St. Vincent de Paul have set before their readers the whole life and works of the saints. From the circum-

stances of the case they could only devote a limited space to his services in any particular country.

"The object of this present volume is to set forth in fuller detail the services which Vincent in the seventeenth century, and his spiritual children in the nineteenth, have rendered to the Church in the British Isles.

"The work is divided into three books. The first book treats of the part which Irishmen had in the early history of the Congregation of the Mission, and of their labors in Ireland and in Scotland during the lifetime of the founder; of the succession of Irishmen in the community in the eighteenth century, and of the reestablishment of the congregation in Ireland, England and Scotland in the nineteenth. It also contains an account of the establishment, development and work of the Sisters of Charity, of the Ladies' Association of Charity and of the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul.

"The second book is made up of a collection of letters of St. Vincent de Paul addressed to certain Irish priests of his community. A life-sketch of the priests is prefixed to the letters addressed to each. The letters, a translation of which is given in this book, compared with many contained in the full collection of his correspondence, are not of special importance. They have been selected because they were addressed to Irishmen. They treat of the ordinary details of community administration, but they present a true picture of what manner of man St. Vincent was in the management of business and in the details of ordinary life.

"The third book contains short life-sketches of some of the more prominent members of the Irish province of the Congregation of the Mission in the nineteenth century.

"In the appendix are to be found some documents of an official character, referred to in the course of this work, together with a list of the Irishmen who were members of the Congregation of the Mission from its foundation in 1625 to the French Revolution in 1793."

Altogether a very interesting and valuable volume of biography and history. It is only by the multiplication of such books, each dealing with a certain phase of his work or a certain period, that we can hope for the complete life and history of so great a man and his work as St. Vincent de Paul.

THE LIFE OF SAINT CLARE. Ascribed to *Father Thomas of Celano*, of the order of Friars Minor (A. D. 1255-1261). Translated and edited from the earliest manuscript by *Father Paschal Robinson*, of the same order, with an appendix containing the Rule of Saint Clare. 12mo., pp. 169, illustrated. Published by The Dolphin Press at Philadelphia, 1910.

The first thought that must come to the mind of any one who

sees this book is, how well the volume and the subject fit together. It is an unusually attractive volume in form, but more so in matter. As the author says:

"It is said that devoted women have been the complement of almost all the men who have notably affected religion. However this may be, the story of St. Clare is linked so very closely with that of St. Francis in popular sentiment and imagination that it seems difficult to think of the one saint apart from the other. What is certain is that the gentle influence of the Assisian abbess played no small part in fashioning the life and forwarding the work of the Umbrian Poverello. Not only was St. Clare 'the chief rival of the Blessed Francis in the observance of Gospel perfection,' as an early chronicler styles her; she was also his chief ally in bringing about that great religious movement which told so wonderfully upon the spiritual life of the West and upon the history of the thirteenth century. No one else, indeed, appears to have caught the spirit of St. Francis so completely as St. Clare—that exquisite Franciscan spirit, as it is called, which is so tender and yet so strong, so human and yet so other-worldly—and in that spirit she threw around poverty an ineffable charm, such as women alone can impart to religious or civic heroism. After St. Francis was gone, Clare proved herself the faithful heiress of his ideals; and when those ideals were in danger of demolition, because some of his disciples would fain have tempered their master's teachings by the dictates of worldly wisdom, it was she who struggled to uphold them beyond all the rest. That struggle lasted more than a quarter of a century; it ended only with her life. But the victory lay with Clare, whose steadfast striving after an ideal through good report and evil report, no less than her engaging example of 'the praying spirit that worked as it prayed,' did much to guide the women of her day toward higher aims."

In addition to its value as the life of this great Franciscan written by a contemporary, it has the merit of being the only life of St. Clare in English. It will interest not only those who are lovers of St. Francis, or those who learn wisdom from all the saints, but even those who belong to neither of these classes, but who are refined enough to recognize and appreciate the higher things and better in the true sense.

St. Clare called herself "the little flower of St. Francis." St. Bonaventure says that she shed around her the fragrance of spring-tide. Something of that fragrance still clings to the story of her life and lends it a special charm. As the author says, "it is truly one of those lives that can teach perfection without sacrificing poetry. And in so far as it may be allowable to associate the idea of romance with such a subject, the friendship of St. Francis and

St. Clare forms one of the most romantic chapters in the lives of the saints."

BLESSED MARY OF THE ANGELS, Discalced Carmelite (1661-1717). A Biography. By Rev. George O'Neill, S. J., M. A., Fellow of the Royal University of Ireland. 12mo., pp. 184. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, 1909.

The strictly contemplative orders are not generally in favor in our busy utilitarian country. This is principally because they are not known or understood. Therefore the life of a contemplative ought to have a special value for us. This thought must have been in the mind of the author when he said:

"It was not in the hope of attracting the 'ordinary reader' that I began this work. Nor, now that it is done, am I sure that it can be strongly recommended to him, even by a promise that it will certainly edify his individual soul. Yet (after allowing for faults of execution) I believe that it can—nay, even ought—to bring him pleasure and profit. If he be anything of a psychologist, one interested in rare types of human character and its developments, a student of that mysterious borderland of the invisible world with which 'science' is at long last beginning to concern herself, he will find food for thought in these pages. If he would study a type of exalted sanctity, a soul singularly elevated to Divine communion; if he desires to elevate himself by the afflatus of a great example, to catch some fire from another's burning love for God, here he may become acquainted with a seraph in human form. But so much depends upon the indisposition brought by the reader himself to a biography like this. Humility is certainly needful—*memor sit conditionis suae*. He is no final judge of what it narrates. He must not discuss the actions of God-illuminated, God-intoxicated souls with the offhand ease wherewith one criticizes the dress and manner of a casual acquaintance. He must not try to fathom with a foot-rule the dealings of the Almighty with those whom he chooses singularly honor, nor apply the small prudential standards that suffice for his own daily doings to the self-expressions of rare natures exceptionally guided. At the point where he ceases to understand, his word should be as submissive as that of the Apostle of the Gentiles: 'O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and the knowledge of God.'"

These words form an excellent introduction to what follows—a wonderful record of a soul in constant close communion with its God, removing by the severest penances and mortifications all possible barriers to even more intimate relations, and assailed at all times by the spirits of darkness, who do all in their power to separate

creature from Creator. It is a startling narrative and one especially suited to a so-called practical age.

THE SUPREME PROBLEM. An Examination of Historical Christianity From the Standpoint of Human Life and Experience and in the Light of Psychical Phenomena. By *J. Godfrey Kaupert*. Peter Paul & Son, 136 North Pearl street, Buffalo, N. Y. 1910.

Although the author tells us that he writes from the standpoint of a layman, and does not claim for his book the dignity of a theological treatise, his education and experience as an Anglican clergyman give him the right to a cleric's point of view and to a more pretentious title. He entered the Church in 1895, but our readers will remember him best as the author of "Roads to Rome," "Ten Years in Anglican Orders" and "Modern Spiritism."

His interest in social work and his long journeys to Canada and elsewhere in behalf of London's outcast children have given him a knowledge of men and creeds which fits him in a special manner for the book before us. A glance at his own statement of his purpose and plan will be convincing:

"This volume does not claim to be a theological treatise. On the contrary, it is written from the standpoint of a layman who has thought much and long on what he conceives to be the supreme problem of human life, and who believes that the conclusions which he has reached respecting it may be helpful to other thoughtful and reflecting minds. He is thoroughly convinced, in spite of a thousand appearances to the contrary, that the solution of this supreme problem is easier and simpler than is commonly supposed, and that it lies within the reach of all men of normal mind and of good will.

"The book is thus essentially a human document. It is constructed upon and appeals to the simple and universal experiences of human life, and its reasoning is according to what may in fairness be called the necessary laws of human thought. It takes the facts of life and of consciousness as they really are and draws from them simple, natural and self-evident inferences. It does not occupy itself with speculative theories or philosophies or schools of thought, since these cannot, from their nature, contribute towards the end which the author has in view. It is, in his opinion, because of the multiplicity of these philosophies and theories and of the exaggerated importance and interest which are apt to be attached to them, and the fundamental truths themselves have become obscured, and that there has arisen the present almost hopeless confusion of ideas and beliefs. It is because men have ceased to be simple and to recognize the facts of life as they really are, and to be true to the instinctive dictates

of their nature, that there are so many perplexed and miserable hearts in the world to-day.

"The author is convinced that the return to truth and to God is by way of the return to simplicity, and to recognition of first and necessary principles, and by a due appreciation of those constant experiences, in their relation to Revealed Truth, which in the normal man indicate not only the deep needs, but also the high possibilities of his nature.

"It is only too evident that in the strife of creeds and in the conflict of philosophies simple and fundamental things have been ignored and neglected, and that the voice of the soul has been silenced, or, to put it in another form, that the soul has lost God in arguments about Him.

"It is of the soul, therefore, not of the philosophers, or scientists, or even of theologians, that the author has inquired respecting the greatest of all problems, and it is its voice that he has made to speak in this volume. That it may speak in true and clear accents to men of good will, and by its message of simple, sound reason and commonsense tend, in some measure, to calm the hideous strife of tongues, which is at present disfiguring our religious and moral life, is the author's sincere desire and fervent prayer."

THE LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES. By *Rev. Horace K. Mann*, Head Master of St. Cuthbert's School, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of History of Spain. 8vo. Vol. IV., 891—999, pp. 453; Vol. V., 999—1,048, pp. 306. St. Louis: B. Herder.

Father Mann says:

"If edification were the sole, or even the principal object which I had in view in undertaking to write the biographies of the Popes of the early Middle Ages, I might perhaps have hesitated about publishing the present series. But I wish to pursue a higher end than that of indulging in a style of historical writing which is supposed to be calculated to edify a certain type of mind. I would fulfill what I regard as a command laid upon me by the late glorious Head of the Church, and strive to make known the history of the Popes of Rome. And, as it was a cardinal maxim with Leo XIII. that truth would not injure the Church, I am convinced that he would not have had the lives of some Popes written, and the lives of others left unrecorded; nor would he have wished to see some of their deeds blazoned forth and others buried in eternal oblivion.

"I know, too, that St. Gregory I., one of the greatest of the predecessors of Leo XIII., laid it down that 'if scandal be taken from the enunciation of truth, it is better to allow the scandal to arise than to

leave the word of truth unrecorded.' Have I not also the assurance of St. Leo I. the Great that 'the dignity of Peter is not lost in an unworthy successor?' Besides, I believe that such as have the patience to read the following pages will probably conclude that the scandals of the Papacy of the Dark Ages are not so numerous as they imagined, and that excuses not a few serve to palliate most of those which did take place.

"Finally, as the history of the mediæval Papacy is a glorious one, it would appear to have been necessary for it to have its dark pages in order that its bright ones may be fully appreciated."

An author so well equipped for the work as Father Mann, with so important an epoch before him, with so full a realization of the dignity and importance of the task as well as its possibilities, must necessarily bring forth fruit worthy of the labor which he expends. We are not surprised at the excellence of the book, but should rather be much disappointed if it were in any degree diminished.

There is probably no period of church history which has had more historians, and none which has been more frequently maligned. We have never had any sympathy with the supposition that only an enemy can tell the truth about another who is not altogether perfect. On the contrary, we hold that a good, true friend is the safest man in the world to correct the faults of his neighbor. There is much greater danger that an enemy will increase the evil and lessen the good in one whom he hates than that a friend will pursue the opposite course.

For this reason especially we want Catholic history from Catholic historians, and for this reason particularly we welcome Father Mann's "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages."

PORFIRIO DIAZ, President of Mexico. The Master Builder of a Great Commonwealth. By *José F. Godoy*, author of "A Few Facts About Mexico," "The Legal and Mercantile Handbook of Mexico," etc. With sixty illustrations, maps and diagrams. 12mo., pp. 253. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. The Knickerbocker Press, 1910.

Probably the most important biography of the year. From earliest manhood until the present time the life of President Diaz has been so much an integral part of the history of Mexico, and Mexico has taken so prominent a place among the republics of the world under his wise and able direction, that the life of the man possesses an interest that is intensest in his own country, but is also very great throughout the world.

"I look at Porfirio Diaz, the President of Mexico, as one of the greatest men to be held up for the hero-worship of mankind." These words, uttered by Senator Elihu Root, when in 1907 and as

Secretary of State of the United States, he visited the Mexican Republic, fully justify the publication of any work which, containing reliable data, may give an impartial and truthful account of the life of President Diaz.

The wonderful career of this great man, both owing to his military achievements and to his great success as a statesman, cannot fail, and has not failed up to now, to claim the attention not only of his countrymen, but also of the whole civilized world.

In the English-speaking countries the desire to have a thorough knowledge of the past deeds and present achievements of General Porfirio Diaz is frequently manifested. The writer of this work, therefore, thinks that a book prepared like the present one and based upon accurate information, a great deal of which has been obtained through personal observation, will prove interesting to the reading public of the United States and England.

It may be here stated that, in order to present the facts as they really happened, and with preciseness and accuracy as to dates and some other circumstances, the President himself, some members of his family and his chief advisers and many of his friends have been consulted, thereby correcting any misstatement that unintentionally might have crept into the narrative.

NOTRE VIE SURNATURELLE (Tome Premier). *Ch. de Smedt, S. J., Bollandiste.*
Bruxelles: Albert Dewit, 53 Rue Royale.

This publication is given to the world by a missionary of long and varied experience. It is the fruit of a careful and assiduous study of the foremost masters of theological and ascetical science, especially of St. Thomas of Aquin, Suarez, St. Ignatius, St. Francis de Sales and St. Teresa. No less is it the outcome of long years spent in carefully observing both himself and others. The author can look back upon almost sixty years of religious and nearly fifty of sacerdotal life, all filled up with unceasing labors, such as could fit him eminently to write with authority on the matters here treated. The teaching of the sacred sciences, writing lives of the saints, giving numbers of missions and spiritual retreats to various classes of people, filling the office of instructor and confessor in several religious communities of men and women, these are the works to which the pious author has devoted this long lapse of years. How often, during the exercise of his apostolic ministry, has he met with numbers of fervent souls, filled with a sincere and energetic desire of arriving at Christian perfection, but hindered or considerably delayed in their progress by interior troubles, which were occasioned by the vague, unprecise, inexact or totally false ideas which they

had formed of the end they were to aim at and the means to attain it. To scatter these clouds, to impart courage, confidence and peace has been his constant effort.

The book now published by the venerable missionary will no doubt confer the same benefits on many an afflicted soul.

This volume comprises an introduction, "*Des différentes espèces de vies réunies en l'homme,*" followed by two parts—first, "*La grâce sanctifiante, principe de la vie surnaturelle;*" second, "*Les vertus surnaturelles, principes de l'activité de la vie surnaturelle.*"

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN COLLEGE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES, ROME, ITALY. By *Right Rev. Henry A. Brann, D. D., LL. D.*, rector of St. Agnes' Church, New York city. 8vo., pp. 570, illustrated. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The learned author tells us that he waited eight years after writing this book before publishing it, in order to make it more historically correct. It is so excellent that we feel fully consoled for the delay. Dr. Brann has done his work so well that American College Alumni will be prouder than ever of their alma mater, and those who were not so fortunate as to be called to Rome will be tempted to envy. The book is an important contribution to Roman ecclesiastical history as well as to American, because the two are so closely united by the American College in the Eternal City as to be inseparable.

The story of the foundation, the development, the growth and progress of the institution is interesting not only to its past and present students, but to all Catholics.

The reminiscences of the earlier alumni, which form a considerable part of the book, are unusually interesting, while the very full account of the golden jubilee celebration of the college in 1909 brings the history right up to date. The illustrations are excellent and add very much to the value of the book.

ENCHIRIDION HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE UNIVERSAE, auctore *P. Albers, S. J.* Tomus I. Desclée et Cie, Roma; B. Herder, Friburgi, Brisgoviae.

In this volume we are given the first portion in Latin of a most excellent and useful work, which is the result of years of deep, earnest and thorough research on the part of its learned author. As he himself informs us, ever since the time that he was appointed to lecture from the chair of ecclesiastical history, he carefully drew up his instructions and lectures in such a form as that they could all be readily united at the suitable time in a manual and published for the use not only of priests and ecclesiastical students, but of

educated laymen as well. To ensure the attainment of this end, the work is abundantly supplied with useful references to the various sources, whence every church historian may derive his information; they are found at the foot of almost every page of the book; also a detailed list of authorities is given at the beginning of every paragraph of each chapter.

This publication is the first edition in the Latin language of Father Albers' work, which has seen two previous editions in its original language, the Dutch. The author is careful, however, to note that the present edition is really a third and a more elaborate one than the first two, since he has not only reviewed, but increased and perfected the work before putting this Latin version of it into the hands of the printer.

The book here presented, being the first volume, comprises the first age of the Church, embracing two periods, viz.: First, the time elapsing from the Church's foundation down to the Edict of Milan (A. D. 1-313); second, from the Edict of Milan down to the Trullan Council (A. D. 313-692).

GERSON TRAITE DU DEVOIR DE CONDUIRE LES ENFANTS A JESUS CHRIST.
Traduit par l'Abbe A. Saubin. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

This being one of the most excellent of the writings of the learned and pious Gerson, we have every reason to be grateful to M. Saubin for having placed this precious document within our reach. Though possessing the aroma of antiquity, this book should be perused and meditated and circulated far and wide at the present day. In simple and touching and discreet language it eulogizes the holy work of Christian education. Teachers should meditate on it and recommend to parents the reading of it. Its object is none other than to encourage children to come to Christ, to teach them the way of doing so, to remove scandal from their path and thus protect them from the greatest dangers and evils. Can there be any work more noble, more sublime and, above all, more necessary at the present time?

MISSALE ROMANUM. 8vo. Sumptibus et Typis Frederici Pustet, Neo Eboraci.

A remarkable book, especially because it combines the good qualities of apparently irreconcilable things and seems to make extremes meet. Heretofore small hand missals have been useless for altar purposes, and those made for practical service have been too large and heavy for hand use. In the book before us the two have been successfully united—the hand-missal and the altar-missal

are one. This book is so light and convenient in size that it is a pleasure to hold it in the hand for consultation or while assisting at Mass, and yet the type is so large and clear and the book is so well made that it can be used by the celebrant of the Mass with entire satisfaction.

It is in the best sense of the word the traveler's missal, for it is equally useful in the hand or on the altar, and it takes up small space.

APOLOGETIQUE VIVANTE—Une Conversion de Protestants par la Sainte Eucharistie, par le P. Emmanuel Abt, S. J. One vol. in 16 (100 pages). Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie, rue de Rennes 117, Paris.

This little book comes most opportunely in the collection entitled "Apologétique Vivante" after the handsome work of P. H. d'Arras, S. J., "Une Anglaise Convertie." The work had at first appeared, like its predecessor, in a series of articles in one of the foremost reviews of Paris. Its narrative was so interesting, edifying and lifelike that a universal demand arose to have the whole of the articles published in book form. It is the converts themselves, who, in their autobiography, narrate and describe their spiritual life in Protestantism. They show how grace rewards the sincere efforts made by those outside the true fold to attain to the full knowledge of the truth, and leads them mysteriously at last into the haven of religious peace and rest, the Catholic Church. Finally they come to describe their conversion as it actually took place through the marvelous intervention of the Blessed Eucharist.

The mother of a family, the chief cause of all the good wrought, felt within herself an ardent longing for the Bread of Life. After Protestantism was shown to be unable to satisfy her irresistible desire, the eager soul learned that the Catholic Church would give her all she sought. Thenceforth she never desisted from her efforts until, with her family and a number of other souls besides, she entered the fold of the true Church of Christ.

It is to be hoped that this book will bring to many a wandering soul that peace which can be found only in the true faith and within the one only fold of the Good Shepherd.

HISTOIRE DE SAINT FRANÇOIS DE BORGIA, TROISIEME GENERAL DE LA COMPAGNIE DE JESUS, par Pierre Suau, S. J. One vol. in 8, raisin avec portraits. Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie, rue de Rennes 117, Paris.

The volume here presented to the public is the outcome of the persevering labor of many years, aided by the discovery of valuable documents hitherto unedited. The book entirely renews the history of St. Francis Borgia, and bound up as was this history with political

and religious events of the first importance, the new contribution will be a most valuable aid to the student.

St. Francis Borgia captivates our attention in many ways—by his name and descent, his intimate friendship with Charles V., his functions at the court, his career as statesman, the tragical adventures in which he figured, the part he took in the religious events of the period and even his sanctity—and his historian and biographer, by the help of newly-found rich sources of information, has been enabled to repicture all these phases of his life in a most striking and captivating style.

The author is complete master of his subject and of the language in which he handles it; but his chief concern is to do the part of a historian—viz., to know the truth and to make it known to his readers. This biography will doubtless hold a foremost rank amongst the lives of the saints.

PRIM UND COMPLET DES ROMISCHEN BREVIERS, liturgisch und aszetisch erklärt. Von *Dr. Nikolaus Othr.* Herder, Freiburg (St. Louis, Mo.), 1907. Pr., \$1.85.

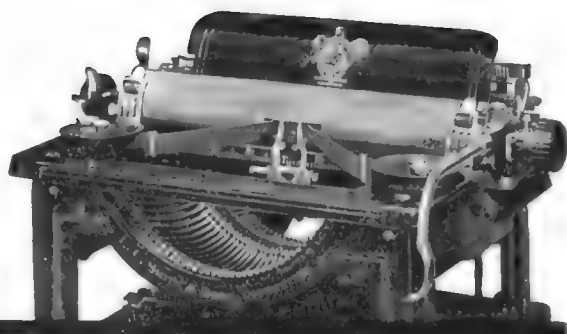
The author of this volume will be well known to those who are acquainted with the solid religious literature in German by his classical work on the Mass (two volumes; Herder), now in its tenth edition, and his two volumes on the sacraments. Besides these he has written a dogmatico-ascetic treatise on the "Sequences of the Missal" (now in a second edition). All these have a place in Herder's "Theological Library," to which also the present book on the *Prime* and *Compline* of the Roman Breviary belongs. The work is essentially an exposition of the liturgical and ascetical significance of these two parts of the Divine Office. The priest or levite who reads it cannot fail to have his "intellect illumined and his affection enkindled," and be enabled to fulfill his sacred duty with that "worthiness and devotion" which the divine prayer demands.

LE BRAHMANISME, par *L. de la Vallée-Poussin*, professeur à l'Université de Gand. One vol. in 12 de 128 pages. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris (Vie).

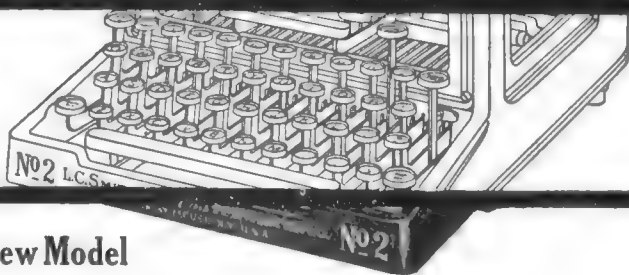
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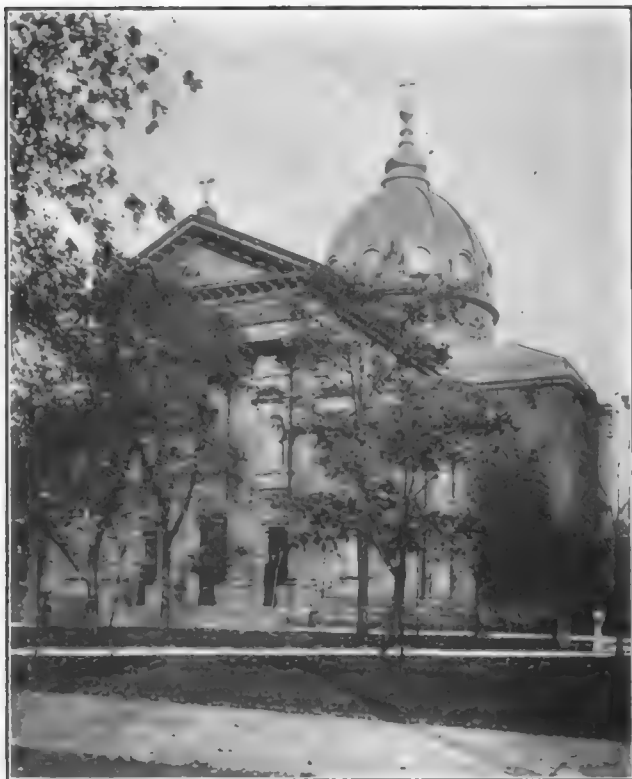
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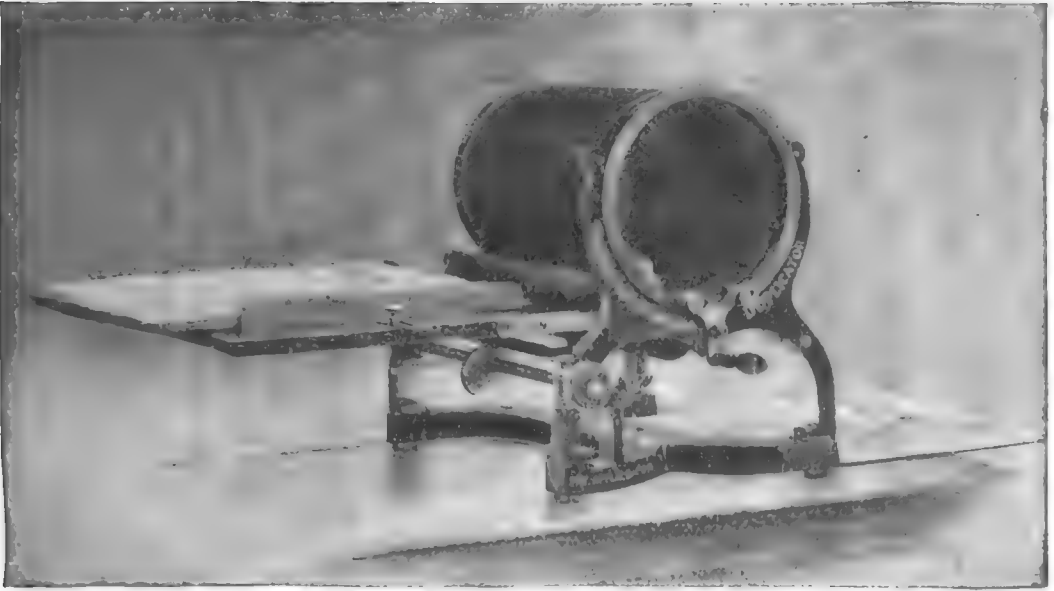
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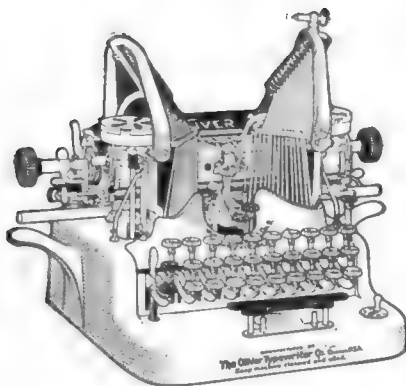
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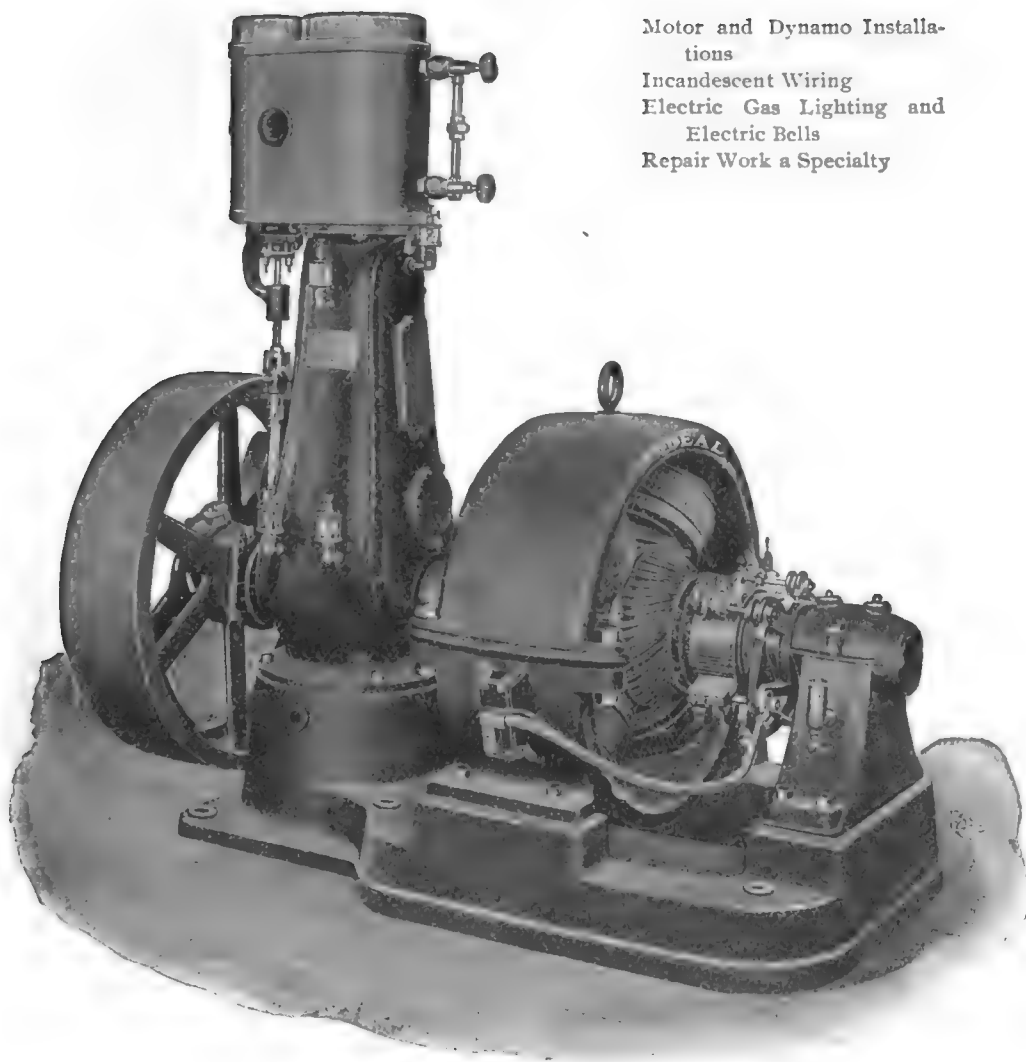
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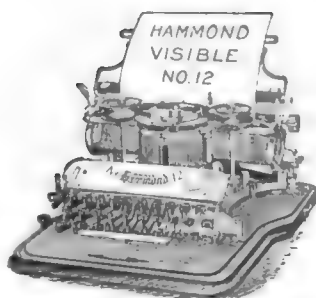
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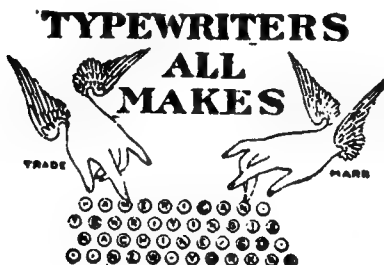
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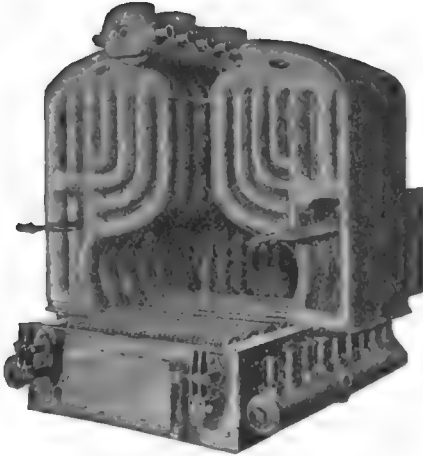
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Surplus at Par	\$1,343,775.56

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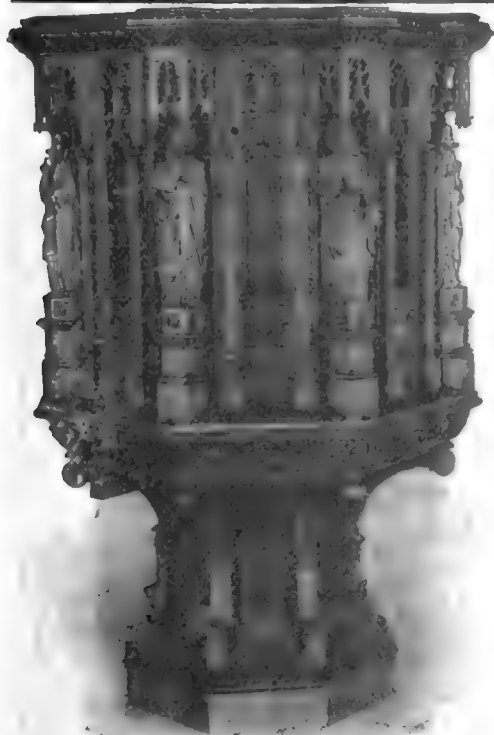
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DIE 3 JANUARI, A. D. 1884.

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Leo (T. T.) XIII.



(Translation.)

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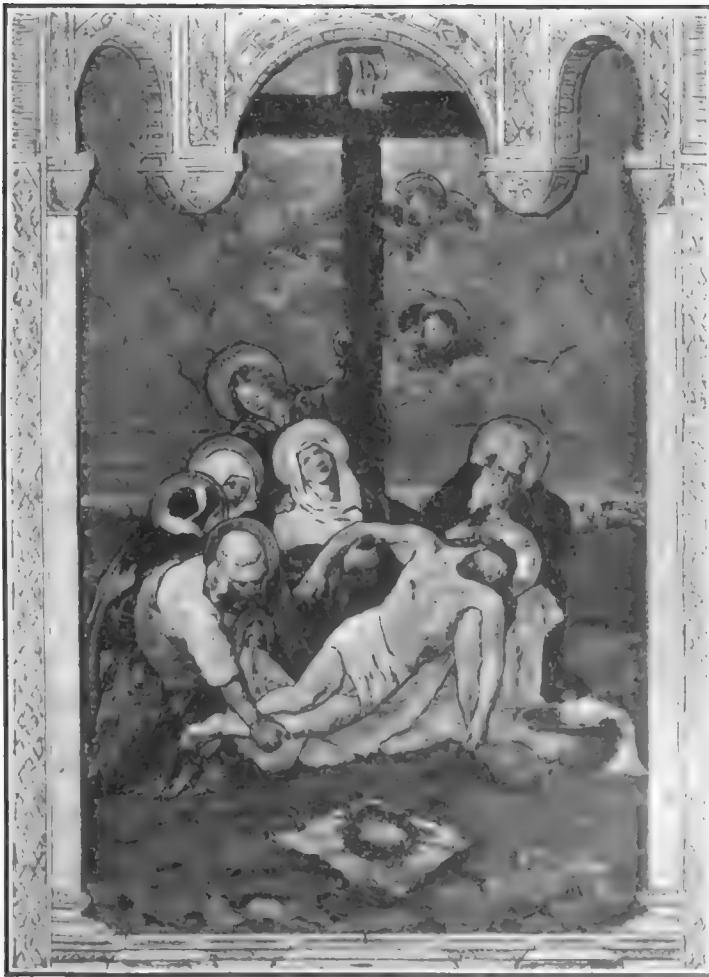
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Vol. XXXV.

JULY, 1910

No. 139

THE
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REVIEW.

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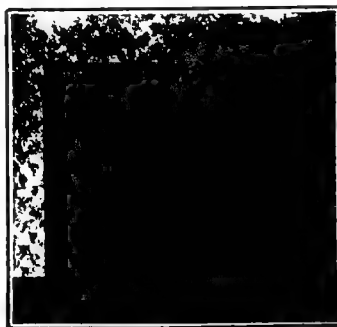
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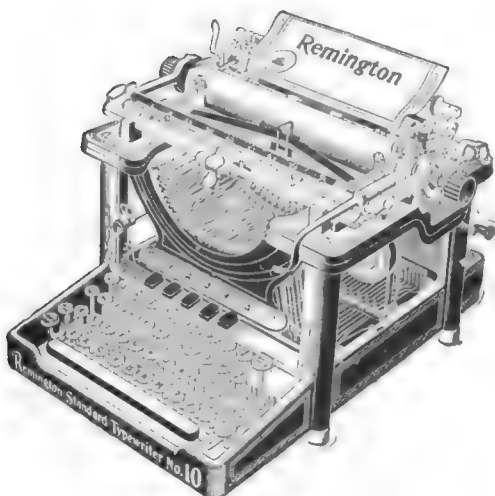
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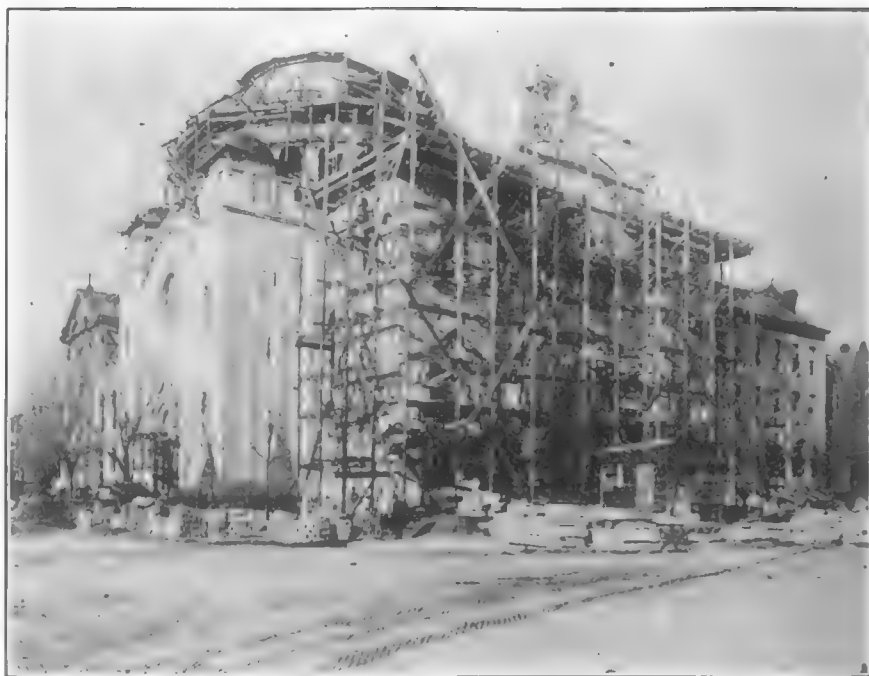
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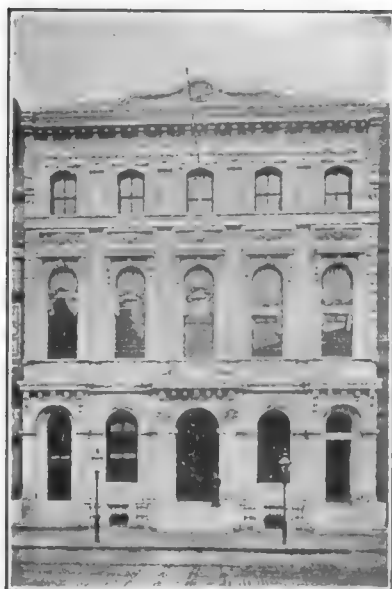
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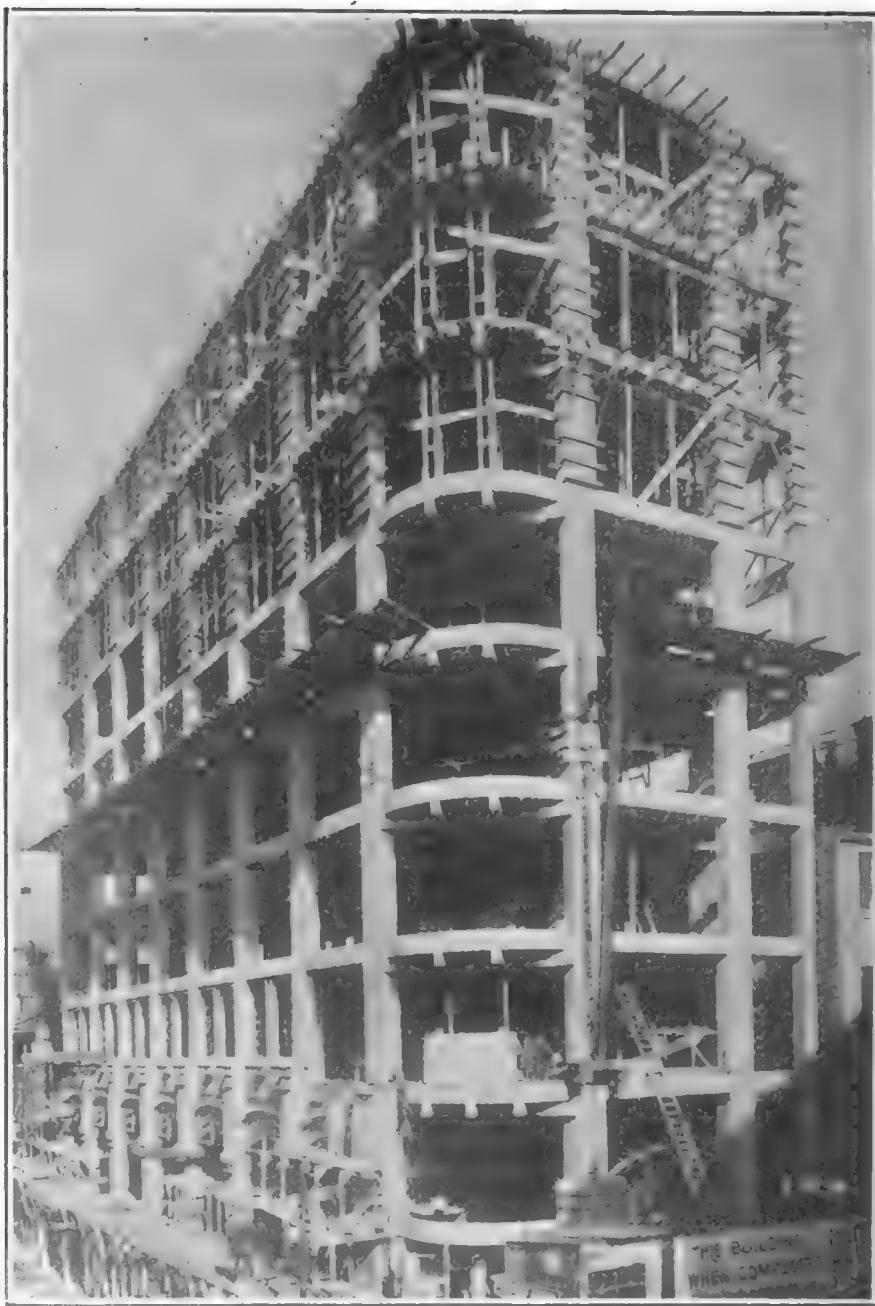
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Philadelphia, New York, Boston and other City and State Loans	1,184,890.00
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and Erie, Lehigh Valley, and other	
Companies' Bonds and Stocks.....	8,909,150.32
Cash in Bank and Bankers' hands.....	1,134,685.88
Notes Receivable, and Unsettled Marine Premiums.....	347,440.69
Net Cash Fire Premiums in course of Transmission.....	1,069,510.62
Accrued Interest, and all other Property ..	52,160.57

Total Assets, \$13,385,501.56

LIABILITIES

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Reserve for Re-Insurance.....	6,818,862.47
Reserve for Losses.....	877,250.00
All other Liabilities.....	104,982.45
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(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

VOL. XXXV.—JULY, 1910—No. 139.

LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIS EPISCOPIS ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS.

PIUS PP. X.

Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

EDITAE saepe Dei ore sententiae et sacris expressae litteris in hunc fere modum, iusti memoriam fore cum laudibus sempiternam eundemque loqui etiam defunctum (Ps. cxi., 7; Prov. x., 7; Heb. xi., 4), diuturna Ecclesiae opera et voce maxime comprobantur. Haec namque sanctitatis parens et altrix, iuvenili robore vigens ac Numinis afflatu semper acta "propter inhabitantem eius spiritum in nobis" (Rom. viii., 11), quemadmodum iustorum sobolem nobilissimam ipsa una gignit, enutrit, ulnisque complectitur suis, ita materni amoris instinctu de ipsorum retinenda memoria atque honore instaurando se praebet apprime sollicitam. Ex ea recordatione superna quadam suavitate perfunditur et a mortalis huius peregrinationis miseriis contuendis abducitur, quod beatos illos caelicolae *gaudium suum et coronam* esse iam cernat; quod in ipsis eminentem agnoscat Sponsi caelestis imaginem; quod novo testimonio suis filiis antiqua dicta confirmet: "diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum, iis qui secundum propositum vocati sunt sancti." (Rom. viii., 28.) Horum autem praeclara facinora, non modo sunt ad commemorandum iucunda, sed etiam ad imitandum illustra, et

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magnus virtutis excitator est concentus ille sanctorum Paullinae resonans voci: "imitatores mei estote sicut et ego Christi." (I. Cor. iv., 16.)

Ob haec, Venerabiles Fratres, Nos, qui vixdum suscepto pontificatu maximo, propositum significavimus enitendi constanter ut "omnia instaurarentur in Christo;" datis primum encyclicis litteris (Litt. Encycl. "E supremi," die IV. m. Octobr., MCMIII.) impense curavimus ut Nobiscum omnes intuerentur in "apostolum et pontificem confessionis nostrae, . . . in auctorem fidei et consummatorem Iesum." (Hebr. iii., 1; xii., 2-3.) At quoniam ea fere est infirmitas nostra, ut tanti exemplaris amplitudine facile deterreamur, providentis Dei numine, aliud a nobis est exemplar propositum, quod quum Christo sit proximum, quantum humanae licet naturae, tum aptius congruat cum exiguitate nostra, Beatissima Virgo Augusta Dei Mater. (Litt. Encycl. "Ad diem illum," die II. m. Februar., MCMIV.) Varias denique nacti occasiones recolendae memoriae sanctorum caelitum, communi admirationi obiecimus fideles hosce servos ac dispensatores in domo Domini, et prout suus cuique locus est, Eius amicos ac domesticos, qui "per fidem vicerunt regna operati sunt iustitiam, adepti sunt repromissiones" (Hebr. xi., 33), ut illorum exemplis adducti, "iam non simus parvuli fluctuantes et circumferamur omni vento doctrinae, in nequitia hominum, in astutia ad circumventionem erroris; veritatem autem facientes in charitate, crescamus in illo per omnia qui est caput Christus." (Eph. iv., 11 seq.)

Altissimum hoc divinae Providentiae consilium in tribus maxime viris perfectum fuisse docuimus, quos magnos pastores eosdemque doctores diversa quidem aetas tulit, sed aequae propemodum Ecclesiae calamitosa. Hi sunt Gregorius Magnus, Ioannes Chrysostomus et Augustanus Anselmus, quorum saecularia solemnia celebrari contigit per hos annos. Binis praeterea Encyclicis Litteris datis IV. Idus Martias anno MCMIV. et XI. Calend. Maias MCMIX., doctrinae capita et christianae vitae praecepta, quotquot opportuna cadere in haec tempora visa sunt, e sanctorum exemplis monitisque decerpta, fusius evolvimus.

At quoniam persuasum Nobis est, ad impellendos homines, illustria Christi militum exempla longe magis valitura quam verba exquisitasque disceptationes (Encycl. "E Supremi"); oblata feliciter opportunitate libentes utimur saluberrima instituta ab alio pastore sanctissimo accepta commendandi, quem huic aetati propriorem iisdemque paene iactatum fluctibus Deus excitavit, Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalem, Mediolanensium Antistitem, ante annos. CCC. a sa. me. Paulo V. in sanctorum album relatum, Carolum Borromeum. Nec id minus ad rem; siquidem, ut memorati Decessoris Nostri verba

usurpemus: "Dominus, qui facit mirabilia magna solus, magnificavit novissime facere nobiscum, ac miro dispensationis suae opere statuit super Apostolicae petrae arcem grande luminare, eligens sibi e gremio sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Carolum, sacerdotem fidelem, servum bonum, formam gregis, formam Pastorum. Qui videlicet multiplici fulgore sanctorum operum universam decorando Ecclesiam, sacerdotibus et populo praeluceret quasi Abel in innocentia, quasi Enoch in munditia, quasi Iacob in laborum tolerantia, quasi Moyses in mansuetudine, quasi Elias in ardenti zelo, quique imitandum exhiberet inter affluentes delicias Hieronymi corporis castigationem, Martini in sublimioribus gradibus humilitatem, Gregorii pastorem sollicitudinem, libertatem Ambrosii, Paulini caritatem, ac demum videndum ac perspicendum ostenderet oculis nostris, manibus nostris contrectandum hominem, mundo maxime blandiente, crucifixum mundo, viventem spiritu, terrena calcantem, caelestia iugiter negotiantem et, sicut officio in angelum substitutum, ita etiam mente et opere vitam angelorum in terris aemulantem." (Ex Bulla "Unigenitus," an. MDCX., Cal. Nov.)

Haec Decessor ille Noster exactis quinque lustris ab obitu Caroli. Nunc vero, expleto anno tercentesimo ab impertitis eidem sacris honoribus, "merito repletum est gaudio os nostrum et lingua nostra exultatione in insigni die solemnitatis nostrae, . . . in qua . . . Carolo S. R. E., cui, auctore Domino praesidemus, Presbytero Cardinali sacris decernendis honoribus, unice Sponsae suae nova imponeretur corona, ornata omni lapide pretioso." Communis autem cum Decessore Nostro fiducia Nobis est, ex contemplatione gloriae sancti Viri, multoque magis ex eiusdem documentis et exemplis, debilitari posse impiorum proterviam et confundi omnes qui "gloriantur in simulacris errorum." (Ex eadem Bulla "Unigenitus.") Itaque renovati Carolo honores, qui gregis ac pastorum huius aetatis exstitit forma, sacraeque disciplinae in melius corrigendae impiger fuit propugnator et auctor adversus novos homines, quibus, non fidei morumque restitutio proposita erat, sed potius deformatio atque restinctio quum solacio ac documento erunt catholicis universis, tum iisdem stimulos addent, ut in opus, cui tam impense studemus, instaurationis rerum omnium in Christo, strenue conspirent.

Exploratum profecto vobis est, Venerabiles Fratres, perpetuo exagitata Ecclesia deseri a Deo numquam omni consolatione destitutam. Eam namque "Christus dilexit . . . et semetipsum tradidit pro ea, ut illam sanctificaret et exhiberet ipse sibi gloriosam Ecclesiam, non habentem maculam aut rugam, aut aliquid huiusmodi, sed ut sit sancta et immaculata." (Eph. v., 25 sqq.) Quin etiam, quo effusior licentia, quo acrior hostilis impetus, quo erroris insidiae

callidiores afferre illi supremum videntur exitium, usque adeo, ut filios non paucos de gremio eius avulsos in vitiorum et impietatis gurgitem transversos agant, eo praesentiorum experitur tutelam Numinis. Efficit enim Deus ut error ipse, velint nolint improbi, in triumphum cedat veritatis, cui custodiendae Ecclesia advigilat; corruptio in incrementum sanctitatis, cuius altrix ipsa est atque magistra; vexatio in mirabiliorem "salutem ex inimicis nostris." Ita fit ut, quo tempore Ecclesia profanis oculis videtur saevioribus iactata fluctibus ac paene demersa, tunc nempe pulchrior, validior, purior emergat, maximarum emicans fulgore virtutum.

Sic Dei summa benignitas novis argumentis confirmat, Ecclesiam opus esse divinum; sive quod in causa suscipiendi doloris maxima, ob irrepentes in ipsa eius membra errores et noxas, ei det superandum discrimen; sive quod ratum efficiat Christi verbum: "Portae inferi non praevallebunt adversus eam" (Matth. xvi., 18); sive quod eventibus illud comprobet: "ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi" (Matth. xxviii., 20); sive denique quod arcanæ virtutis testimonium perhibeat, qua promissus a Christo, maturo huius in caelum reditu, "alius Paraclitus" in ipsam iugiter effunditur, ipsam tuetur et in omni tribulatione solatur; spiritus, "qui cum ipsa maneat in aeternum; spiritus veritatis, quem mundus non potest accipere, quia non videt eum nec scit eum, quia apud vos manebit et apud vos erit." (Ioan. xiv., 16 sqq.; xxvi., 59; xvi., 7 sqq.) Hoc ex fonte vita et robur Ecclesiae derivatur; hinc quod eadem, ut Concilium Oecumenicum Vaticanum habet, manifestis notis instructa et "tamquam signum levatum in nationes," a quavis alia societate secernitur. (Sessio iii., c. 3.)

Nec sane absque divinae potentiae prodigio fieri potest ut, diffuente licentia et passim deficientibus membris, Ecclesia, quatenus est corpus Christi mysticum, a doctrinae, legum finisque sui sanctitate nunquam desciscat; ex iisdem rerum causis pares consecutiones et utilitates derivet; ex complurium filiorum fide ac iustitia fructus capiat salutis uberrimos. Nec minus perspicuum haustae a Deo vitae habet indicium, quod in tam foeda pravarum opinionum coluvie, in tanto perduellium numero, in errorum facie adeo multiplici, constans et immutabilis perseveret, "columna et firmamentum veritatis," in unius professione doctrinae, in eadem communione sacramentorum, in divina sui constitutione, in regimine, in disciplina morum. Idque eo plus habet admirationis, quod ipsa, non solum resistit malo, sed etiam "vincit in bono malum," nec bene precari desinit amicis atque inimicis, de eo tota laborans idque assequi cupiens, ut et communitas hominum et seorsim singuli christianis institutis renouentur. Est enim hoc proprium eius munus in terris, cuius beneficia vel ipsi eius inimici sentiunt.

Mirabilis hic Dei providentis influxus in instaurationis opus ab Ecclesia propectum luculenter apparet ea maxime aetate, quae ad bonorum solacium dedit Carolum Borromeum. In eo dominatu cupiditatum, omni fere perturbata et offusa cognitione veritatis, perpetua erat cum erroribus dimicatio, hominumque societas in pessima quaeque ruens, gravem videbatur sibi conflare perniciem. Inter haec superbi ac rebelles homines consurgebant, "inimici Crucis Christi . . . qui terrena sapiunt . . . quorum Deus venter est." (Philip. iii., 18-19.) Hi non moribus corrigendis, sed negandis Fidei capitibus animum intendentes, omnia miscebant, latiore sibi aliisque muniebant licentiae viam, aut certe auctoritatem Ecclesiae ductumque defugientes, pro lubitu corruptissimi cuiusque principis populive, quasi imposito iugo, doctrinam eius, constitutionem, disciplinam in excidium petebant. Deinde, iniquorum imitati morem, ad quos pertinet comminatio: "Vae qui dicitis malum bonum et bonum malum" (Isai. v., 20), rebellium tumultum et illam fidei morumque cladem appellarunt instaurationem, sese autem disciplinae veteris restitutores. Re tamen vera corruptores extiterunt, quod, extenuatis Europae per contentiones et bella viribus, defectiones horum temporum et secessiones maturarunt, quibus uno velut impetu facto, triplex illud, antea disiunctum, dimicationis instauratum est genus, a quo invicta et sospes Ecclesia semper evaserat; hoc est, primae aetatis cruenta certamina; domesticam subinde pestem errorum; denique, per speciem sacrae libertatis vindicandae, eam vitiorum luem ac disciplinae eversionem, ad quam fortasse nec aetas media processerat.

Decipientium hominum turbae Deus opposuit veri nominis instauratores, eosque sanctissimos, qui aut cursum illum praecipitem retardarent ardoremque restinguerent, aut illata inde damna sarcirent. Quorum labor assiduus et multiplex in restituenda disciplina eo maiori solacio Ecclesiae fuit, quo graviori haec premebatur angustia, comprobavitque sententiam: "Fidelis Deus, qui . . . facit etiam cum tentatione proventum." (I. Cor. x., 13.) Iis in adiunctis laetitiam Ecclesiae cumulavit oblata divinitus Caroli Borromei singularis navitas vitaeque sanctitas.

Fuit autem in eius ministerio, Deo sic disponente, propria quaedam vis et efficientia, non solum ad infringendam audaciam factiosorum, sed etiam ad erudiendos Ecclesiae filios atque excitandos. Illorum namque et insanos cohibebat ausus, et inanes criminationes diluebat, eloquentia usus omnium potentissima, suae vitae et actionis exemplo; horum vero spem erigebat, alebat ardorem. Atque illud in ipso fuit plane mirabile, quod veri restauratoris dotes, quas in aliis disiunctas cernimus atque distinctas, ab iuvenili aetate in se omnes recepit in unum collectas,

virtutem, consilium, doctrinam, auctoritatem, potentiam, alacritatem, effecitque ut in commissam sibi catholicae veritatis defensionem contra grassantes errores, quod idem erat Ecclesiae universae propositum, singulae conspirarent, intermortuam in multis ac paene restinctam excitans fidem, providis eam legibus institutisque communiens, collapsam disciplinam restituens, cleri populique mores ad christianae vitae rationem strenue revocans. Sic, dum partes instauratoris tuetur omnes, haud minus mature "servi boni et fidelis" fungitur muniis, ac deinde sacerdotis magni, "qui in diebus suis placuit Deo et inventus est iustus;" plane dignus in quem cuiusvis generis homines tum e clero tum e populo, divites aequae ac inopes tamquam in exemplar intueantur; cuius excellentiae summa in episcopi atque antistitis laude continetur, qua, Petri Apostoli dictis obtemperans, factus est "forma gregis ex animo." (I. Peter v., 3.) Nec minus movet admirationem quod Carolus, nondum exacto anno aetatis suae vicesimo, summos honores consecutus, magnis ac perarduis Ecclesiae negotiis tractandis adhibitus, ad perfectam cumulatamque virtutem, per contemplationem rerum divinarum, qua in sacro secessu animum renovaverat, in dies magis contenderet, eluceretque "spectaculum . . . mundo et angelis et hominibus."

Tum vere Dominus coepit, ut memorati Decessoris Pauli V. verbis utamur, "mirabilia sua" in Carolo pandere; sapientiam, iustitiam, divini honoris et catholici provehendi nominis studium flagrantissimum, in primisque curam instaurandae Fidei Ecclesiaeque universae, quod opus in augusto illo Tridentino Consilio agitabatur. Cuius habiti laus ab eodem pontifice ab omni posteritate sic tribuitur Carolo, quasi viro, qui, non ante illius exsequutor exstiterit fidelissimus, quam propugnator acerrimus. Nec enim sine multis eius vigiliis, angustiis, laboribus omne genus, res est ad exitum perducta.

Haec tamen omnia nihil erant aliud nisi praeparatio quaedam vitaeque tirocinium, quo et pietate animus et mens doctrina et labore corpus exercerentur, ita ut modestus iuvenis ac de se demisse sentiens instar esset argillae in manibus Domini eiusque in terris Vicarii. Hanc scilicet rationem ineundae viae novarum rerum fautores illi contemnebant eadem stultitia qua nostri, minime secum reputantes, mirabilia Dei ex umbra et silentio parentis animi pieque precantis in apricum proferri, in eaque exercitatione germen futuri adscensus, haud secus ac in semente spem colligendae messis, includi.

Nihilominus, quod paullo superius attigimus, auspicata tam faustis initiis vitae sanctitas et actio tum se maxime explicuit effuditque fructus uberrimos, quum, "urbano splendore et amplitudine relictis, bonus operarius in messem quam susceperat (Mediolanum), discedit, ubi partes suas in dies magis implendo, agrum illum, malitia tem-

porum, vepribus turpiter deformem ac silvescentem, in eum restituit nitorem, ut Ecclesiam Mediolanensem, praeclarum exemplum redderet ecclesiasticae disciplinae." (Bulla "Unigenitus.") Tam multa tamque praeclara is est consequutus conformando instaurationis opus ad normas a Concilio Tridentino paullo ante propositas.

Enivero Ecclesia, probe intelligens, quam sint "sensus et cogitatio humani cordis in malum prona" (Gen. viii., 21), cum vitiis et erroribus dimicare nunquam destitit, "ut destruat corpus peccati et ultra non serviamus peccato." (Rom. vi., 6.) Qua in contentione, quemadmodum ipsa sibi magistra est et impellitur gratia, quae "diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum;" ita cogitandi agendique normam sumit a Doctore gentium, aiente: "Renovamini spiritu mentis vestrae." (Ephes. iv., 23.) "Et nolite conformari huic saeculo sed reformamini in novitate sensus vestri, ut probetis quae sit voluntas Dei bona et beneplacens et perfecta." (Rom. xii., 2.) Quam quidem se metam contigisse Ecclesiae filius atque instaurator non fictus existimat nunquam; ad eam tantummodo niti profitetur cum eodem apostolo; "quae retro sunt obliviscens, ad ea vero quae sunt priora extendens meipsum, ad destinatum persequor, ad bravium supernae vocationis Dei in Christo Iesu." (Philip. iii., 13, 14.)

Inde consequitur ut et nos cum Christo in Ecclesia coniuncti "crescamus in illo per omnia, qui est caput Christus, ex quo totum corpus . . . augmentum facit in aedificationem sui in charitate" (Ephes. iv., 15, 16), et Ecclesia Mater in dies magis efficiat ratum sacramentum divinae voluntatis, hoc est, "in dispensatione plenitudinis temporum instaurare omnia in Christo." (Ephes. i., 9, 10.)

Ad haec animum non intenderunt auctores illi redintegrandae suo Marte fidei ac disciplinae, quorum conatibus restitit Borromeus; nec ea nostri melius vident, quibuscum strenue nobis, Venerabiles Frates, est dimicandum. Nam et hi Ecclesiae doctrinam, leges, instituta subvertunt, habentes in lingua promptum cultioris humanitatis studium, non quod eo de negotio valde laborent, sed quo titulis ad ostentationem paratis pravitatem consiliorum queant facilius obtegere.

Quid autem re agant, quid moliantur, quod iter affectent, neminem vestrum fugit, eorumque consilia denuntiata per Nos fuerunt atque damnata. Proposita namque ipsis est communis omnium ab Ecclesiae fide ac disciplina secessio, eo vetere illa deterior quae Caroli aetatem in discrimen adduxit, quo callidius in ipsis fere Ecclesiae venis delitescit ac serpit, et quo subtilius ab absurde positis extrema deducuntur.

Utriusque pestis origo eadem; "inimicus homo," qui ad humanae gentis perniciem haud sane exsomens, "superseminavit zizaniam in

medio tritici" (Matth. xiii., 25) ; idem abditum iter ac tenebricosum ; eadem progressio ; idem appulsus. Etenim, quemadmodum prior illa olim, qua fortuna rem daret eo vires inclinans, optimatum partes aut popularium alteram adversus alteram concitabat, ut utramque tandem ludificaret atque pessumdaret ; sic recentior ista clades mutuam exacuit invidiam egentium ac locupletium, ut sua quisque sorte non contentus vitam trahat usque miserrimam luatque poenam iis irrogatam, qui non "regnum Dei et iustitiam eius" quaerunt, sed caducis his rebus fluxisque adhaerescunt. Atque illud etiam graviorem facit praesentem conflictationem, quod, quum superiorum temporum turbulenti homines e doctrinae divinitus revelatae thesauro certa quaedam et fixa plerumque retinerent, hodierni non ante queturi videantur quam excisa omnia conspexerint. Everso autem religionis fundamento, et ipsam civilem coniunctionem dirumpi necesse est. Luctuosum sane spectaculum in praesens, formidolosum in posterum ; non quod Ecclesiae incolumitati timendum sit, de qua dubitare divina promissa non sinunt, sed ob impendentia familiis gentibusque pericula, maxime quae pestiferum impietatis afflatum aut impensius foveant aut ferunt patientius.

In hoc tam nefario stultoque bello, cui commovendo dilatando socii et adiutores potentes accedunt interdum vel ipsi, qui Nobiscum facere Nostrasque tueri res deberent prae ceteris ; in forma errorum adeo multiplici vitiorumque illecebris tam variis, quibus utrisque haud pauci etiam e nostris blandiuntur, capti specie novitatis ac doctrinae, aut inani spe ducti. Ecclesiam posse cum aevi placitis amice componi, plane intelligitis, Venerabiles Fratres, nobis esse strenue obsistendum, iisdemque nunc armis excipiendum impetum hostium, quibus olim usus est Borromeus.

Primum igitur, quoniam ipsam, veluti arcem, impetunt fidem, vel eam aperte denegando, vel impugnando subdole, vel doctrinae capita pervertendo, haec a Carolo saepe commendata meminerimus : "Prima et maxima Pastorum cura versari debet in iis quae ad fidem catholicam, quam S. Romana Ecclesia et colit et docet, et sine qua *impossibile est placere Deo*, integre inviolateque servandam pertinent." (Conc. Prov. i., sub initium.) Et rursus : "In eo genere . . . nullum tantum studium, quantum certe maximum requiritur, adhiberi possit." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.) Quapropter "haereticae pravitatis fermento," quod nisi cohibeatur "totam massam corrumpit," hoc est pravis opinionibus ementita specie irrepentibus, quae in unum collectas *modernismus* profitetur, sanitas est opponenda doctrinae et reputandum cum Carolo : "quam summum in haeresis crimine profligando studium et cura quam longe omnium diligentissima episcopi esse debeat." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.)

Haud opus est equidem cetera verba referre sancti viri com-

memorantis Romanorum Pontificum sanctiones, leges, poenas in eos antistites constitutas, quibus purgandae dioecesis ab "haereticae pravitatis fermento" esset cura remissior. Nonnihil tamen iuverit ad ea quae inde concludit diligenter attendere. "Proinde, inquit, in ea perenni sollicitudine perpetuaque vigilia episcopus versari in primis debet, ut, non modo pestilentissimus ille haeresis morbus nusquam in gregem sibi commissum irrepat, sed omnis plane suspicio ab eo quam longissime absit. Si vero fortasse, quod pro sua pietate et misericordia Christus Dominus avertat, irreperit, in eo maxime elaboret omni ope, ut quam celerrime depellatur: quique ea labe infecti erunt, vel suspecti, cum illis agatur ad canonum sanctionumque pontificiarum praescriptum." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.)

Verum nec propulsari possunt errorum contagia nec praecaveri, nisi in recta cleri populique institutione pars curaum ponatur maxima. Nam "fides ex auditu; auditus autem per verbum Christi." (Rom. x., 17.) Veri autem omnium auribus inculcandi necessitas nunc magis imponitur, quum per omnes reipublicae venas, atque etiam qua minime crederes, serpere cernimus malum virus; adeo ut ad omnes hodie pertineant adductae a Carolo causae hisce verbis: "Haereticis finitimi nisi in fidei fundamentis firmi fuerint ac stabiles, summopere verendum esset, ne forte ab eis in aliquam impietatis ac nefariae doctrinae fraudem facilius adducerentur." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.) Nunc enim, expeditioribus itineribus, quemadmodum ceterarum rerum, ita etiam errorum sunt aucta commercia, proiec-tisque ad licentiam cupiditatibus, in prava societate versamur, ubi "non est veritas . . . et non est scientia Dei (Os. iv., 1); in terra quae desolata est . . . quia nullus est qui recogit corde." (Ierem. xii., 11.) Quamobrem Nos, ut Caroli verba usurpemus: "multam hactenus diligentiam adhibuimus, ut omnes ac singuli Christi fideles in fidei christianae rudimentorum institutione erudirentur (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.); eademque de re, tamquam de negotio gravissimo scripsimus Encyclicas Litteras. (Encycl. "Acerbo nimis," die XXV. m. Aprilis MDCCCCV.) Etsi vero nolumus et illa Nobis aptare, quibus inexplabili desiderio flagrans Borromeus queritur, "parum huc usque profecisse tanta in re;" nihilominus eâdem, qua ipse, "negotii periculique magnitudine adducti," addere stimulos velimus omnibus, ut, Caroli similitudinem arripientes, pro suo quisque munere aut viribus, in christianae restorationis opus conspirent. Quare meminerint patres familias ac domini, quo studio pastor ille sanctissimus eosdem constanter monuerit ut liberis, domesticis, famulis addiscendae christianae doctrinae, non solum copiam facerent, sed etiam onus imponerent. Clericis pariter memoria ne excidat, in fidei rudimentis tradendis a se operam dandam

esse curioni; huic vero studendum, ut eiusmodi scholae suppetant plures, christifidelium numero ac necessitati pares et magistrorum probitate commendabiles, quibus adiutores adsciscantur honesti viri aut mulieres, prout Mediolanensis ipse praescribit antistes. (Conc. Prov. v., Paris. i.)

Christianae huius institutionis aucta necessitas, quum ex reliquo nostrorum temporum morumque decursu eminent, tum vero potissimum ex publicis discendi ludis, omnis religionis expertibus, ubi sanctissima quaeque rideri voluptatis loco fere ducitur, aequae pronis ad impietatem et magistrorum labiis et auribus auditorum. Scholam dicimus, quam *neutram*, seu *laicam* per summan iniuriam appellant, quum non sit aliud nisi tenebricosae sectae dominatus praepotens. Novum hoc praeposteræ libertatis iugum magna quidem voce et bonis lateribus denuntiastis vos, Venerabiles Fratres, praesertim in locis ubi audacius proculcata sunt iura religionis ac familiae et oppressa naturae vox imperantis ut adolescentium candori fideique parcat. Cui calamitati ab iis illatae, qui, quam ab aliis oboedientiam exigunt, eandem supremo rerum Domino recusant, quantum in Nobis est medendum rati, auctores fuimus ut scholae religionis opportune per urbes instituerentur. Quod opus quamquam hactenus, adnitentibus vobis, satis bene prospereque processit, nihilominus magnopere expetendum est ut in dies latius proferatur, hoc est ut eiusmodi magisteria et pateant ubique complura et praeceptoribus abundant doctrinae laude vitaeque integritate commendatis.

Cum hac primordiorum saluberrima disciplina valde coniunctum est officium sacri oratoris, in quo memoratae virtutes multo magis requiruntur. Itaque Caroli studia et consilia provincialibus in Synodis ac dioecesanis eo potissimum fuere conversa ut concionatores fingerentur, qui "in ministerio verbi" versari sancte atque utiliter possent. Quod idem, ac forte gravius, quae modo sunt tempora postulare a nobis videntur quum tot hominum nutet fides, nec desint qui, captandae gloriolae cupidine, ingenio aetatis indulgeant, "adulterantes verbum Dei," vitaeque cibum subducentes fidelibus.

Quamobrem summa vigilantia cavendum nobis est, Venerabiles Fratres, ne per vanos homines ac leves vento pascatur grex; sed ut vitali alimento roboretur per "ministros verbi," ad quos illa pertinent: "Pro Christo legatione fungimur, tamquam Deo exhortante per nos: reconciliamini Deo (II. Cor. v., 20); per ministros et legatos non ambulantes in astutia, neque adulterantes verbum Dei, sed in manifestatione veritatis, commendantes semetipsos ad omnem conscientiam hominum coram Deo (II. Cor. iv., 2), operarios inconfusibiles tractantes verbum veritatis." (II. Tim. ii., 15.) Nec minus usui nobis erunt normae illae sanctissimae maximeque frugiferae, quas

mediolanensis antistes, Paullinis verbis expressas, commendare solebat fidelibus: "Cum accepissetis a nobis verbum auditus Dei, accepistis illud, non ut verbum hominum, sed, sicut est vere, verbum Dei, qui operatur in vobis, qui credidistis." (I. Thess. ii., 13.)

Ita "sermo Dei vivus et efficax et penetrabilior omni gladio" (Hebr. iv., 12), non solum ad fidei conservationem ac tutelam adducet, sed etiam ad virtutum proposita mire animos inflammabit; quia "fides sine operibus mortua est" (Iacob. ii., 26), et "non auditores legis iusti sunt apud Deum, sed factores legis iustificabuntur." (Rom. ii., 13.)

Atque hac etiam in re cernere licet, utriusque instaurationis quam sit ratio dissimilis. Nam qui falsam propugnant, ii stultorum imitati inconstantiam, praecipiti cursu solent ad extrema decurrere, sive fidem sic efferentes, ut ab ea recte agendi necessitatem seiungant, sive in solâ natura excellentiam omnem virtutis collocantes, remotis fidei ac divinae gratiae praesidiis. Quo fit ut, quae a naturali honestate ducuntur officia nihil sint aliud nisi simulacra virtutis, nec diuturna illa quidem, nec ad salutem satis idonea. Horum igitur actio, non ad restaurationem disciplinae, sed ad fidei morumque eversionem est comparata.

Contra qui ad Carolie xemplum, veritatis amici minimeque fallaces, salutari rerum conversioni student, hi extrema devitant, neque certos excedunt fines, quos ultra nequit instaurationis ulla consistere. Etenim Ecclesiae eiusque Capiti Christo firmissime adhaerentes, non modo inde robur vitae interioris hauriunt, sed exterioris etiam actionis metiuntur modum, ut sanandae hominum societatis opus tuto aggrediantur. Est autem proprium divinae huius missionis, in eos perpetuo transmissae qui Christi legatione functuri essent, "docere omnes gentes," non solum ea quae ad credendum, sed etiam quae ad agendum pertinerent, hoc est, uti Christus edixit: "servare omnia quaecumque mandavi vobis." (Matth. xxviii., 18, 20.) Ipse enim est "via, veritas et vita" (Ioan. xiv., 6), qui venit ut homines "vitam habeant et abundantius habeant." (Ioan. x., 10.) Quia vero officia illa retineri omnia duce tantum natura est difficillimum, quin etiam multo positum superius quam ut humanae vires ipsae per se consequi possint; idcirco Ecclesia magisterio suo adiunctum habet christianae regimen societatis eiusque ad omnem sanctitatem instituendae munus, dum per eos qui pro suo quisque statu et officio sese illi ministros adiutoresve praebent, apta et necessaria salutis instrumenta suppeditat. Quod plane intelligentes verae instaurationis auctores, non ii surculos, praeservandae radices gratia, coercent, hoc est, non fidem a vitae sanctitate seiungunt, sed utramque alunt foventque halitu caritatis, quae "est vinculum perfectionis." (Colos. iii., 14.) Idem. dicto audientes Apostolo,

"depositum custodiunt" (I. Tim. vi., 20), non ut gentibus notitiam eius occulant lumenque subducant, sed quo deductos ex eo fonte veritatis ac vitae saluberrimos rivos latius recludant. In eâque copia doctrinam ad usum adiungunt, illa utentes ad praecripiendam "circumventionem erroris," hoc ad praecepta in mores actionemque vitae deducenda. Quamobrem instrumenta omnia ad finem vel apta vel necessaria comparant, quum ad extirpationem peccati, tum "ad consummationem sanctorum, in opus ministerii, in aedificationem corporis Christi." (Eph. iv., 12.) Huc sane spectant Patrum et Conciliorum statuta canones leges; huc adiumenta illa doctrinae, regiminis, beneficentiae omne genus; huc denique disciplina et actio Ecclesiae universa. Hos fidei virtutisque magistros intentis oculis animoque intuetur verus Ecclesiae filius, cuit sua ipsius emendatio proposita est atque aliorum. His auctoribus, quos crebro memorat, in instauranda Ecclesiae disciplina nititur Borromeus; ut quum scribit: "Nos veterem sanctorum Patrum sacrorumque Conciliorum consuetudinem et auctoritatem, in primis oecumenicae Synodi Tridentinae secuti, de iis ipsis multa superioribus nostris Conciliis Provincialibus constituimus." Idem ad consilia publicae corruptelae coercendae adductum se profitetur "et secretorum canonum iure et sacrosanctis sanctionibus, et Concilii in primis Tridentini decretis." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.)

His non contentus, quo sibi melius caveret ne forte ab ea norma unquam discederet, a se statuta in Synodis provincialibus ita fere concludit: "Omnia et singula quae a nobis in hac provinciali Synodo decreta actaque sunt, qua debemus oboedientia et reverentia, auctoritati ac iudicio Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, omnium ecclesiarum matris et magistrae, semper emendanda et corrigenda subicimus." (Conc. Prov. vi., sub finem.) Quam quidem voluntatem ostendit eo propensorem, quo in dies magis ad actuosae vitae perfectionem grassabatur; nec solum quamdiu cathedram Petri occupavit patruus, sed etiam sedentibus, qui ei successerunt, Pio V. et Gregorio XIII., quibus quemadmodum strenue suffragatus est ad pontificatum, sic in rebus maximis validum se socium adiunxit eorumque expectationi cumulate respondit.

Potissimum vero ipsorum voluntati est obsequutus instruendis rebus ad propositum sibi finem idoneis, hoc est ad sacrae disciplinae instaurationem. Qua in re prorsus abfuit ab illorum ingenio, qui speciem studii fervidioris imponunt contumaciae suae. Itaque, incipiens "iudicium a domo Dei" (I. Peter iv., 17), primum omnium cleri disciplinae ad certas leges conformandae animum adiecit; cuius rei causa sacri ordinis alumnorum Seminaria excitavit, sacerdotum congregationes, quibus nomen *oblatis*, instituit, religiosas familias tum veteres tum recentiores adscivit, concilia coegit, quaesitis undique

praesidiis coeptum opus munivit auxitque. Mox emendandis populi moribus haud remissiolem admovit manum, sibi dictum reputans quod olim prophetae: "Ecce constitui te hodie . . . ut evellus et destruas, ut disperdas et dissipes, et aedifices et plantes." (Ier i., 10.) Quare bonus pastor ecclesias provinciae ipse per se nec sine magno labore lustrans, arrepta similitudine divini Magistri, "pertransiit benefaciendo et sanando" gregis vulnera; quae passim deprehenderet incommoda, sive ex inscitia sive ex neglectu legum profecta, tollere atque eradere summa ope contendit; opinionum pravitati et exundanti coeno libidinum quasi aggerem obiecit a se apertos puerilis institutionis ludos et epheborum convictus; auctas, quas in Urbe primum excitatas noverat, consociationes Mariales; reclusa orbitati adolescentium hospitia; mulierculis periclitantibus, viduis, aliisque, tum viris tum feminis, egenis aut morbo seniove confectis, patefacta perfugia; pauperum tutelam ab impotentia dominorum, ab iniquo foenore, ab exportatione puerorum, aliaque id genus quamplurima. Haec autem sic praestitit, ut ab eorum consuetudine toto caelo abhorreret, qui, in renovanda suo marte christiana republica, omnia cient agitantque vanissimo strepitu, divinae vocis immemores: "non in commotione Dominus." (III. Reg. xix., 11.)

Hac nempe altera nota, prout vos experiendo didicistis, Venerabiles Fratres, veri nominis instauratores distinguuntur a fictis, quod illi "quae sua sunt quaerunt, non quae Iesu Christi" (Philip. ii., 21), pronisque auribus excipientes insidiosa dicta ad Magistrum divinum olim conversa: "manifesta teipsum mundo" (Ioan. vii., 4), superbas iterant voces: "Faciamus et ipsi nobis nomen." Cuius temeritatis causa, quod etiam nunc fieri saepe dolemus, "cecidere sacerdotes in bello, dum volunt fortiter facere, dum sine consilio exeunt in proelium." (I. Machab. v., 57, 67.)

Contra qui societati hominum ad meliora deducendae sincero animo studet, is "non propriam gloriam quaerit, sed gloriam eius qui misit eum" (Ioan. vii., 18); seque ad Christi exemplum conformans, "non contendit neque clamabit, neque audiet aliquis in plateis vocem eius; non erit tristis neque turbulentus" (Isai. xlii., 2 sq.; Matth. xii., 19), sed "mitis et humilis corde." (Matth. xi., 29.) Hic et probatus Deo erit et salutis fructus consequetur amplissimos.

In eo quoque discernuntur alter ab altero, quod ille, humanis tantum innixus viribus "confidit in homine et ponit carnem brachium suum" (Ier. xvii., 5); hic vero fiduciam omnem in Deo collocat; ab Ipso et a supernis opibus vim omnem et robur exspectat, iterans Apostoli verba: "Omnia possum in eo quia me confortat." (Philip. iv., 13.)

Has opes, quarum uberem copiam Christus effudit, vir fidelis in media quaerit Ecclesia ad communem salutem, in primisque precandi studium, sacrificium, sacramenta, quae fiunt "quasi fons aquae

salientis in vitam aeternam." (Ioan. iv., 14.) Ea omnia inique ferentes qui, transversis itineribus et posthabito Deo, ad instaurationis opus contendunt, nunquam desinunt haustus illos purissimos, sin funditus exsiccare, at certe turbulentos facere, ut christianus grex inde arceatur. Qua in re profecto turpius agunt recentiores ipsorum asseclae, qui speciem quandam religionis nobilioris adhibentes, adminicula illa salutis pro minimo ducunt habentque ludibrio, praesertim sacramenta duo, quibus aut admissa paenitentium expiantur, aut caelesti dape roboratur animus. Quapropter optimus quisque summo studio curabit, ut collata tanti pretii dona maximo in honore habeantur, neve patietur in utrumque divinae caritatis opus hominum studia restringui.

Ita plane se gessit Borromeus, cuius inter cetera hoc scriptum legimus: "Quo maior et uberius est sacramentorum fructus quam ut eius vis explicari facile possit, eo diligentius et intima animi pietate et externo cultu ac veneratione tractanda ac precipienda sunt." (Conc. Prov. i., Pars. ii.) Illa quoque memoratu dignissima, quibus curiones aliosque sacros concionatores vehementer hortatur, ut caelestis alimenti crebram gustationem in pristinam consuetudinem revocarent; quod idem Nos egimus decreto, cui initium: *Sacra Tridentina Synodus*. "Ad saluberrimum illum, ait sanctus Antistes, sacrae Eucharistiae frequenter sumendae usum, parochi . . . et concionatores item quam saepissime populum cohortentur, nascentis Ecclesiae institutis atque exemplis, et gravissimorum Patrum vocibus et uberrima hoc ipso de genere Catechismi romani doctrina, et sententia denique Tridentinae Synodi, quae optaret quidem fideles, in singulis Missis, non solum spirituali affectu, sed sacramentali etiam Eucharistiae perceptione communicare." (Conc. Prov. iii., Pars. i.) Qua vero mente, quo animo adeundum sit sacrum convivium, docet his verbis: "Populus, cum ad frequentem SSmi Sacramenti sumendi usum excitetur, tum etiam commonefiat, quam periculosum exitiosumque sit ad sacram divini illius cibi mensam indigne accedere." (Conc. Prov. iv., Pars. ii.) Quam quidem diligentiam postulare videntur maxime haec tempora nutantis fidei et languescentis caritatis, ne forte ex frequentiore usu debita tanto mysterio reverentia minuatur, sed potius in hoc ipso sit causa cur "probet seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat et de calice bibat." (Cor. xi., 28.)

Ex iis fontibus dives gratiae vena manabit, unde succum trahant et alantur humanae quoque ac naturales industriae. Nec enim actio christiani viri quae usui sunt et adiumento vitae despiciet, ab uno eodemque Deo, auctore gratiae ac naturae profecta; sed illud valde cavebit, ne in externis rebus bonisque corporis captandis fruendis totius vitae finis et quasi beatitas collocetur. His rebus igitur qui

recte ac temperanter uti velit, eas conferet ad animorum utilitatem, Christi obtemperans dicto: "Quaerite primum regnum Dei et iustitiam eius, et haec omnia adicientur vobis." (Luc. xii., 31; Matth. vi., 33.)

Ordinatus et sapiens hic rerum usus tantum abest ut inferioris ordinis, idest societatis civilis bono adversetur, ut potius huius commoda maxime provehat; nec id inani verborum iactatione, qui mos est factiosorum hominum, sed re ipsa et summa contentione, usque ad bonorum, virium, vitaeque iacturam. Cuius exempla fortitudinis praeter ceteris exhibent sacrorum antistites complures, qui, rebus Ecclesiae afflictis, Caroli ardorem aemulati, divini Magistri ratas efficiunt voces: "Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis." (Ioan., x., 11.) Hi quidem, non gloriae cupidine, aut studio partium, aut privati alicuius commodi causa, ad se devovendos pro communi salute trahuntur, sed caritate illa quae *nunquam excidit*. Hac flamma, quae profanos oculos latet, incensus Borromeus, quum ob praestitam lue correptis operam se in mortis discrimen coniecisset, nihilominus praesentibus occurrisset malis non contentus, de futuris etiam sollicitum se sic ostendit: "Omni rationi plane consentaneum est, ut, quemadmodum parens optimus, qui filios unice diligit, cum in praesenti tum in futuro eis prospicit ac parat quae sunt ad vitae cultum necessaria; ita nos paternae charitatis officio adducti, omni praecautione fidelibus provinciae nostrae in hoc Concilio provinciali quinto consulamus provideamusque deinceps quae experiendo cognovimus, pestilentiae tempore, salutaria esse adiumenta." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. ii.)

Eadem haec providentis animi studia et consilia, Venerabiles Fratres, per eam quam saepe commendavimus, catholicam actionem, in rem usumque deducuntur. In partem vero ministerii huius amplissimi, quod officia omnia misericordiae, sempiterno donanda regno complectitur (Matth. xxv., 34 sq.), selecti etiam e populo advocantur viri. Qui, ubi semel id oneris in se receperint, parati et instructi esse debent ad se suaque omnia plane devovenda pro optima causa, ad obsistendum invidiae, obtreptioni et infenso quoque multorum animo, qui malefactis beneficia repensant, ad laborandum "sicut bonus miles Christi" (II. Tim. ii., 3), et currendum "per patientiam ad propositum nobis certamen, aspicientes in auctorem fidei et consummatorem Iesum." (Hebr. xii., 1, 2.) Acerbum sane luctae genus, sed ad bonum civitatis apprime conducens, etiamsi plenam victoriam remoretur dies.

In his etiam, quae modo dicta sunt, illustria Caroli exempla intueri licet, atque inde sumere quae pro sua quisque conditione imitetur et quibus animum erigat. Etenim quem et singularis virtus et mira solertia et effusa caritas adeo spectabilem effecerunt, nec

ipse tamen alienam sibi sensit hanc legem: "Omnes, qui pie volunt vivere in Christo Iesu, persecutionem patientur." (II. Tim. iii., 12.) Itaque quod asperioris vitae sectaretur genus, quod recta semper et honesta retineret, quod incorruptus legum iustitiaeque vindex existeret, hoc ipso primorum in se invidiam collegit; reipublicae gerendae peritorum vafriis artibus est obiectus; magistratus habuit infensos; in optimatum, cleri populiue suspicionem venit; flagitiosorum denique hominum capitale odium sibi conflavit, ad necem usque petitus. Quibus omnibus, quamvis miti esset suavique indole, invicto animo restitit.

Nec modo nihil cessit in iis quae fidei ac moribus exitio forent, sed ne postulationes quidem excepit adversas disciplinae aut fideli populo graves, etiamsi allatas, ut creditur, a rege potentissimo et ceteroquin catholico. Idemque memor verbi Christi: "Reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari et quae sunt Dei Deo" (Matth. xxii., 21), atque apostolorum vocis: "oboedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus" (Acts v., 29), non de causa tantum religionis optime meruit, verum etiam de ipsa societate civili, quam insanientis prudentiae poenas luentem, commotisque suapte manu seditionum fluctibus paene submersam abduxit certissimae morti.

Eadem sane laus et gratia debebitur catholicis huius temporis viris eorumque strenuis ducibus episcopis, quibus in utrisque nullae officiorum partes, quae civium sunt, desiderari poterunt unquam, sive agatur de servanda fide ac reverentia "dominis etiam dyscolis" iusta praecipientibus, sive de ipsorum iniquis imperiis detrectandis, aequae remota tum procaci licentia delabentium in seditiones ac turbas, tum servili abiectioe excipientium quasi sacras leges impia statuta pessimorum hominum, qui mentito libertatis nomine iura omnia pervertentes, durissimam imponunt servitutem.

Haec nempe in conspectu terrarum orbis et in media luce praesentis humanitatis sibi sedem constituisse videtur "potestas tenebrarum." Quo praepotenti sub dominatu iura omnia filiorum Ecclesiae miserrime proculcantur, extincto penitus in reipublicae rectoribus omni sensu magnanimitatis, urbanitatis ac fidei, quibus virtutibus eorum patres, christiano titulo insignes, tamdiu inclaruerunt. Adeo liquet, concepto semel in Deum et in Ecclesiam odio, retro sublapsa referri omnia, et ad antiquae libertatis ferociam, seu verius ad crudelissimum iugum, per unam Christi Familiam eiusque invectam disciplinam depulsum cervicibus, fieri cursum praecipitem. Aut, quod idem significavit Carolus, adeo est "certum atque exploratum, nulla alia re Deum gravius offendi, nullaque ad vehementiorem iram quam haeresum labe provocari; nihilque rursus ad provinciarum regnorumque interitum maiores vires habere, quam teterrimam illam pestem." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.) Quamquam

multo etiam funestior existimanda est hodierna conspiratio ad christianas gentes ab Ecclesiae sinu avellendas. In summa enim dissensione sententiarum ac voluntatum, quae propria nota est aberrantium a vero, in una re inimici consentiunt, hoc est in pertinaci iustitiae ac veritatis oppugnatione; cuius utriusque quia custos est ac vindex Ecclesia, in hanc unam confertis ordinibus impetum faciunt. Cumque se neutris in partibus esse, aut etiam causam pacis fovere dictitent, mellitis quidem verbis, at non dissimulatis consiliis, nihil aliud revera agunt, nisi ut insidias locent, addentes damno ludibrium, fraudem violentiae. Novo igitur certaminis genere per hos dies christianum impetitur nomen; belli moles conflatur longe periculosior ac pugnae antea pugnatae, ex quibus tam amplam collegit gloriam Borromeus.

Inde exempla nobis omnibus ac documenta sumentes, pro rebus maximis, quibus et privata et publica salus continetur, pro fide ac religione, pro sanctitate publici iuris, alacri erectoque animo dimicabimus, dolenda quidem necessitate compulsi, sed suavi simul freti fiducia, omnipotentem Deum tam gloriosa in acie militantibus victoriam deproperaturum. Cui fiduciae robur addit Caroliani operis producta adhuc usque aetatem vis et potentia, sive ad obfirmandum animum in proposito sancto instaurandi omnia in Christo.

Licet nunc, Venerabiles Fratres, iisdem verbis dicendo finem imponere, quibus pluries memoratus Decessor Noster Paulus V. Litteras absolvit decernentes Carolo supremos honores: "Aequum est igitur dare nos gloriam et honorem et benedictionem viventi in saecula saeculorum, qui benedixit conservum nostrum in omni benedictione spirituali, ut esset sanctus et immaculatus coram ipso, et cum illum dederit nobis Dominus tamquam fulgentem stellam in hac nocte peccatorum, tribulationum nostrarum, adeamus, ad divinam clementiam ore et opere supplicantes, ut Carolus Ecclesiae quam vehementer dilexit, prosit etiam meritis et exemplo, adsit patrocinio et in tempore iracundiae fiat reconciliatio, per Christum Dominum nostrum." (Bulla "Unigenitus.")

Accedat his votis cumuletque communem spem Apostolicae benedictionis auspiciis, quam vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et vestro cuiusque clero populoque peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die XXVI. mensis Maii, anno MDCCCCX., Pontificatus Nostri septimo.

PIUS PP. X.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY LORD PIUS X.

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE POPE.

ON THE TER-CENTENARY OF THE CANONIZATION OF ST. CHARLES BORROMEIO.

TO THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS AND OTHER
ORDINARIES IN PEACE AND COMMUNION WITH THE APOSTOLIC
SEE.

PIUS X. POPE.

Venerable Brothers, Health and the Apostolic Benediction.

WHAT the Divine word time and again records in the Sacred Scriptures—that the just man shall live in eternal memory of praise, and that he speaks even when dead (Ps. cxi., 7; Prov. x., 7; Hebr. xi., 4)—is specially verified by the voice and the continued work of the Church. For she, mother and nurse of sanctity that she is, ever rejuvenated and rendered fruitful by the breath of “the Holy Spirit who dwells within us” (Rom. viii., 11), as she alone generates, nourishes and brings up within her bosom the most noble family of the just, so, too, she is the most solicitous, by an instinct as it were of maternal love, in preserving their memory and in stimulating love for them. And from this remembrance she derives a comfort that is almost divine and that draws her eyes from the miseries of this mortal pilgrimage to see in the saints “her joy and her crown,” to recognize in them the sublime image of her heavenly Spouse, and to inculcate upon her children with new evidence the old truth: “To them that love God all things work together unto good, to such as, according to His purpose, are called to be saints.” (Rom. viii., 28.) And their glorious works are not only a comfort to the memory, but a light for imitation and a strong incentive to virtue through that unanimous echo of the saints which responds to the voice of Paul: “Be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ.” (I. Cor. iv., 16.)

For these reasons, Venerable Brothers, when we immediately on our elevation to the Supreme Pontificate made known our intention of working constantly that “all things might be restored in Christ,” in our first encyclical letter (Litt. Encycl. “E supremi” die IV. m. October MCMIII.), we studied earnestly to make all turn their eyes with us to Jesus, “the Apostle and Pontiff of our confession, the Author and Finisher of our faith.” (Hebr. iii., 1; xii., 2-3.) But since our weakness is such that we are apt to be confounded by the great-

ness of such an Exemplar, we had, through the kindness of Divine Providence, another model to propose, one who while being as close to Christ as it is possible for human nature to reach, is better adapted to our weakness—namely, the ever Blessed Virgin, the august Mother of God. (Litt. Encycl. "Ad diem illum," die II. m. Februar, MCMIV.) Moreover, availing ourself of various occasions to revive the memory of the saints, we have held up for universal admiration those faithful servants and ministers in the house of God, and each in his proper degree those friends of His and members of His household, "who by faith conquered kingdoms, wrought justice, obtained promises" (Hebr. xi., 33), that we might be urged on by their example "that henceforth we be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine by the wickedness of men, by cunning craftiness, by which they lie in wait to deceive; but doing the truth in charity, we may in all things grow up in Him who is the head, even Christ." (Eph. iv., 11 seq.)

This most lofty design of Divine Providence we showed forth as realized in the highest degree in three personages who flourished as great doctors and pastors at periods far apart, but each of them almost equally calamitous for the Church—Gregory the Great, John Chrysostom and Anselm of Aosta, whose solemn centenaries have fallen in these latter years. Thus more especially in the two encyclical letters given on March 12, 1904, and on April 21, 1909, we expounded those points of doctrine and precepts of Christian life, which seemed to us to be suitable for our own times and which are to be found in the example and teaching of these saints.

And since we are persuaded that the illustrious examples set by the soldiers of Christ are far better calculated to stir and draw souls than words or deep treatises (Encycl. "E supremi"), we now gladly avail ourself of another happy opportunity which is presented to us to commend the most useful lessons to be drawn from another holy pastor raised up by God in times nearer to our own and amid tempests almost identical with those through which we are passing, that Cardinal of Holy Roman Church and Archbishop of Milan, Charles Borromeo, by Paul V. of holy memory numbered among the saints. And not less better adapted to our purpose, for, to quote the words of our predecessor, "the Lord, who alone works great wonders, has done magnificent things with us in these latter times, and in His wonderful dispensation He has erected a great luminary above the apostolic rock, by choosing Charles from the bosom of the Most Holy Roman Church to be a faithful priest, a good servant, a model for the flock and model for pastors; who, lighting up the whole Church with the varied brilliancy of his holy works, shines out before priests and people as an Abel in innocence, an Enoch in purity,

a Jacob in bearing labors, a Moses in meekness, an Elias in burning zeal; who shows forth in himself for our imitation the authority of a Jeremia, amid an abundance of luxuries, the humility of a Martin in its highest grade, the pastoral solicitude of a Gregory, the liberty of an Ambrose, the charity of a Paulinus; who, in fine, gives us to see with our eyes and to touch with our hands a man who, while the world smiles with all its blandishments upon him, lives crucified to the world, lives of the spirit, trampling earthly things underfoot, seeking continuously the things of heaven, and that not merely because by his office occupying the place of an angel, but because he strove on earth to think the thoughts and do the works of the life of the angels." (Ex Bulla "Unigenitus" Gal. Nov. anno MDCX.)

Thus our predecessor five lustres after the death of Charles. And now, three centuries after the glorification decreed to him, "with good reason are our lips full of joy and our tongue of exultation on the great day of our solemnity, whereon with the decreeing of the sacred honors to Charles, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, over which by the disposition of the Lord we preside, a crown rich in all precious stones was given to his only Spouse." Thus we have in common with our predecessor the confidence that from the contemplation of the glory and still more from the teaching and example of the saints, the frowardness of the impious may be humiliated and confounded all those who "glory in the simulacrum of their errors." (Ex eadem Bulla "Unigenitus.") Thus the renewal of the glorification of Charles, model of the flock and of pastors in modern times, unwearied defender and advocate of the true Catholic reform against those innovators whose aim was not the restoration, but rather the deformation and destruction of faith and morals, will serve after three centuries as a source of special comfort and instruction for all Catholics and a noble incentive to them to coöperate strenuously in the work we have so much at heart of the restoration of all things in Christ.

It is certainly well known to you, Venerable Brothers, that the Church, although ever in tribulation, is never left by God wholly without consolation. "For Christ loved the Church and delivered Himself up for it, that He might sanctify it . . . and present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish." (Eph. v., 25 sqq.) Nay, when the licentiousness of morals is most unbridled, the onslaught of persecution most fierce and most cunning the wiles of error that seem to threaten her with utter ruin and that tear from her bosom not a few of her children, to plunge them in the vortex of impiety and vice, it is then that the Church finds Divine protection

more efficacious than ever. For, with or without the consent of the wicked, God makes error itself serve for the triumph of the truth, of which the Church is the defender and the guardian; makes corruption serve for the increase of sanctity, of which she is the nursing mother and mistress, and persecution serve for a more wonderful "freedom" from "our enemies." And thus it happens that when to profane eyes the Church seems to be buffeted and almost submerged by the rage of the storm, it is then she comes forth fairer, stronger, purer, refulgent with the splendor of the greatest virtues.

In this way the supreme goodness of God ever confirms with new proofs that the Church is a Divine work, because in the most painful trial, that of the errors and sins which insinuate themselves in its very members, He makes her triumph in the combat, because He shows in it the truth of the words of Christ: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matth. xvi., 18), because He proves by the reality the truth of the promise, "Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world" (Matth. xxviii., 20), and finally because He gives testimony of that mysterious virtue by which another Paraclete, promised by Christ immediately on His return to heaven, continually pours out His gifts upon it and defends and controls it in all tribulation; a "Spirit who abides with it forever; the spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not nor knoweth him . . . because he shall abide in you, and shall be in you." (Ioan. xiv., 16 sqq.; xvi., 7 sqq.) From this fount wells the life and force of the Church, and by this, too, as the ecumenical Vatican Council teaches, it is distinguished from all other societies by the manifest notes wherewith it is signalized and constituted "as a banner raised up among the nations." (Sessio III., Const. "Dei Filius," cau. 3.)

And truly, only a miracle of the Divine power could ensure that the Church, amid the flood of corruption and the lapses of its members, as the mystic body of Christ remains indefectible in the holiness of its doctrine, of its laws, of its end; from these same causes derives fruitful results; from the faith and justice of many of her children gathers most copious fruits of salvation. No less clear appears the seal of its divine life in that amid so vast and foul a mass of perverse opinions, amid such numbers of rebels, amid so multiform a variety of errors, it perseveres immutable and constant, "as the pillar and ground of truth," in the profession of one and the same doctrine, in the communion of the same sacraments, in its divine constitution, in its government, in its morals. And this is all the more wonderful inasmuch as the Church not only resists evil, but "conquers evil with good," and never ceases from blessing friends and enemies alike, while it works and yearns with all its soul to effect the Christian

renovation of society as well as of the individuals that compose it. For this is its special mission in the world, and of this its very enemies experience the benefit.

This wonderful influx of Divine Providence in the work of restoration promoted by the Church shines forth with splendor in that century which, for the comfort of the good, saw the appearance of St. Charles Borromeo. In those days passions ran riot and the knowledge of the truth was almost completely perverted and obscured; there was a continual struggle with errors, and human society, going from bad to worse, seemed to be rushing towards the abyss. In the midst of these errors rose up proud and rebellious men, "enemies of the cross of Christ . . . men of earthly sentiments, whose god is their belly." (Philip. iii., 18, 19.) These, bent not on correcting morals, but on denying the dogmas, multiplied the disorders, loosening for themselves and for others the bridle of licentiousness and contemning the authoritative guidance of the Church to pander to the passions of the most corrupt princes and peoples, with a virtual tyranny overturned its doctrine, constitution, discipline.

Then, imitating these sinners to whom was addressed the menace, "Woe to you who call evil good and good evil" (Isai. v., 20), that tumult of rebellion and that perversion of faith and morals they called reformation and themselves reformers. But in truth they were corrupters, for, undermining with dissensions and wars the forces of Europe, they paved the way for the rebellions and the apostasy of modern times, in which were united and renewed in one onslaught those three kinds of conflict hitherto separated, from which the Church had always issued victorious—the bloody conflicts of the first ages, then the internal pest of heresies, and finally, under the name of evangelical liberty, a vicious corruption and a perversion of discipline unknown perhaps in mediæval times.

To this crowd of seducers God opposed real reformers and holy men to arrest the impetuous current and extinguish the conflagration and to repair the harm already done. Their assiduous and manifold work for the reformation of discipline was all the more comforting to the Church by reason of the grave tribulation that afflicted it, and afforded a proof of the words, "God is faithful, who . . . also with temptation will make issue." (I. Cor. x., 13.) It was in these circumstances that by a providential disposition the singular zeal and sanctity of Charles Borromeo came to bring fresh consolation to the Church.

For God so ordained that his ministry was to have a force and efficacy all its own not only in checking the audacity of the factious, but in teaching and kindling the children of the Church. He curbed

the mad ardors of the former and refused their futile charges with the most powerful eloquence, by the example of his life and labors; he raised the hopes of the latter and revived their zeal. And it was truly wonderful how from his youth he united in himself all those qualities of the real reformer, which in others we see scattered and isolated—virtue, sense, doctrine, authority, power, alacrity—and how he combined them all to serve for the defense of Catholic truth against the onrush of heresies, as is the proper mission of the Church, reviving the faith that had grown dormant and almost extinct in many, strengthening it by provident laws and institutions, restoring the discipline that had been dethroned, and strenuously leading back the morals of the clergy and people to the tenor of Christian life. Thus, while he accomplishes all the offices of the reformer, he also duly discharges all the functions of the "good and faithful servant," and later those of the great priest who "pleased God in his days and was found just," and therefore worthy to be taken as an example by all classes of persons, clergy and laity, rich and poor; like those whose excellence is summarized in the encomium of Bishop and prelate, by which beyond the words of the Apostle Peter he made himself a "pattern of the flock from the heart." (I. Petr. v., 3.) No less admirable is the fact that Charles, before reaching the age of twenty-three, although raised to the highest honors and entrusted with important and most difficult affairs of the Church, made daily progress in the more perfect exercise of virtue, through that contemplation of Divine things which in sacred retirement had already renewed him, and he shone forth "a spectacle to the world, to the angels and to men."

Then, indeed, to use again the words of our predecessor, Paul V., the Lord began to show forth in Charles "His wonders"—wisdom, justice, burning zeal in promoting the glory of God and the Catholic name, and above all things solicitude for that work of restoration of the faith and of the universal Church which was treated in the august gathering of Trent. The Pontiff himself and all posterity assigned to him the merit of the celebration of this Council, inasmuch as he, before becoming the most faithful executor of it, was its most efficacious promoter. Indeed, were it not for his many vigils, trials and labors, that work would not have attained its ultimate completion.

And yet all these things were but a preparation and a novitiate, in which his heart was trained with piety, his mind with study, his body with labor, while he always kept himself, modest and humble youth that he was, as clay in the hands of God and God's Vicar on earth. A life of preparation such as this was just the kind to be despised by the innovators of the time, through that same foolishness

which leads the modern innovators to despise it, in their failure to observe that the wonderful works of God are brought to maturity in the shade and silence of the soul dedicated to obedience and prayer, and that in this preparation lies the germ of future progress as the hope of the harvest lies in the sowing.

The sanctity and laboriousness of Charles, who was then preparing himself under such auspices, developed in due course to produce marvelous fruit, as we have hinted already, when he, like the good workman he was, leaving the splendor and majesty of Rome, retired to the field that he was to cultivate in Milan, and discharging all his offices there better and better every day, brought it to such splendor, from the state of rank growths and wildness to which the evil times had so deplorably reduced it, as to make the Church of Milan a most brilliant example of ecclesiastical discipline. (Ex Bulla "Unigenitus.")

All these striking results he attained by adopting in his work of reformation the rules laid shortly before by the Council of Trent.

For the Church, knowing how well "the imagination and thought of man's heart are prone to evil" (Gen. viii., 21), never ceases to combat vice and error that "the body of sin may be destroyed, to the end that we may serve sin no longer." (Rom. vi., 6.) And in this conflict, as she is a mistress to herself and guided "by the grace which is diffused in our hearts by the Holy Ghost," so she is governed in her thought and action by the Doctor of the Gentiles, who says: "Be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind. And be not conformed to this world, but be reformed in the newness of your mind, that you may prove what is the good and the acceptable and the perfect will of God." (Rom. xii., 2.) And the son of the Church and true reformer never persuades himself that he has attained the goal, but with the Apostle only protests that he is striving towards it: "Forgetting the things that are behind, and stretching myself to those that are before, I press towards the mark, to the prize of the supernal vocation of God in Christ Jesus." (Philip. iii., 13, 14.)

Thus it is that, united with Christ in the Church, "we in all things grow up in Him who is the head, even Christ, from whom the whole body maketh its own increase unto the edifying of itself in charity" (Ephes. iv., 15, 16), and Mother Church realizes more and more that mystery of the Divine will "in the dispensation of the fullness of times to reestablish all things in Christ." (Ephes. i., 9, 10.)

No thought was given to all this by the reformers opposed by St. Charles, for they presumed to reform faith and discipline at their own caprice; nor is it better understood, Venerable Brothers, by the Moderns, against whom we have to combat to-day. These, too,

subvert the doctrine, laws, institutions of the Church, forever talking about culture and civilization, not because they have this so much at heart, but because under such sounding words they are enabled the better to conceal the evil nature of their designs.

Their real aims, their plots, the line they are following are well known to all of you, and their designs have been denounced and condemned by us. What they propose is a universal apostasy from the faith and discipline of the Church, an apostasy still worse than the one which threatened the century of Charles, from the fact that it creeps insidious and hidden in the very veins of the Church and with extreme subtlety pushes erroneous principles to their extreme conclusions.

But both have the same origin in "the enemy who," ever alert for the perdition of men, "has oversown cockle among the wheat" (Matth. xiii., 25); of both revolts the ways are hidden and darksome, with the same development and the same fatal issue. For as in the past the first apostasy, turning to the side on which fortune seemed to favor it, stirred up the powerful against the people or the people against the powerful only to lead both classes to destruction, so this modern apostasy stimulates mutual hatred between the poor and the rich until people growing discontented with their lot lead lives more and more miserable and pay the penalty imposed on all who, absorbed in earthly and fleeting things, seek not "the kingdom of God and His justice." Nay, the present conflict has become all the more grave from the fact that while the turbulent innovators of other times as a rule retained some fragments of the treasure of revealed doctrine, the Moderns would seem to have no peace until they have utterly destroyed it. Now, once the foundations of religion are thus overturned, the bonds of civil society are also necessarily broken. Truly a spectacle full of sadness for the present and of menace for the future; not because there is any ground for fears as to the safety of the Church, for here the Divine promises do not permit of doubt, but for the dangers that threaten the family and the nations, especially for those who foment with most activity or who tolerate with most indifference this pestiferous wind of impiety.

Amid so impious and so stupid a war, carried on sometimes and propagated with the aid of those who should be the first to support us and help our cause; amid this manifold transformation of error and these varied blandishments of vice, by both of which many even of our own allow themselves to be led astray, seduced as they are by the appearances of novelty and of doctrine, or by the illusion that the Church may well come to a friendly agreement with the maxims of the age, you are well aware, Venerable Brothers, that we must all oppose a vigorous resistance and repel the assault of the enemy with

those very weapons which Charles Borromeo used in his own time.

And first of all, since they are attacking the very rock of faith, either by open denial, or by hypocritical assault, or by misrepresenting revealed doctrine, we shall do well to remember what St. Charles often inculcated, viz., that "The first and chief care of pastors must be concerned with all that regards the full and inviolate maintenance of the Catholic faith, the faith which the Holy Church professes and teaches, and without which it is impossible to please God." (Conc. Prov. i., sub initium.) And again: "In this matter no diligence can be too great to meet what are certainly the requirements of the case." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.) Hence it is necessary to oppose sound doctrine to "the leaven of heretical depravity," which if not repressed corrupts the whole mass; that is, we must oppose the perverse opinions which are making their way under lying semblances and which taken together are professed by "modernism," remembering with St. Charles "how supreme must be the zeal and how diligent above all else must be the care of the Bishop to combat the crime of heresy." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.)

In truth, it is not necessary to record the other words of the saint in quoting the sanctions, laws, penalties laid down by the Roman Pontiffs against prelates who are negligent or remiss in purging their dioceses of the evil of heresy. But it will be quite opportune to mediate closely on the conclusions he draws from these: "Hence the Bishop must above all things persevere in this eternal solicitude and continuous vigilance not only to prevent the most pestilent disease of heresy from penetrating among the flock committed to him, but even to remove the faintest suspicion of it from them. And should it happen to penetrate, which may the Lord Christ in His pitiful mercy forbid, he must strive at once by all means in his power to have it driven out immediately, and he must have those who are infected or under suspicion of being infected with the pestilence treated according to the pontifical canons and sanctions." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.)

But neither liberation nor preservation from the pest of error is possible except through proper instruction of the clergy, for "faith cometh by hearing and hearing by the word of Christ." (Rom. x., 17.) This necessity of inculcating the truth upon all is more than ever urgent in our days, when through all the veins of the State, and from sources whence it might have been least expected, we see the poison penetrates to such a degree that all come within the scope of the reasons alleged by St. Charles in these words: "If those who live close to the heretics be not firm and well-grounded in the foundations of the faith, there is only too much reason to fear that they will easily allow themselves to be drawn by them into some snare

of impiety or false doctrine." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.) For nowadays owing to the facility of travel the means of communication have been increased for error as well as for all other things, and by reason of the unbridled liberty of the passions we live in the midst of a perverted society, in which "there is no truth . . . and the knowledge of God does not exist" (Os. iv., 1); "in a land that is desolate . . . because no one thinketh in the heart." (Jerem. xii., 11.) Hence we, to use the words of St. Charles, "have hitherto employed much diligence to ensure that the faithful of Christ all and several be well instructed in the rudiments of the Christian faith" (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.), and have written a special encyclical letter on the subject as being one of the most vital importance. (Encycl. "Acerbo nimis," die XXV. m. Aprilis MDCCCLV.) But although we do not wish to repeat what Charles Borromeo in his burning zeal lamented, that "we have hitherto obtained all too little success in a matter of such moment," yet, like him, "swayed by the vastness of the undertaking and of the danger," we would still further kindle the zeal of all, to the end that, taking Charles as their model, they may contribute, each in his grade and according to his strength, in this work of Christian restoration. Let fathers and employers remember with what fervor the holy Bishop constantly inculcated upon them not only to afford the opportunity, but to impose the obligation of learning Christian doctrine upon their children, servants and employes. Let clerics remember that they must help the parish priests in this teaching, and let the parish priests have schools for the purpose multiplied according to the number and the necessities of their people, and see to it that they be commendable in the probity of the teachers, who should be assisted by men and women of tried morality, after the method prescribed by the holy Archbishop of Milan. (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.)

The necessity of this Christian instruction is obviously increased both by the trend of modern times and customs, and especially by the existence of those public schools, destitute of all religion, in which everything most holy is ridiculed and condemned, and in which the lips of the teachers and the ears of the scholars are equally open to blasphemy. We speak of those schools which with supreme injustice are called "lay" or "neutral," but which in reality are the prey of the domineering tyranny of a darksome sect. This new trick of hypocritical liberty you have already denounced aloud and fearlessly, Venerable Brothers, especially in those countries where the rights of religion and of the family have been most shamelessly trampled upon, and in which the very voice of nature, proclaiming that the faith and innocence of youth must be respected, has been stifled. To remedy, as far as was possible for us, so great an evil inflicted by

those same persons who while they claim obedience to themselves deny it to the Supreme Master of all things, we have recommended that schools of Christian doctrine be established in the various cities. And while this work, thanks to your efforts, has already made good progress, still it is earnestly to be desired that it be propagated even more widely, and that these schools be established numerous everywhere, and be provided with teachers of sound doctrine and good life.

These same qualities are with much greater reason to be looked for in the sacred orator whose office is closely connected with that of the necessary instruction in the first elements of religious teaching. Hence the diligence and the counsels of Charles in the provincial and diocesan synods were directed with a most special care to the formation of preachers who might be employed with holy zeal and good fruit in "the ministry of the word." And this, too, and perhaps even more urgently, seems to be required in the times in which we live, when the faith is weakening in so many hearts, and when there is no lack of those who in a spirit of vainglory follow the fashions, "adulterating the word of God" and depriving souls of the food of life.

With the utmost vigilance, therefore, Venerable Brothers, we must see to it that our flock be not fed on wind by vain and frivolous men, but be nourished with life-giving food by "ministers of the word," of whom it may be said: "Of Christ we are ambassadors, God as it were exhorting by us: Be reconciled to God (II. Cor. v., 20), not walking in craftiness, nor adulterating the word of God, but by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God (II. Cor. iv., 2); workmen that need not to be ashamed, rightly handling the word of truth." (II. Tim. ii., 15.) Not less useful for us will be those most holy and most fruitful rules which the Bishop of Milan was accustomed to lay down for the faithful and which are summarized in the words of St. Paul: "When you had received from us the word of the hearing of God you received it not as the word of men, but (as it is indeed) the word of God, who worketh in you who have believed." (I. Thess. ii., 13.)

Thus "the word of God, living and effectual and more piercing than any two-edged sword" (Hebr. iv., 12), will work not only for the conservation and defense of the faith, but as an efficacious impulse to good works, for "faith without works is dead (Iacob. ii., 26), for not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified." (Rom. ii., 13.)

Here, too, we see again how immense is the difference between real and false reform. For those who advocate the false, imitating

the inconstancy of the foolish, are wont to rush to extremes, either by exalting faith in such a way as to exclude good works, or ascribing to nature alone all the excellence of virtue without the aid of faith and divine grace. Whereas the acts proceeding from merely natural uprightness are but the simulacra of virtue, neither lasting in themselves nor sufficient for salvation. The work of such reformers, therefore, is not adapted to restore discipline, but is fatal to faith and morals.

On the other hand, those who, like St. Charles, sincerely and straightforwardly seek true and salutary reform, avoid extremes and never outstep those limits beyond which true reform cannot subsist. United as they are in the closest links with the Church and its Head, Christ, they not only derive thence strength for their interior life, but learn rules for their public action to enable them to devote themselves with sure purpose to the work of healing human society. Now, of this divine mission, transmitted perpetually to those who have to be the legates of Christ, it is the function "to teach all nations," and not only the things that are to be believed, but the things that are to be done, that is, as Christ Himself said: "Observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." (Matth. xxviii., 18-20.) "For He is the way, the truth and the life" (Ioan. xiv., 6), and He came that men "may have life and have it more abundantly." (Ioan. x., 10.) But since to fulfill all those duties with the sole guidance of nature is something far beyond what the forces of man can by themselves attain, the Church possesses, together with her magisterium, the power of governing human society and that of sanctifying it, while she communicates the opportune and necessary means of salvation through those who, in their several grades and offices, are her ministers and coöperators.

Understanding this well, the true reformers do not kill the blossom in order to save the root, that is, they do not separate faith from holiness of life, but foster both of them and warm them with the breath of charity, which is "the bond of perfection." (Coloss. iii., 14.) Thus, obeying the Apostle, do they "keep the deposit" (I. Tim. vi., 20), not to obstruct its manifestation or dim its light for the nations, but rather to send farther and wider the most saving waters of truth and life which well from that spring. And in this they combine theory with practice, availing themselves of the former to prevent all the "wiles of error," and of the latter to apply the precepts to the morals and action of life. Therefore, too, they provide all the means opportune or necessary for the attainment of the end, both as regards the extirpation and "for the perfection of the saints, for the work of the ministry, the building up of the body of Christ." (Eph. iv., 12.) This was the scope of the statutes, the canons, the

laws of the Fathers and Councils, and all those means of instruction, government, sanctification and beneficence of all kinds, and, in fine, all the discipline and activity of the Church. On such masters as these of faith and morals the true son of the Church fixes his eyes and his heart when he aims at the reformation of himself and others. And on such masters, too, Borromeo relies in his reformation of ecclesiastical discipline. He often refers to them, as when he writes: "We, following the ancient custom of the Holy Fathers and the sacred Councils, and especially of the Ecumenical Synod of Trent, have laid down many dispositions concerning these same points in our preceding provincial Councils." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.) So, too, in making provision for the suppression of public scandals, he declares that he is guided "both by the law and by the sacred sanctions of the sacred canons, and, above all, of the Council of Trent." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.)

And not content with this, in order the better to ensure that he may never depart from this rule, he is wont to conclude the statutes of his provincial Synods thus: "The things all and single which have been decreed and done by us in this provincial Synod, we submit always, to be amended and corrected, to the authority and judgment of the Roman Church, of all churches the Mother and Mistress." (Conc. Prov. vi., sub finem.) And this purpose of his he showed forth ever more fervently as he advanced with giant strides in the perfection of the active life, not only while the Chair of Peter was occupied by the Pontiff who was his uncle, but also under the successors of the latter, Pius V. and Gregory XIII. The election of these he powerfully aided, and he supported them strenuously in their great undertakings, corresponding perfectly with what they expected from him.

But above all did he second them in putting into execution the practical means to attain the end in view, viz., the real reform of sacred discipline. Here again he showed himself as far as possible removed from the false reformers who mask their obstinate disobedience under an appearance of zeal. Beginning "the judgment of the house of God" (I. Peter iv., 17), he applied himself first of all to reform the discipline of the clergy by constant laws, and to this end erected seminaries for the students for the priesthood, founded a congregation of priests known as Oblates, united religious families ancient and modern, assembled Councils, and by provisions of all kinds assured and developed the work that had been undertaken. Then, without delay, he set his hand with equal vigor to reform the morals of the people, regarding as said to himself what was said to the Prophet: "Lo, I have set the . . . to root up, and to pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build, and to plan." (Ier.

i., 10.) Thus the good shepherd that he was, visiting personally the churches of the province, not without fatigue, like the Divine Master "he went about doing good and healing" the wounds of the flock; he put forth every effort to suppress and eradicate the abuses he met on all sides, due either to ignorance or the neglect of the laws; to the perversion of ideas and the corruption of morals that abounded he raised up barriers in the form of the schools and colleges he opened for the children and for youth, the Marian societies which he developed after having seen them in their early flowering here in Rome, the hospices he threw open for the orphans, the refuges he established for girls in danger, for widows, for mendicants, for men and women rendered destitute by sickness or old age, by his protection of the poor against the tyranny of masters, against usurers, against the enslaving of children, and by great numbers of other institutions. But all this he effected shunning entirely the methods of those who would renew human society after their own fashion by overturning everything, by agitation, by vain noise, forgetting the Divine words: "The Lord is not found in commotion." (III. Reg. xix., 11.)

Just here is another point in which the real reformers differ from the false, as you, Venerable Brothers, have often experienced. The false reformers "seek their own interests, not those of Jesus Christ" (Philip. ii., 21), and giving ear to the insidious invitation once made to the Divine Master, "Manifest thyself to the world" (Ioan. vii., 4), they also repeat the ambitious words, "Let us also get us a name," and by this temerity, which we have, alas! to deplore in our own time, "some priests fell in battle, wishing to do great things they went out without prudence." (I. Machab. v., 57, 67.)

The true reformer, on the contrary, "seeks not his own glory, but the glory of Him who hath sent him" (Ioan. vii., 18), and like Christ, his exemplar, "he shall not contend nor cry, and his voice shall not be heard abroad, he shall not be turbulent or unquiet" (Isai. xlii., 2 sq.; Matth. xii., 19), but he shall be "meek and humble of heart." (Matth. xi., 29.) Hence he will please the Lord and bear most copious fruits of salvation.

In still another way are they distinguished from one another, for the false "trusteth in man and maketh flesh his arm" (Ier. xvii., 5), while the true reformer puts all his trust in God and looks to Him and to supernatural assistance for all his strength and virtue, exclaiming with the Apostle: "All things I can do in Him who strengtheneth me." (Philip iv., 13.)

These aids, which Christ communicated in rich abundance, the faithful reformer looks for in the Church itself, to which they have been given for the salvation of all, and among them especially

prayer, sacrifice, the sacraments, which become "a fountain of water springing up to life everlasting." (Ioan. iv., 14.) But all such means are repugnant to those who by crooked ways and in forgetfulness of God busy themselves with reformation and who never cease trying to render turbid or dry up altogether those crystal springs, so that the flock of Christ may be deprived of them. And here they are even surpassed by their modern followers, who under a mask of the deepest religiousness hold in no account these means of salvation, and throw discredit on them, especially the two sacraments by which sin is pardoned for penitent souls and souls are strengthened with celestial food. Let all faithful pastors, therefore, endeavor with all zeal to ensure that benefits of such great price be held in the highest honor, nor suffer these two works of Divine charity to languish in the affections of men.

Such was the conduct of Borromeo, among whose writings we read: "Since the fruit of the sacraments is so great and so abundant that its value cannot easily be explained, they should be treated and received with the utmost diligence, with the deepest piety of the soul and with external cult and veneration." (Conc. Prov. i., Pars. ii.) Most worthy of note also are the recommendations with which he exhorts parish priests and preachers to revive the ancient practice of frequent communion, as we have also done by our decree, "Tridentina Synodus." "Parish priests and preachers," says the holy Bishop, "should exhort the people as often as possible to the most salutary practice of receiving the Holy Eucharist frequently, relying on the institutions and examples of the early Church, on the recommendations of the most authoritative Fathers, on the doctrine of the Roman Catechism, which treats of this matter at length, and finally on the teaching of the Council of Trent, which would have the faithful communicate in every Mass, not only by receiving the Eucharist spiritually, but also sacramentally." (Conc. Prov. iii., Pars. i.) He describes, too, the intention and affection with which this sacred banquet should be approached, in these words: "The people should not only be incited to receive the Most Holy Sacrament frequently, but should also be warned how dangerous and fatal it is to approach unworthily this sacred table of Divine food." (Conc. Prov. iv., Pars. ii.) The same diligence would seem to be especially necessary in our times of vacillating faith and charity grown cold in order that the increase in frequency may not be accompanied by a diminution in the reverence due to so great a mystery, but that rather it may bring with it a motive to make "man prove himself and so eat of that bread and drink of that chalice." (I. Cor. xi., 28.)

From these founts will spring a rich stream of grace, which will give vigor and nourishment also to natural and human means. The

action of the Christian will by no means neglect the things that are of use and solace to life, for they, too, come from the same God, the Author of grace and of nature; but it will be careful when seeking and enjoying external things and the goods of the body not to make of them the end and happiness of life. He who uses these human things rightly and temperately, therefore, will employ them for the salvation of souls, in obedience to the words of Christ: "Seek first the kingdom of God and His justice and all these things will be added unto you." (Luc. xii., 31; Matth. vi., 33.)

This properly ordered and wise use of the means is so far from being in opposition with happiness of a lower kind, viz., that proper to human society, that, on the contrary, it serves greatly to promote its interests; not by vain boasting, as is the fashion with factious reformers, but by deeds and by heroic striving, even to the sacrifice of property, strength and life itself. Many an example of this fortitude is given us by Bishops who, in evil days for the Church, vieing with the zeal of Charles, realize the words of the Divine Master: "The good shepherd gives his life for his sheep." (Ioan. x., 11.) They are led to sacrifice themselves for the good, influenced not by ambition for glory, or by party spirit, or by the stimulus of any private interest, but by that "charity which never faileth." Kindled by this flame, which escapes profane eyes, Borromeo, after having exposed his life in attending the victims of the plague, did not confine himself to affording aid against present evils, but turned his solicitude to those which the future might have in store: "It is altogether reasonable that just as an excellent father who loves his children with a single-hearted affection provides for their future as well as their present, by preparing for them what is necessary for their lives, so we, moved by the duty of paternal love, are making provision with all foresight for the faithful of our province and are preparing for the future those aids which we have known by experience during the time of the plague to be salutary." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. ii.)

The same designs and plans of affectionate forethought, Venerable Brothers, find a practical application in that Catholic action which we have frequently recommended. To take part in this most noble apostolate, which embraces all the works of mercy that are to be rewarded with the eternal kingdom (Matth. xxv., 34 sq.), the elite are called. But when they assume this burden they must be ready and fit to make a complete sacrifice of themselves and all things belonging to them for the good cause, to bear envy, contradiction and even the hatred of many who will repay their benefits with ingratitude, to labor like "good soldiers of Christ (II. Tim. ii., 3), to run by patience to the fight proposed to us, looking on Jesus, the author

and finisher of faith." (Hebr. xii., 1-2.) A conflict, assuredly, of great difficulty, but one that is most efficacious for the well-being of civil society, even though complete victory be slow in coming.

In this respect, too, it is given to us to admire the splendid example set by St. Charles and to derive from it, each according to his own condition, matter for imitation and comfort. For although his singular virtue, his marvelous activity and his abundant charity made him worthy of so much respect, yet even he was not exempt from the law: "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution." (II. Tim. iii., 12.) Thus the very fact that he led a very austere life; that he always stood up for righteousness and honesty; that he was an incorruptible defender of law and justice, brought upon him the hostility of powerful men and the trickeries of diplomats, caused him later to be distrusted by the nobility, the clergy and the people, and eventually drew upon him the deadly hatred of the wicked, so that his very life was sought. Yet, though of a mild and gentle disposition, he held out against all this with invincible courage.

Never did he yield in anything that would be hurtful to faith and morals or in the face of claims contrary to discipline or burdensome on the faithful, even when these were made by a most powerful monarch, who was also a Catholic. Mindful of the words of Christ, "Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's" (Matt. xxii., 21), and of the declaration of the Apostles, "It is better to obey God rather than men" (Acts v., 29), he became a supreme benefactor not only of the cause of religion, but of civil society itself, which, paying the penalty of its foolish prudence and almost overwhelmed by the storms of sedition which itself had raised, was rushing upon certain destruction.

The same praise and gratitude will be due to the Catholics of our time and to their courageous leaders, the Bishops, when they never fail in any of the duties of good citizens, either when it is a question of showing loyalty and respect to "wicked rulers" when these command what is just, or resisting their commands when they are iniquitous, holding themselves equally aloof from the frowned rebellion of those who have recourse to sedition and tumult and from the servile abjection of those who receive as sacred laws the manifestly impious statutes of perverse men, who under the lying name of liberty subvert all things and impose on those subject to them the hardest kind of tyranny.

This is happening in the sight of the whole world and in the full light of modern civilization, in some nations especially, where "the powers of darkness" seem to have taken up their headquarters. Under this domineering tyranny all the rights of the children of the

Church are being trampled upon and the hearts of those in power have become closed to all those sentiments of generosity, courtesy and faith which for so long shone forth in their forefathers, who gloried in the name of Christians. But it is evident that where hatred of God and of the Church exists everything goes backward precipitously towards the barbarism of ancient liberty, or rather towards that most cruel yoke from which only the family of Christ and the education introduced by it has freed us. Borromeo expressed the same thought when he said: "It is a certain and well recognized fact that by no other crime is God more gravely offended, by none provoked to greater wrath, than by the vice of heresy, and that nothing contributes more to the ruin of provinces and kingdoms than this frightful pest." (Conc. Prov. v., Pars. i.) Yet as far more deadly must be regarded the modern conspiracy to tear Christian nations from the bosom of the Church, as we have already said.

For the enemies of the Church, although in utter discord of thought and will among themselves, which is the sure mark of error, are at one only in their obstinate assaults upon truth and justice; and as the Church is the guardian and defender of both of those, against the Church alone they close up their ranks for an united attack. And although they are wont to proclaim their impartiality and to assert that they are promoting the cause of peace, in reality, by their mild words and their avowed intentions, they are only laying snares to add insult to injury, treason to violence. A new species of war is, therefore, now being waged against Christianity, and one far more dangerous than those conflicts of other times, in which Borromeo won so much glory.

By taking example and instruction from him we shall be animated to battle vigorously for those lofty interests upon which depends the salvation of the individual and of society, for faith and religion and the inviolability of public right; we shall fight, it is true, under the spur of a bitter necessity, but at the same time cheered by the fair hope that the omnipotence of God will speed the victory for those who fight so glorious a battle—a hope which gathers greater strength from the powerful efficacy, persisting down to our own days, of the work done by St. Charles both in humbling pride and in strengthening the resolution to restore all things in Christ.

And now, Venerable Brothers, we may conclude in the words with which our predecessor, Paul V., already several times mentioned, concluded the letter decreeing the supreme honors to Charles: "It is right, meanwhile, that we render glory and honor and blessing to Him who lives through all ages, who blessed our fellow-servant with all spiritual benediction to make him holy and spotless in His sight. And the Lord having given him to us a star shining this

night of sin and of our tribulation, let us have recourse to the Divine clemency, supplicating by mouth and deed that Charles, who loved the Church so ardently and helped her so greatly by his merits and example, may now assist her by his patronage, and in the day of wrath make peace for us through Christ our Lord." (Bulla "Unigenitus.")

To this prayer be added for the fulfillment of all hopes the token of the Apostolic Benediction, which with warm affection we impart to you, Venerable Brothers, and to the clergy and people of each one of you.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's, May 26, 1910, in the seventh year of our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

PIUS VII. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—VIII.

WHILE Pius VII., imprisoned in the palace of the Bishop of Savona and deprived of all means of communication with the faithful, still refused to confirm the Bishops who had been nominated by the Emperor, or to abandon his rights to the possessions of the Holy See, Napoleon had begun a deliberate persecution of the clergy in Italy, with the object, apparently, of subjecting the Church to his authority and of regulating its affairs "as if there were no Pope."¹ He began by establishing in Rome a board of functionaries called *la Consulta*, with the object of abolishing the laws and institutions existing under the Papal Government; of suppressing the religious orders; of reducing the numbers of the dioceses and parishes, and thus preparing the way for the introduction of the Constitution of the Empire, as in France, when he would send a Senator or a King to govern in his name.² The head of this committee was General Miollis, who had seized Rome and sent the Holy Father into exile. He was a brave soldier, but as an administrator, hesitating and undecided and easily led by his colleagues. These were Baron de Gerando, a member of the *Institut de France* and a writer on philosophical questions; Janet, a harsh and narrow-minded lawyer, who acted as Minister of Finance; dal Pozzo, a Piedmontese, who was charged with the organization of the courts of law, and Count Cesare Balbo, also a Piedmontese, the Secretary, who resigned his post at the end of 1810.

The task imposed on the *Consulta* of substituting for the ancient laws and traditional institutions of Rome those of modern revolutionary France presented serious difficulties; for a strong feeling of antipathy against the French had long prevailed among all classes in Rome on account of the frequent contests of the Kings of France with the Holy See and the disrespect with which their representatives had often treated the Sovereign Pontiffs. This aversion had been intensified by the impiety and the crimes of the Revolution; by the occupation of Rome by the troops of General Berthier; by the merciless pillage of its treasures, and the sanguinary reprisals by which every show of resistance to the republic had been suppressed. After the annexation, however, of the Papal States to the French

¹ Correspondance de Napoléon I. publiée par ordre de Napoléon III. Paris, 1866, t. XX., No. 16,381. Note pour le Ministre des Cultes. Compiègne 15 Avril, 1810. The Minister was ordered to draw up a plan regarding the affairs of the clergy, in which everything should be settled as it ought to be and as if there were no Pope.

² Louis Madelin, *La Rome de Napoléon. La Domination Française à Rome, de 1809 à 1814*. Paris, 1906, pp. 155, 206. This work is founded almost exclusively on inedited memoirs and State documents.

Empire, the majority of the Roman nobles soon yielded to the invitations or the threats of their new rulers, and, led by their ambition or their fears, consented to accept places in the administration of Rome and of the provinces. Some of them even were admitted to the French Senate or were given appointments at the Imperial Court.³

The clergy, as a rule, showed more strength of mind and greater fidelity to the Sovereign Pontiff. The cruel persecution which they underwent was not inflicted merely in consequence of their loyalty to their Pope as their temporal ruler; its chief motive was Napoleon's resolution to reduce the clergy to the condition of government functionaries, and to administer the affairs of the Church with the same absolutism as he exercised in those of the State.⁴ At the time when the two provinces which still remained to the Pope had been annexed and were changed into the two departments of the Tiber and Trasimene they were divided into thirty-two dioceses, a number which Napoleon thought much too large and which he hoped to be able to reduce to three or four, one of which should be the Diocese of Rome.⁵

Several of these sees were then vacant, but of the twelve Bishops then remaining in Umbria (the department of Trasimene) only three consented to take the oath; the others refused and were immediately sent off to France under an escort. Not only their ecclesiastical property, but that which they had inherited from their families was seized, and it was decreed that their dioceses should be united to those whose Bishops had taken the oath.⁶ In the province of Rome there were also twelve Bishops then present. Ten of them were induced to sign a document containing the oath by a stratagem of the Prefect, M. de Tournon, who appeased their scruples by allowing them to write beneath their signatures, "Saving the rights of the Church and of the Holy See." But even with this reservation two refused to sign. M. de Tournon then cut off this sentence and sent the document to the *Consulta*, making it appear that the oath had been taken without any reservation; but two more of these Bishops, on learning how they had been deceived, retracted at once. The others apparently thought it more prudent to make no complaint.⁷

³ Madelin, p. 100 . . . neuf nobles sur dix acceptent des places.

⁴ Le Comte Joseph Grabinski, *Les prêtres Romains et le premier Empire*. Lyons, 1897, p. 77.

⁵ *Correspondance de Napoléon I.*, t. XX., No. 16,442, 7 Mai, 1810, and 16,554. Note pour le Ministre des Cultes, 13 Juin, 1810.

⁶ Léon Lecestre, *Lettres inédites de Napoléon I.* Paris, 1897, t. II., No. 612. Au Comte Bigot de Préameneu, Ministre des Cultes. Lacken, 16 Mai, 1810. (These letters had been omitted in the official "*Correspondance de Napoléon I.*" as likely to create an unfavorable impression with regard to him.) *Correspondance de Napoléon I.*, t. XX., No. 16,449. Au Ministre des Cultes, Berg-op-Loom, 9 Mai, 1810. Madelin, p. 335.

⁷ Madelin, p. 337.

Of the canons and parish priests who were asked to take the oath, a large number, it is true, gave way before the threats of the authorities. Some, perhaps, were allowed to swear with reservations that might satisfy their conscience. It may be, also, that in some rural districts less severity may have been displayed, but whatever may have been the number of those who yielded, several hundred priests preferred to undergo exile and imprisonment rather than fail to obey the Sovereign Pontiff, and of those who took the oath very many soon retracted and were deported like the others.⁸

It is not possible to ascertain the exact number of these confessors of the faith who were imprisoned in fortresses, exiled to Corsica or deported to various towns in the north of Italy, where they were subjected to an unceasing supervision on the part of the police and sometimes even forbidden to pass the gates of the city.⁹ While on their way they were venerated as martyrs by the people, who, though repulsed by the gendarmes, did not hesitate to manifest its indignation on seeing its Bishops and priests, many of them aged and infirm, sent into exile. Those who had yielded and had taken the oath were despised and avoided. No one would assist at their Mass or confess to them, until many of them, ashamed of their cowardice, retracted their oaths and were at once sent to rejoin those who had shown more firmness.¹⁰

The religious orders underwent the same persecution, for Napoleon had already announced his intention of suppressing them, and in the summer of 1810 thousands of monks were expelled from their houses and obliged to return to their families or lead a wandering life, taking the place of the priests who had been sent into exile and spreading among the people a spirit of hostility and resistance to the French. General Miollis spared only two orders—the *Fateben-fratelli*, who served the hospitals, and the Scolopians, whose abolition would have closed a large number of schools. Only four

⁸ Grabinski, pp. 117, 128.

⁹ Grabinski, p. 132.

¹⁰ Mgr. Gregorio Tononi, in an article in "*La Strenna Piacentina*" for 1392, quoted by Grabinski, p. 115, has stated that between June 24 and November 29, 1810, 525 canons and priests were brought to Parma and Piacenza from the two provinces which had been just taken from Pius VII. From his researches in the archives of those towns he has estimated that about three hundred canons and five hundred parish priests were brought there, without reckoning those who were sent to Alessandria, Asti or Fenestrelles. (Grabinski, p. 126.) Madelin gives more details with regard to this persecution (pp. 340, 443, 528). According to his statements, in the course of the years 1810, 1811, 1812 and 1813 over thirteen hundred canons and parish priests belonging to the Papal States were exiled to towns in the north of Italy, imprisoned in fortresses or deported to Corsica for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor, or for retracting it. The encyclical of Pius VII prohibiting his subjects from taking this oath is mentioned in the *QUARTERLY* for July, 1900, p. 476.

religious houses were allowed to exist, where the more aged of the monks and nuns and those who had no home to which to return were permitted to take refuge.¹¹

The same spirit of loyalty to the Holy Father was manifested in a striking degree by the middle classes. Many of the Mayors of the villages and small towns of the two departments, as well as of their municipal councillors, gave in their resignation rather than take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor. In Rome, out of 1,200 *Curiali* or barristers, who were assembled at the Capitol in the month of May, 1810, and asked to take the oath, no less than 1,156 refused and were deprived of the right to practice their profession, a measure which rendered them still more hostile to the imperial government and more active in exciting animosity against it.¹²

Further unsuccessful attempts were made to induce the *Curiali* to submit, but in June, 1811, Napoleon declared that he was resolved to put an end to the state of affairs existing in Rome, which he felt was rendering him ridiculous, and he ordered that, beginning with the *Curiali*, all those who should refuse to take the oath should be arrested. Only fifty, however, seem to have fallen victims on this occasion.¹³ In November of the same year an imperial decree ordered a certain number of *Curiali* to be outlawed and deported to Corsica within twenty-four hours and their property, real and personal, to be confiscated.¹⁴ The same fate befell a large number of the employés in various government offices. Every class of society had its representatives in exile or in prison, and between January 1, 1811, and May, 1812, 307 persons were deported to Corsica for refusing the oath.¹⁵ In spite, however, of this severity, the majority of those from whom the oath was demanded still held back and refused to obey. The state of Rome was not, indeed, calculated to inspire its inhabitants with affection for the imperial government or make them forget the rule of the Popes. In flagrant contradiction to the brilliant promises with which the new administration had been inaugurated, the population of Rome, reduced from 135,000 to 123,000, had been plunged into the utmost misery by the absence of the Papal Court and of the Cardinals; by the transfer of the ecclesiastical tribunals; by the suppression of the religious orders, which had given work to many artisans and alms to large numbers of the poor, and by the increase of taxation. Napoleon, therefore, saw

¹¹ Madelin, pp. 326, 343.

¹² Madelin, pp. 356, 450.

¹³ Madelin, p. 450. Correspondance de Napoléon, t. XXII, No. 17,763. Au Général Savary Duc de Rovigo, Ministre de la Police générale. Chartres, 3 Juin, 1811.

¹⁴ Lecestre, t. II., No. 903, Au Général Savary. St. Cloud, 24 Novembre, 1811.

¹⁵ Madelin, p. 516.

the necessity of adopting still stronger measures to overcome this passive but obstinate resistance to his will. By a decree discussed at the Council of State on April 10, 1812, and published on May 4, those who should refuse to take the oath, after being granted a month's delay, were to be declared guilty of felony and deprived of the protection of the law; their property was to be confiscated, and they were to be tried by a special military commission and deported. A fresh outburst of persecution then took place in Rome, where General Miollis, who had until then shown a certain amount of moderation in his dealings with the clergy, now thought himself obliged to enforce the law without mercy. This severity caused the submission of many lawyers and functionaries, who consented at last to take the oath, but before the end of November, 1812, 322 ecclesiastics, over seventy of whom were canons, and 112 laymen were arrested and deported.¹⁶

An additional reason for this hostility to the imperial government was the law of conscription, which had been imposed on the Papal States as on the other countries annexed to the Empire, and had filled the people with terror and indignation. It was also one of the chief causes of the reappearance of brigandage, which at the end of 1809 was thought to have ceased to exist; for rather than serve in the armies of Napoleon, a large proportion of the conscripts preferred to take refuge in the woods and mountains and lead the life of outlaws. The yearly recurrence of the conscription augmented the number of brigands, who in the course of 1811 were masters of all the wilder districts, and it was only by the arrest of hundreds of their accomplices and of their relations and many executions that, towards the end of 1812, tranquillity was for a time restored. Brigandage was renewed on a larger scale in the course of the year 1813. In Umbria alone there were seventeen bands, while English cruisers bombarded the watch-towers along the coast, and on October 6 landed some troops at Porto d'Anzio, which drove out the garrison and burned the town.¹⁷

To neutralize the effect which the courageous resistance of the Abbé d'Astros to the nomination of Cardinal Maury as Archbishop of Paris might have had on the minds of the clergy, the Cardinal was charged with the preparation of an address to the Emperor on the part of the canons of Notre Dame. In this document, drawn up in agreement with the Emperor and worded so as to engage the chapter as much as possible in the dispute between the Emperor and the Pope with regard to the confirmation of Bishops, the canons were made to declare that they deeply regretted the conduct of their

¹⁶ Madelin, pp. 516, 523.

¹⁷ Madelin, pp. 310, 458, 468, 595, 614.

Vicar-Capitular, whose powers they had already revoked; that they were resolved to obey the laws of the Empire; that they adhered to the doctrines of the Gallican Church, and would maintain the four propositions of the declaration made by the clergy of France in 1682. The Cardinal then went on to assert, among other matters derogatory to the authority of the Holy See, that it had always been the custom in France for the chapters to confer on the Bishops when nominated by the sovereign all the capitular powers, that is to say, all their episcopal jurisdiction, and that it was in consequence of the advice given by Bossuet to Louis XIV. that the Bishops named by the King between the years 1682 and 1693 governed their dioceses in virtue of the powers conferred upon them by the chapters. These unfounded statements when read at a meeting of the chapter displeased some of the canons, who suggested various changes of the text, but the strongest opposition came from the Abbé Emery, the superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. He pointed out that there was no proof whatever in contemporary history that Bossuet had given the King such advice, and the Cardinal could only reply that as the King always consulted Bossuet on ecclesiastical matters, he had probably been also consulted with regard to that. The Cardinal consented, however, to make some variations in the text of the address, but the abbé refused to sign and withdrew at once from the meeting.¹⁸

The presentation of the address took place at the Tuileries on Sunday, January 6, 1811, at the usual official reception after Mass. Canon Jalabert, who was to read it, received it only when in presence of the Emperor, and while reading it was surprised to find that the expression of their esteem for the Abbé d'Astros which the canons had wished to insert had been very much toned down, and that the passages which had been changed at the request of the Abbé Emery had been restored. It was thus the original text as drawn up by the Cardinal which was presented to the Emperor.¹⁹

Napoleon's reply took the form of a bitter denunciation of the Holy Father, whose hostility, he said, was caused by his not having been able to obtain when in Paris the suppression of the *Articles Organiques* and the restitution of the province of Romagna. Pius VII. had, moreover, refused to declare war against the English or to give canonical institution to the recently named Bishops, and he had excommunicated him. He then expressed his indignation that the Pope should have sent his briefs throughout the Empire, but the Abbé d'Astros, Mgr. Gregori and Padre Fontana, who had taken part in these intrigues, had been chastised. If the Pope would

¹⁸ Abbé Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery*. Paris, 1862, t. II., p. 295.

¹⁹ Le Comte d'Haussonville, *L'église Romaine et le premier Empire, 1800-1814*. Paris, 1868, t. IV., p. 14.

promise to respect the liberties of the Gallican Church, he would be free to return to Rome or to go elsewhere; though, indeed, if St. Peter, who left Antioch and preferred Rome to Jerusalem, because Rome was the greatest of cities and the abode of the Emperors, were to return to this world, it is not to Rome that he would go. "With regard to the canonical institution, since the Pope obstinately refuses to execute the Concordat, I, too, shall give it up. Such are my principles; make them known to your parish priests. They tend to the advantage of religion, and I shall never depart from them."²⁰

Napoleon was so pleased with the opinions expressed in this address that he required the chapters of all the Cathedrals of France and Italy to declare that they approved of them and accepted them, and during some months the columns of the official journal were filled with similar addresses, especially with those coming from the Italian clergy. The Pope was at that time cut off from all communication with the rest of the world, but M. de Chabrol, the Prefect of the department, took care that he should see these declarations of Gallicanism coming from a clergy which had always detested those doctrines. It was not until the fall of Napoleon that the violent and fraudulent methods employed to obtain these documents became known. In spite, indeed, of the solicitations and the threats of the local authorities, several chapters refused to send any address, but those which were sent were mutilated and corrupted so as to alter completely the sense of the original; many of them even were forgeries and proceeded from the office of the Council of the Viceroy of Italy.²¹

Napoleon then formed another ecclesiastical council, by whose advice he hoped to extricate himself from the difficulty caused by the Pope's refusal to confirm the Bishops he had nominated. It was composed of Cardinal Fesch, Archbishop of Lyons; Cardinal Maury, Archbishop of Paris; Cardinal Caselli, Bishop of Parma; de Barral, Archbishop of Tours; de Pradt, Archbishop of Malines; Bourlier, Bishop of Evreux; Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes; Mannay, Bishop of Trèves, and the Abbé Emery. The last named, however, protested strongly against his nomination. He refused to take part in the deliberations of the committee, and consented to assist at them merely with consultative voice.

The instructions presented to the ecclesiastical council by M. Bigot de Préameneu in the name of the Emperor were a tissue of misrepresentations and were drawn up in the hostile tone usually adopted by

²⁰ D'Haussonville, t. IV., p. 21. Padre Mario Riniari, *Napoleone e Pio VII.* (1804-1818). Torino, 1906, t. II., p. 128.

²¹ Riniari, t. II., p. 132. The protestations of the chapters against these addresses were published in 1816.

Napoleon when treating of the Holy See. They stated that the Emperor had always rejected the claims of the Pope to be the universal Bishop, although by the articles 3, 4 and 5 of the Concordat he had authorized him to act as such at that time on account of the extraordinary circumstances in which the Church of France was then placed. Since the Concordat, however, the Pope had acted as if he had absolute power over the Bishops, and it had thus become necessary to establish new boundaries between his pretensions and the independence of all nations. The Pope had also issued bulls of excommunication on account of temporal matters. He had sent briefs to the chapters of Florence, Paris and Asti forbidding them to exercise their authority by delegating it, and he had made Cardinal di Pietro his representative in France, with full powers, giving him thus a jurisdiction contrary to the principles which govern that Church. The Emperor had, therefore, resolved: Firstly, not to allow any communication between his subjects and the Pope until the latter had sworn not to do anything in France contrary to the four propositions of the Gallican Church as decided in the assembly of the clergy in 1682. Secondly, not to allow the existence of the episcopate in France to depend any longer on the canonical institution given by the Pope, who would thereby be master of the Bishops. The Emperor, therefore, trusted that the committee would let him know what measures to adopt so that the Church should not suffer by this interruption of communication, and that the Bishops should possess the qualification required for the exercise of their jurisdiction.²²

The members of the ecclesiastical commission were much grieved and alarmed by the animosity towards the Holy Father displayed in these instructions and by the responsibility cast upon them. M. Emery especially was so painfully affected that he implored of Cardinal Fesch to represent to the Emperor that it was impossible for the Bishops to adopt his views, and declared to him that as a Cardinal he was bound to resist, even unto death.²³ The Cardinal yielded to these observations, and his remonstrances made Napoleon feel that it would not be prudent to insist too strongly on the adoption of his views, but he requested the committee to answer the following questions which were submitted to it by M. de Préameneu: 1st. As all communication is now interrupted between the Pope and the Emperor's subjects, to whom should one apply to obtain the dispensations usually granted by the Holy See? 2d. If the Pope should persist in refusing to grant bulls to the Bishops named by the Em-

²² D'Haussonville, t. IV., pp. 74, 378. *Instructions pour la Commission Ecclésiastique de 1811.* 8 Février, 1811.

²³ Gosselin, t. II., p. 300.

peror, what would be the lawful method of giving them canonical institution?

The Bishops began their reply by expressing the profound grief they felt at the interruption of communications with the Pope, and they declared that if it were to be prolonged they foresaw a time of mourning and affliction for the Church. Having thus protested, though indeed much too feebly, against the imprisonment of Pius VII., the committee discussed the origin and the history of dispensations from the earliest times. Their conclusion was that when unfortunate circumstances interrupted the communication between the Pope and the Emperor's subjects, the faithful should apply to the Bishops for the dispensations usually granted by the Holy See.

In its reply to the second question the committee suggested that a clause should be added to the Concordat enacting that the Pope should give canonical institution within a certain time to the Bishops nominated, and that if he did not, the right to confer it should devolve on the provincial synod. If the Pope should refuse to consent to this modification of the Concordat, the best course to follow would be to reëstablish the regulations of the pragmatic sanction drawn up in the assembly of Bourges in 1438, in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Bâle. In order to do so legally the committee advised the convocation of a national council, but expressed the desire that a deputation should previously be sent to the Holy Father to submit to him the wants of the French Church and enlighten him as to the true state of affairs.²⁴

Wishing to discuss these replies before adopting the measures they recommended, Napoleon summoned the members of the commission to meet him at the Tuileries on March 16, along with all the great dignitaries of the Empire. M. Emery, who did not intend to appear at the palace, was brought there by the express desire of Cardinal Fesch, who sent two Bishops to insist on his coming, to whose will he yielded very reluctantly, and only after praying fervently for the Divine guidance.

Napoleon's speech to the members of the ecclesiastical committee was an outburst of coarse abuse and calumnious accusations against the Papacy generally, and more especially against Pius VII., whom he accused of attacking his authority by excommunicating his Ministers and his armies, of weakening the affection and obedience of his subjects, and even of exposing him to be assassinated. He announced, therefore, his intention of assembling a council, at which the Bishops of Italy and Germany should assist. It would seek for the means of protecting his Empire from the animosity of the Court

²⁴ Rinaldi, t. II., p. 142. Gosselin, t. II., p. 302. D'Haussonville, t. IV., p. 78.

of Rome, which would be persistently directed against his descendants as it had been against those of Charlemagne, until the Empire should be broken up, the French driven out of Italy and the temporal power reestablished; for it could only exist thenceforward by the destruction of the Empire. He could not, therefore, look on the Concordat as still in existence or accept the modification of it which had been suggested.²⁸

Such was the terror which Napoleon inspired that this torrent of falsehoods directed against the Holy Father drew forth no protest from the Cardinals and prelates to whom it was addressed. They remained silent. Napoleon then turned to M. Emery and asked him what he thought of the matter. M. Emery replied that his opinion was the same as that contained in the catechism which was taught by the Emperor's orders in all the churches of the Empire—namely, that the Pope is the visible Head of the Church, whom all the faithful must obey as the successor of St. Peter. How can a body exist without its Head, to whom by Divine right it owes obedience? He then pointed out to the Emperor that the preamble of the Declaration of 1682 asserts that the primacy of St. Peter and of the Roman Pontiff was instituted by Jesus Christ, and that all Christians owe him obedience. It also states that these four articles had been decreed lest, under pretext of the Gallican liberties, any attack should be made on this primacy. After some further explanations M. Emery concluded by proving that a council assembled without the consent of the Pope would be utterly invalid. To everybody's surprise, Napoleon showed no sign of anger on being thus contradicted, but said: "Well, I do not deny the spiritual power of the Pope, since he received it from Christ, but Christ did not give him the temporal power; it was Charlemagne who gave it to him, and as successor of Charlemagne, I shall take it from him, because he does not know how to make use of it, and it prevents him from exercising his spiritual functions." M. Emery replied by quoting the opinion of Bossuet, whom he knew that the Emperor highly respected and who, in his "Defense of the Declaration of the Clergy of France," maintains that the independence and the complete liberty of the Sovereign Pontiff are necessary for the free exercise of his spiritual authority in the whole universe and in such a multiplicity of kingdoms and empires. He then repeated word for word the text of Bossuet, calling attention especially to the passage, "We congratulate not only the Apostolic See, but also the Universal Church on its temporal sovereignty, and we desire most ardently that this sacred dominion may remain secure in every way." Napoleon listened patiently and

²⁸ Correspondance de Napoléon I., t. XXI, No. 17,478. Au Comité Ecclésiastique. Paris, 16 Mars, 1811.

remarked: "I do not reject the authority of Bossuet. All that was true in his time, when there were many rulers in Europe, it was unbecoming for the Pope to be subjected to any particular sovereign. But why should he not recognize my authority, since Europe now knows no other master?" It was a difficult matter to discuss, but M. Emery courageously answered that what Bossuet had foreseen might not happen under his reign or that of his successor, but that His Majesty was well acquainted with the history of revolutions, and knew that the actual state of affairs might not always exist. It was, therefore, better not to change a wisely established system. Napoleon then asked M. Emery if he thought that the Pope would accept the clause which the commission proposed to add to the Concordat—that after a certain delay the right of granting canonical institution should devolve on the provincial synod. M. Emery replied that he did not think that the Pope would make such a concession, as it would destroy his right of confirmation, and Napoleon, turning towards the Bishop, said: "You wanted me, therefore, to make a false step by asking the Pope for a thing that he could not grant me." On leaving the room Napoleon bowed to M. Emery and took hardly any notice of his colleagues. Some of them asked the Emperor to excuse M. Emery on account of his great age, but he assured them that he was not displeased with him, as he spoke like one who knew his subject. "It is thus that I like to be spoken to." M. Emery died, unfortunately, soon after (28th April, 1811), and in him the Emperor lost a councillor whose advice might, perhaps, have brought about a reconciliation with the Holy Father.²⁶

The impression produced by M. Emery's words on Napoleon's mind was only transitory. They did not make him relinquish his intention of subjecting the Church to his authority, but merely served to point out to him the difficulties of his enterprise and the precautions he should take to avoid creating a schism in France. He therefore resolved to make another attempt to induce the Pope to yield on the question of the confirmation of Bishops, and selected to negotiate at Savona with that object Mgr. de Barral, Archbishop of Tours; Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes, and Mannay, Bishop of Trèves, to whom was added a little later Mgr. Bonsignori, Bishop of Faenza, recently named Patriarch of Venice. Before their departure he issued a circular for the convocation of a council, a step which he thought might intimidate the Holy Father. It was drawn up in the form of a denunciation of the acts of Pius VII., although his name was not mentioned. "The most illustrious and the most populous sees of the Empire are vacant; one of the parties to the Concordat has disowned it. The line of conduct followed in Germany

²⁶ Gosselin, t. II., p. 305. D'Haussonville, t. IV., p. 82.

since ten years has nearly destroyed the hierarchy there. . . . The chapters have been deprived of their right to provide for the administration of the diocese during its vacancy; plots have been made to excite discord and sedition. . . . More sees become vacant every day; unless prompt measures are taken the hierarchy will disappear in France and in Italy as in Germany. To prevent a state of affairs so contrary to the welfare of religion, to the principles of the Gallican Church and to the interests of the State, we have resolved to assemble on the 9th of June all the Bishops of France and Italy in a national council in the Church of Notre Dame, in Paris."²⁷

The three prelates received their instructions from the Emperor on April 26. He told them that he considered the Concordat as having ceased to exist, and the Bishops should be confirmed as they had been previous to the Concordat of Francis I. and in the manner which should be established by the council and with his approbation. He told them that he sent them to the Pope to put before him the misfortunes caused by the ignorance and obstinacy of his advisers; to enlighten him and to conclude two distinct agreements with him, if they found him in a reasonable state of mind. By the first of these the Emperor would consent to return to the Concordat on two conditions—firstly, that the Pope should confirm all the Bishops whom he had nominated, and, secondly, that if in future the Pope did not confirm a Bishop within three months after nomination, the metropolitan should do so, in the case of his suffragans, or, if he refused, the senior Bishop of the province.

By the second agreement the Emperor would allow the Pope to return to Rome, provided he took the oath which is prescribed by the Concordat, and which the Popes have always taken to the Emperors. If the Pope refused, he should not be allowed to return to Rome, but he might reside at Avignon, where he could direct the spiritual affairs of Christendom and be surrounded by the representatives of the Christian powers. He would receive sovereign honors and enjoy an income of two millions of francs; but he should promise to do nothing in the French Empire contrary to the four propositions of the Gallican Church. These instructions were to be carried out at once, as the Bishops should be back in Paris before June 1.²⁸ The envoys were not to mention the powers they had received from the Emperor unless they saw that the Pope was inclined to treat. They were supposed to have been deputed, by the permission of the Em-

²⁷ *Correspondance de Napoléon I.*, t. XXII., No. 17,656. Circulaire, pour la Convocation du Conclle Nationale. Saint Cloud, 25 Avril, 1811.

²⁸ *Correspondance de Napoléon I.*, t. XXII., p. 132. Instructions pour M. L'Archévêque de Tours, et M. M. les évêques de Nantes et de Trêves. Saint Cloud, 26 Avril, 1811.

peror, to express the ideas of the Church of France, and they brought with them a letter signed by a large number of the Cardinals and prelates then in Paris, in which the Holy Father was assured that they were the representatives of the entire Gallican Church and were entitled to speak in its name.

The three Bishops had an audience of the Holy Father on May 10. They found him under the impression that the object of their mission was to inform him that he was to be judged by the Bishops assembled in Paris. They speedily calmed his fears, but on discussing the question of the council the Pope pointed out to them that without his concurrence this council would be absolutely null, and that as it would be only national and not ecumenical, it would not have sufficient authority to make any change in the discipline of the Church. With regard to the confirmation of the Bishops nominated by the Emperor, he declared that it was impossible for him to act without the assistance of his advisers or the means of obtaining information with regard to the nominees.²⁹ In these negotiations the efforts made by the three prelates to induce the Holy Father to consent to the Emperor's demands were seconded by those of M. de Chabrol, who visited him in the intervals between the audiences and sought by various arguments to produce an effect on his mind. The same functionary also persuaded Dr. Porta, the Pope's physician, to let him know whatever the Pope might say in the course of a familiar conversation, and to contribute by his own suggestions to render him favorable to the negotiations.³⁰

De Chabrol, who in his letters to the Minister of Worship did not fail to boast of the activity and zeal which he displayed in the service of the Emperor, even used threatening language to the Holy Father. He told him that the Emperor would obtain from his council more than he was then asking, and warned him that his successors would blame him for having lost an opportunity so favorable to the Church, which would not recur again. He appealed also to his heart, and spoke of the sufferings which so many of the faithful were undergoing on his account, but the Holy Father showed what de Chabrol called "an incredible obstinacy" (*une obstination incroyable*). He cared little, he said, for what concerned himself; he was resigned to everything. As for the others, God would provide for them, but he

²⁹ Mgr. de Barral, *Fragments relatifs à l'histoire ecclésiastique*. Paris, 1815. (Quoted by d'Haussonville, t. IV., p. 125.)

³⁰ D'Haussonville, t. IV., pp. 128, 386. M. le Comte de Chabrol au Ministre des Cultes. Savone, 12 Mai, 1811. . . . "To-day has been employed in establishing an understanding with the interior of the palace so as to know what the Pope may let fall in familiar conversation, and to be able to let him know, if necessary, directly, though not officially, what it is well that he should learn in order to facilitate the negotiation. The Pope's doctor, M. Porta, serves us wonderfully well."

would never purchase the peace offered to him by the sacrifices demanded of him. De Chabrol was so incapable of understanding the reasons upon which the Holy Father founded his resistance that he ascribed it to "vanity (*amour-propre*) disguised under the form of scruples of conscience."⁸¹ Dr. Porta, also, to whom de Chabrol had pointed out the situation in which "his master was placing himself as well as all those who were attached to his cause," sought to influence the Holy Father's mind, for he informed him that he had learned that the entire population of Savona and of Genoa hoped that the Pope was about to yield and that he would soon be free.

The motives which determined Pius VII. to refuse to grant the Emperor's demands can be easily ascertained from the letters of the Bishops to the Minister of Worship. He objected to the proposal that the metropolitan should confer canonical institution after a delay of three months: Firstly, because the interval was too short; secondly, because in that case the Emperor alone would be the judge of the fitness of the nominees; thirdly, because the metropolitan would be made the judge of the refusal of the Holy See, and, fourthly, because he could not take upon himself in his isolation to make such a change in the Church.⁸² In order, however, to protect the vacant sees from the evils resulting from the want of their pastors, he consented to confirm the Bishops who had been nominated, but for that occasion only and under a new form, by granting to the metropolitans the faculties for confirming them, and deferring the definitive settlement of the question until the time when he should be free and his councillors should be restored to him, without whose assistance he declined to go a step further. The honor and the welfare of the Church would not allow him to take upon himself such a responsibility; he would prefer to pass his life in prison—"in *carcerem detrusus*."⁸³

Pius VII. was, indeed, in prison; he was completely isolated from the rest of the world; he was kept in ignorance of what was taking place and was unable to consult any one whom he could trust. The delegated Bishops drew his attention more than once to "the fatal consequences for the Holy See and for the Church, which would be the result of his refusal to accede to the Emperor's demands and to the impending decision of the council, after which there would be

⁸¹ D'Haussonville, t. IV., p. 392. De Chabrol au Ministre des Cultes. Savone, 14 Mai, 1811. "Je mal rien gagné sur cette obstination incroyable." P. 397, de Chabrol au Ministre des Cultes. Savone, 18 Mai, 1811. "J'ai pu remarques qu'il était moins retenu par la conviction que par un amour-propre qui se déguise chez lui sous la forme d'inquiétude de conscience."

⁸² D'Haussonville, t. IV., p. 136. Second letter from the Bishops to the Minister of Worship, 12 May.

⁸³ Rinieri, t. II., pp. 161, 162. D'Haussonville, t. IV., p. 151. Seventh letter from the Bishops to the Minister of Worship, 17 May, 1811.

no more hope." It is not surprising that, yielding to this dread of the concessions which Napoleon might extort from the council and of the possibility of a schism in France, the Pope should have consented to allow the Bishops to submit to him once more, on the evening of May 18, the questions of canonical institution and of the clause to be added to the Concordat relating to it, contained in a note which they had already presented to him on the 14th, and which he had then refused to accept. The Bishops discussed these matters with the Holy Father, drawing up a rough sketch of the concessions they hoped to obtain from him, and on the following morning they brought him the fully developed document. The Pope changed some of the expressions, inserted some sentences and deleted others. The result, as the Bishops wrote to the Minister of Worship, "was rather good and much better than what they had hoped to obtain a few days previously." They took leave of the Holy Father that evening. He allowed them to leave a copy of this note on his table, but he did not sign it, and they left Savona on the morning of the 20th.⁸⁴

The document contained four articles. By the first the Pope consented to grant canonical institution to the Archbishops and Bishops nominated by the Emperor according to the forms agreed upon in the Concordats of France and Italy. The second agreed that a new Concordat should extend the same regulations to the churches of Tuscany, Parma and Piacenza. By the third the Pope allowed the insertion in the Concordats of a clause by which he would agree that, if after a delay of six months caused by any other motive than the unworthiness of the nominee, he still refused to grant the bulls, he would give the power of granting them, in his name, to the metropolitan of the vacant see, or, in his place, to the senior Bishop of the province. The fourth article was the most important, for in it the Holy Father explained that he had been led to make these concessions merely by the hope which his conferences with the delegated Bishops had given him that they would prepare the way for an arrangement which should restore order and peace in the Church and restore to the Holy See the liberty, the independence and the dignity which become it.⁸⁵

This unsigned draft of an agreement, which could be discussed and modified at some other time, when the Pope should be aided by the advice of the Sacred College and be free to negotiate, was all that the Bishops brought back to Napoleon, after subjecting the

⁸⁴ Rinieri, t. II., p. 164. D'Haussonville, t. IV., pp. 140, 152. Ninth letter from the Bishops to the Minister of Worship, May 19, 1811. Henri Welschinger, *Le Pape et l'Empereur (1804-1815)*. Paris, 1905, p. 186.

⁸⁵ Rinieri, t. II., p. 166. Welschinger, p. 182.

Holy Father during ten days to an unceasing persecution by persuasion or intimidation to induce him to yield to the Emperor's demands. On the following morning, nevertheless, the Pope was so overcome by his scruples and by the fear that he had conceded more than was in his power, that he sent for Captain Lagorse, the governor of the palace, to inquire if the Bishops had left. He also asked for M. de Chabrol, and while waiting for him he told the captain that he had not paid attention to the last lines of the note left with him; that he could not agree to them, and that the Bishops should be at once informed of the fact by a courier.³⁶ When de Chabrol came he told him that there was an error in the first article, the form of which required to be changed, and a little later he said to him that in the last sentence of the document, which concerns the government of the Church, there was a trace of heresy; that he had never accepted that last article, and that a courier should be sent immediately to the Bishops to have it suppressed. To this de Chabrol consented, in order that "on their arrival in Paris they should know what was the state of affairs."³⁷

The Holy Father protested again on the following day that he had promised nothing; that he did not consider the note which had been left with him as a treaty or the preliminary to a treaty, but merely as a sketch, which indicated the result which might be attained if a different system were followed with regard to himself. The sufferings which these scruples caused him were so intense that his health became seriously affected. He passed sleepless nights; he frequently stopped while conversing and fell into a state of meditation, from which he awoke as from a dream. He protested that all he had done had been for the good of the Church and to obviate the danger of a schism. He even accused himself of having been guilty of an act of folly, but when informed of the approaching assembly of the council in Paris, he exclaimed: "Luckily, I have not signed anything!"³⁸

The opening of the council convoked by Napoleon had been deferred from the 9th to the 17th of June. Its president was Cardinal Fesch, who, though the prelates assembled at his house

³⁶ This evidently refers to the last lines of the third article. Welschinger, p. 189.

³⁷ Rinieri, t. II., p. 172. D'Haussonville, t. IV., p. 402. De Chabrol au Ministre des Cultes. Savone, 23 Mai, 1811. The courier overtook the Bishops at Turin. Welschinger, p. 191.

³⁸ D'Haussonville, t. IV., pp. 406, 407, 409. M. de Chabrol au Ministre des Cultes. Savone, 26 Mai, 1811, and 11 Juin, 1811. M. de Chabrol was not, however, justified in describing the state of mind of Pius VII. as "allénation" (insanity), an expression adopted by d'Haussonville, but which Padre Rinieri and Welschinger have shown to be unjustifiable, and probably due to de Chabrol's irritation at the failure of his intrigues.

some days previously had been willing to elect him to that position, insisted on occupying it as a right; for, as Archbishop of Lyons, he ruled the most ancient diocese in France and bore the title of Primate of Gaul. Ninety-five prelates, six of whom were Cardinals, eight Archbishops and eighty-one Bishops, who, therefore, did not represent half the sees of France and Italy united, assisted at the Mass in the Cathedral of Notre Dame by which the council was inaugurated. The sermon, preached by Mgr. de Boulogne, Bishop of Troyes, had been previously submitted to Cardinal Fesch, who had requested him to suppress certain passages which seemed likely to displease the Emperor, but, carried away by his enthusiasm, the Bishop forgot his promise. He boldly protested that the Bishops assembled for the council "would never forget the love and the respect which they owed to the Church of Rome and to the Supreme Head of the episcopate, without whom it could only languish like a branch separated from the trunk or be tossed by the waves like a vessel without rudder or pilot." Mgr. Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes, then read the decree for the opening of the council and the regulations for its guidance, and asked each Bishop if it pleased him that the council should be opened. To the usual "*Placet*" the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Mgr. d'Avian, added: "Saving the obedience due to the Sovereign Pontiff, an obedience to which I bind myself and which I swear." Cardinal Fesch then made the profession of faith in the form prescribed by the bull of Pope Pius IV., and administered the same oath to the other prelates, insisting that they should pronounce it distinctly, especially in the case of those who had belonged to the Constitutional Church.³⁹

The sermon of the Bishop of Troyes and the oath of obedience to the Pope were a cause of great irritation to Napoleon. He forbade any allusion to be made to them in the newspapers, and on the evening of the 19th, at Saint Cloud, he severely reprimanded Cardinal Fesch, on whom he cast the responsibility of what had occurred. In order to maintain a strict supervision over the council and influence it, he decided that M. Bigot de Préameneu and Count Marescalchi, the Ministers of Worship for France and Italy, should assist at its meetings as imperial commissioners. The reports which they sent the Emperor kept him well informed of everything that took place, and to facilitate their work it had been enacted that, contrary to the usual custom, French and not Latin should be the language employed. The imperial message to the council, which they read at the first general congregation on June 20, although slightly modified owing to the remarks and protestations of Cardinal

³⁹ Abbé Lyonnet, *Le Cardinal Fesch*. Paris, 1841, t. II., p. 329. D'Haussonville, t. IV., p. 219.

Fesch and of the ecclesiastical commission, to whom it had been submitted, was, like other manifestos of Napoleon, a bitter and mendacious attack on the Holy Father. He was accused of having maintained the Kingdom of Italy in a state of fermentation; he had wished that the restoration of Romagna should be the price of his consent to grant canonical institution to the Bishops nominated by the Emperor. The briefs sent to the chapters of Paris, Florence and Asti forbidding them to grant powers of administration to the Bishops named to those sees were described as attempts to excite disturbances in the Church and in the State. Napoleon took care not to allude to his annexation of Rome or to the captivity of the Holy Father at Savona, but he declared that as since ten years the Pope had not observed the Concordat, neither should he. He would provide for the succession of the episcopate in the way which the council should indicate. He ended by protesting that he would continue to protect religion, but that he would not allow the enemies of his government to make use of religion to create trouble in the State, or to preach false doctrines, or to alarm the consciences of his subjects, or to seek to destroy the hierarchy, and thus cause religion to decay on account of temporal interests.⁴⁰

This violent and calumnious speech produced a painful impression on the assembled Bishops, for it showed them clearly how little hope there was of effecting a reconciliation between the Pope and the Emperor. On the following day they elected the committees for transacting the business of the council, the most important of which was that for the preparation of the address to be presented to the Emperor.⁴¹ At its first meeting Mgr. Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes, one of Napoleon's strongest partisans, read the draft of an address which he had drawn up and had already submitted to the Emperor for his approval. This draft, which was evidently intended to compromise the council, as it dwelt on all the questions which were then most ardently discussed, was severely criticized and somewhat modified by the committee. When read at the general meeting of the council on June 26 it drew forth a strong protestation from the Bishop of Chambéry because it contained no demand for the liberty of the Holy Father. It was, as he said in an eloquent speech, the duty of the council to request the Emperor to grant it, and his words were received with enthusiasm by the majority of the Bishops. Cardinal Fesch, however, whom the Emperor had ordered not to allow the council to take the initiative in any measure, thought that it would be more prudent to avoid irritating the Emperor, and sug-

⁴⁰ *Correspondance de Napoléon I.*, t. XXII., No. 17,822. D'Haussonville, t. IV., pp. 220, 410. Welschinger, p. 215.

⁴¹ They were the Archbishops of Ravenna, Turin and Tours, the Bishops of Nantes, Troyes, Ghent and Montpellier.

gested that the matter should be deferred until they took up the question of canonical institution. His advice was accepted, but on the demand of Cardinal Caselli the unanimous assent given to the proposal by the council was inserted in the minutes.

A long discussion then took place with regard to a passage in the address which declared that the censures of the Church pronounced on account of temporal matters were *ipso facto* null and void, an allusion to the bull of excommunication. But the decrees of the Council of Trent on the subject were produced by Mgr. Incontri, Bishop of Volterra; Cardinal Spina showed what disturbances might be created in Italy by again drawing the attention of the people to the matter, and the passage was suppressed. On the following day the Italian Bishops protested against the insertion into the address of Gallican propositions, and demanded that it should merely consist of a declaration of loyalty and devotion to the sovereign. The Bishop of Nantes, indeed, stated that the Emperor wished to have the address as it was, but the council ended by voting it in its much revised and corrected version, and decided that it should be signed only by the president and the secretaries.⁴² It was, however, after all these changes, so much at variance with Napoleon's ideas that he no longer cared to receive it, and the audience at which the Bishops were to have presented it was countermanded.

The committee named by the council for the discussion of the Emperor's message met on July 1. Its chief object was to seek for a mode of conferring canonical institution on the Bishops without the intervention of the Pope, and the Emperor gave them only eight days for that purpose.⁴³ The majority of the committee held the opinion that a deputation should first be sent to Savona to ask the Pope to confirm the concessions which he had already made to the three Bishops. On the other hand, the Emperor's partisans, the Archbishop of Tours and the Bishops of Nantes and Trèves, demanded a decision which should not irritate the Emperor and maintained that the Emperor insisted that the council should pass a decree before it obtained permission to send a deputation to the Pope. The Bishop of Nantes then read two requests which the Emperor had charged him to make to the committee, the answer to which was to be sent to him before it was communicated to the council: Firstly, does the committee think that the council is competent to

⁴² Rinieri, t. II., p. 192. D'Haussonville, t. IV., pp. 283, 448.

⁴³ The committee was composed of Cardinal Spina, Archbishop of Genoa; Cardinal Caselli, Archbishop of Parma; de Barral, Archbishop of Tours; d'Avian, Archbishop of Bordeaux; Hirn, Bishop of Tournay; de Broglie, Bishop of Ghent; de Boulogne, Bishop of Troyes; Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes; Mannay, Bishop of Trèves; Grimaldi, Bishop of Ivrea, and Boarl, Bishop of Comachio. Its president was Cardinal Fesch. Rinieri, t. II., p. 197.

decide, in reply to the Emperor's message, with regard to the canonical institution of the Bishops without the intervention of the Pope, now that the Concordat has been abolished? Secondly, the Emperor wishes the council to ask him to reëstablish the Concordat, inserting a clause which should henceforth prevent any arbitrary refusal on the part of the Pope, and the Emperor is willing to agree to it. He will then allow a deputation of Cardinals and Bishops to be sent to bring to the Pope the decree of the council. If the Pope should accept it, all would be ended to the Emperor's satisfaction; if he should refuse, the right of giving canonical institution to the Bishops provisionally, and until the decision of an ecumenical council, would devolve on the metropolitans, in virtue of the decree of the council.⁴⁴

After three days' discussion the first demand was rejected by eight votes to three; the second demand, which was nearly the same as the first, but under another form, was rejected by eight votes to four, for on this occasion Cardinal Fesch voted also. The Cardinal then drew up a reply to the Emperor, stating that in the opinion of the committee, and in order to conform to what had always been the custom of the Church, the council before deciding the questions submitted to it should ask His Majesty's permission to send a deputation to the Pope to represent to him the deplorable condition of the churches of the French Empire and of the Kingdom of Italy and to confer with him as to the mode of remedying it. When, on that evening (5th July), Cardinal Fesch brought this reply to the Emperor and informed him that the majority of the committee had decided against the competence of the council to change the discipline of the Church with regard to the confirmation of Bishops, Napoleon gave way to a fit of fury, and during four hours poured out a torrent of invectives and threats against the council, repeating that he would bring the Bishops to reason; that he would dismiss the council; that he would consult his lawyers and declare himself competent. The Prefects should name the parish priests, the chapters and the Bishops. If the metropolitans should refuse to confirm them, he would close the seminaries and religion would have no more ministers. As for the Italian Bishops, he would confiscate their properties. Cardinal Fesch then replied: "If you wish to make martyrs, begin by your own family. I am ready to give my life for my faith." He added that he would never confirm any of his suffragans, and would excommunicate whichever of them should confirm a Bishop of his province.

This scene was interrupted by an interview given to the Bishop of Nantes, after which the Emperor said to Cardinal Fesch: "You

⁴⁴ Rinieri, t. II., p. 198. D'Haussonville, t. IV., p. 455. Diary of Mgr. de Broghe, Bishop of Ghent. Welschinger, p. 232.

are all fools! You do not understand your position. You do not know how to take advantage of it. I will extricate you from your difficulty, and will settle everything." Then, calling a secretary, he made him write down the points on which the committee should found its report. They were: 1st. That the Emperor's right to nominate to vacant sees would be annulled if confirmation could be refused for other reasons than those provided for by the Concordat of Leo X. 2d. That, as canonical institution was repeatedly refused, the Emperor could consider that the Concordat no longer existed and convoke a council to provide for the canonical institution of Bishops. 3d. That the deputation of Bishops sent to the Pope had been promised institution for the vacant sees, and that the Pope had approved the clause by which, if he or his successors did not grant institution within six months, the metropolitan should grant it.⁴⁵ The Emperor had thus obtained what he wanted, and the council was therefore asked to adopt the following decree and present it to the Emperor, requesting him to publish it as a law of the State.

The decree ran thus: "The council decrees: 1st. That sees cannot remain vacant for more than a year, within which time the nomination, the institution and the consecration must take place. 2d. The Emperor shall nominate to all vacant sees according to the Concordats. 3d. Six months after the nomination, at the furthest, the Pope shall grant canonical institution. 4th. After the expiration of six months the metropolitan, or in the case of the nomination of the metropolitan, the senior Bishop, shall have the power, in virtue of the concession made by the Pope, and shall proceed to institute and to consecrate. 5th. The present decree shall be submitted to the approbation of the Emperor to be published as a law of the State. 6th. The council shall request His Majesty to allow a deputation of Bishops to visit the Pope to thank him for having put an end to the sufferings of the Church by this concession."⁴⁶

By this dishonest trick of representing as a positive concession what was only meant as a plan for future discussion, which the Pope had refused to sign, and a part of which he had already rejected, the opposition of the committee was broken down. With the exception of Mgr. d'Avian, Archbishop of Bordeaux, and Mgr. de Broglie, Bishop of Ghent, who still insisted on first consulting the Holy Father, the others accepted the decree. Within a few hours, however, most of the Bishops saw that they had been deceived, and

⁴⁵ The Emperor must have known that this assertion was false. Rinieri, II., p. 203.

⁴⁶ D'Haussonville, t. IV., p. 328. Correspondance de Napoléon I., t. XXII., No. 17,893. Note pour le Comité des évêques. Saint-Cloud, 6 Juillet, 1811. Rinieri, t. II., p. 202.

when the committee met on the following day Cardinal Fesch very honorably consented to annul what had taken place, so as to allow the members perfect freedom of discussion. A large majority then declared that before such a decree could be voted or be made a law it was necessary to have the consent of the Pope in writing.

When Napoleon was informed of this decision by Cardinal Fesch he showed no outward signs of anger, though he announced his intention of closing the council; he allowed it, indeed, to hold another meeting, but he insisted that everything should be settled by July 14. The report of the committee to the council was then drawn up by Mgr. Hirn, Bishop of Tournai, and was presented at the general congregation, which was held on July 10. It declared that the council was not competent to pronounce a decision with regard to the confirmation of Bishops without the intervention of the Pope, even in cases of necessity, and that it should have the consent of the Pope, duly authenticated, before it could approve the decree which the Emperor had sent it. The council was then adjourned until July 12. That night Napoleon learned from the Minister of Worship that his decree had not been accepted. He showed great irritation and ordered the council to be dismissed at once. Mgr. Hirn, Bishop of Tournai; de Broglie, Bishop of Ghent, and de Boulogne, Bishop of Troyes, were arrested at three o'clock on the morning of the 12th and imprisoned in the fortress of Vincennes, for they were looked upon as having been most responsible for the opposition offered to the decree. Their arrestation excited a general feeling of indignation, but the newspapers were forbidden to make any allusion to it, and the Duke de Rovigo, Minister of Police, caused a report to be spread that it had nothing to do with the affairs of the council, but that the three prelates had been intriguing with Cardinal di Pietro in order to establish Vicars Apostolic in the vacant sees.⁴⁷

The Emperor's hope of persuading the Bishops assembled in council to accept his ideas had been disappointed; he therefore adopted another plan. The Ministers of Worship for France and Italy, Count Bigot de Préameneu and Count Bovara, were ordered to interview the Bishops of their respective States, one by one, and to obtain by every means in their power—flattery, threats, promises, cunning—that they should sign a document by which they accepted the Emperor's decree. The plan succeeded. The terror inspired by the fate of the three Bishops who had most resisted the Emperor's wishes, the description of the misfortunes to which their refusal would expose the Church and the advantages which they could secure by their compliance gradually overcame the resistance of the

⁴⁷ D'Haussonville, t. IV., p. 350.

majority of the prelates. On July 20 the Minister of Worship was able to inform the Emperor that he had already obtained fifty-three signatures and that others had been promised, and by July 26 eighty Archbishops and Bishops had accepted the decree. Many of them, indeed, signed only on condition that the Pope would grant his consent.⁴⁸

At a meeting of eighty-three prelates held on July 27 at the house of the Minister of Worship another document was presented for their signature. It contained two propositions as to which their opinion was demanded: 1st. The National Council is competent to decide with regard to the institution of Bishops in case of necessity. 2d. If a deputation of six Bishops is sent to the Pope, and if His Holiness refuses to confirm the decree proposed by the council, the council shall declare that there is necessity. The first of these two propositions was signed by most of the prelates, but very few consented to put their signature to the second. Napoleon thus felt assured that the council would now be favorable to his plans. He therefore authorized it to meet again by a decree dated August 3, which also named Cardinal Fesch as president.

When the council met on August 5 the Archbishop of Tours read his official report of the negotiations which had taken place with the Holy Father at Savona. It was the first time that a detailed account was presented to the Bishops, and Napoleon had taken care to suppress in it whatever displeased him.⁴⁹ The first only of the two propositions relating to the competency of the council was then brought forward and adopted by seventy-three votes to thirteen. This was followed by the presentation of the Emperor's decree under a slightly modified form; for it did not ask that it should be submitted to the Emperor's approbation and be published as a law, but that it should be presented to the Holy Father by a deputation of six Bishops, who should ask him to confirm it. The decree was not discussed, and only thirteen Bishops voted against it, protesting along with Mgr. d'Avian, Archbishop of Bordeaux, that the council was thoroughly incompetent to decide with regard to the institution of Bishops. Those who voted for the decree seem to have been satisfied by their demand for the approbation of the Holy Father that they were not guilty of insubordination. With this meeting the council of 1811 came to an end.⁵⁰

To form the deputation which was to present to the Pope the decree voted by the council Napoleon selected four of those Car-

⁴⁸ Welschinger, pp. 262, 268.

⁴⁹ Lecestre, t. II., No. 838. Au Comte Bigot de Préameneu. 21 Juillet, 1811. Je vous renvoie le rapport de l'Archévêque de Tours, où j'ai effacé des choses qui m'ont paru inconvenantes.

⁵⁰ Rinieri, t. II., p. 226. Welschinger, pp. 231, 337.

dinals who had merited his favor by their assistance at his marriage and at the baptism of his son, the "King of Rome." To these he added six Bishops and a little later three others.⁵¹ In order that the Cardinals might seem to have undertaken this mission of their own accord, the Minister of Worship persuaded them to ask the Emperor's permission to go to Savona to assist the Holy Father with their advice and request him to approve the decree of the council. In the instructions which Napoleon gave the Cardinals and the Bishops on August 17, he stated that with the sole exception of the Bishopric of Rome the decree comprised all the sees of the Empire, of the Kingdom of Italy and of all the countries which had been or should be united to France. The Pope was to be asked to accept the decree without modification or reservation, and he was not to republish in his own name, under the form of a bull or of a constitution, what the council had decided. If the Pope refused to comply, he was to be informed that the right to confer canonical institution had devolved upon the metropolitan without the intervention of the Pope, as was the custom before the Concordat between Leo X. and Francis I.⁵²

Though Napoleon was determined to bring the Church as completely under his control as he had brought all the rest of his vast Empire, he did not wish to run the risk of creating a schism which might replunge France into a civil war. It was with this idea that the council had been forced to accept a decree which aimed at carrying out his views, and the Pope, whose resistance was the only obstacle that stood in his way, was now to be persuaded by every influence that could be brought to bear upon him to ratify the decision of the council. For that purpose Mgr. Bertazzoli, Archbishop *in partibus* of Edessa, who had been one of the chaplains of Pius VII. and in whom the Pope had great confidence, was sent to Savona, as well as Cardinal Giuseppe Doria, who was then in Savoy. The Cardinals and the Bishops were assembled at Savona by September 3. The Holy Father appears to have been kept in absolute ignorance of the deliberations of the council, and it is not even certain that the deputation revealed to him the opposition which so

⁵¹ The Cardinals were Ruffo, Dugnani, Roverella, de Bajane and a little later Doria. The Bishops were de Barral, Archbishop of Tours; de Pradt, Archbishop-elect of Malines; Bonsignori, the Patriarch of Venice; Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes; de Beaumont, Bishop of Placenza, and Caranzoni, Bishop of Feltre, to whom were afterwards added d'Allègre, Bishop of Pavia; Mannay, Bishop of Trèves, and Bourlier, Bishop of Evreux. Rinieri, t. II., p. 228.

⁵² Correspondance de Napoléon I., t. XXII, No. 18,043. Au Comte Bigot de Préameneu, Ministre des Cultes. Saint Cloud, 17 Août. Rinieri, t. II., p. 239. Extract from the diary of Mgr. Gazzola, Bishop of Cervia. D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 6.

many prelates had offered to the decree and in consequence of which three had been imprisoned at Vincennes. Cardinal de Bayane and Mgr. Bertalozzi were the first to have an audience of the Holy Father, on which occasion Mgr. Bertalozzi wept abundantly, which, as M. de Chabrol remarked, was perhaps the most efficacious mode of influencing the Pope's mind. To Cardinals Dugnani and Ruffo the Holy Father pointed out that he could not come to a decision with regard to the acts of the council because he was not free. They mentioned the matter to M. de Chabrol, who assured them that the Pope might be free if he chose, but that he had always refused to go out when he had been asked. Was not his palace like that of any other Prince? Soldiers were posted round it, it is true, but not as a display of force, which was quite unnecessary under a strong government like that of the Emperor.

In spite, however, of the tears and supplications of Mgr. Bertalozzi and the arguments of the Cardinals and Bishops, whom the Pope received sometimes separately and sometimes together, the negotiations made but little progress; for the Holy Father wished to study thoroughly the documents presented to him, as he considered the matter to be of great importance for the welfare and the peace of the Church. The Bishops, and especially the Archbishop of Tours, seemed anxious to maintain the authority of the council and the dignity of the Emperor. They insisted, according to their instructions, that the decree should be simply accepted as it stood, but the Holy Father's objections and scruples were not easily satisfied or appeased. He was well aware that the deputation had come to persuade him to submit to the Emperor's will, for he told M. de Chabrol that the Cardinals who had been sent to him had, without doubt, been selected and predisposed (*prévenus et choisis*). To which the Prefect replied that they were his most ardent and enlightened friends.

The opinions of the Cardinals seem to have been favorable to the acceptance of the decree, and after several days of discussion the Pope at last consented to sanction it, not "purely and simply," as the Emperor had demanded, but by incorporating it in a brief, the draft of which was communicated to the Bishops on September 11. They suggested some slight modifications, and on September 20 they informed Cardinal Fesch that the decree had been approved. It is probable that Pius VII. was induced to make this concession by the suggestions contained in a memorandum drawn up by Cardinal Spina. In this document the Cardinal warned the Holy Father of the imminent danger of a schism, against which he should be on his guard. The council, it is true, ought to have consulted him before voting the decree, but he could now make it regular by

addressing to the prelates assembled in Paris an apostolic brief, in which he should consider the decree as merely the draft of a decree and thank the Bishops for not having come to any definite conclusion before consulting him. He might then declare that if, for unforeseen reasons, he did not grant canonical institution after a delay of six months, not caused by the unworthiness of the nominee, the metropolitans would be authorized to give it in his name to the suffragans, and the senior suffragan of the province to the metropolitan.⁵³ In consequence of this advice the Holy Father inserted in his brief the five articles of the decree, which, as he remarked, represented what he had already granted, and he declared that he confirmed them in order to avert with the help of God and as much as it was in his power the great misfortunes which threatened the Church.⁵⁴

Pius VII. had, indeed, made a great concession, but it was with the object of warding off the dangers which menaced the Church, and in spite of the efforts of the Cardinals and Bishops he had not submitted to the Emperor's demand that the decree should be simply accepted as it stood. He had guarded the rights of the Holy See by declaring in a clause of the brief which referred to the fourth article that whenever, after a delay of six months, institution was granted by the metropolitan or the senior Bishop of the province it should be "in our name or in that of the Sovereign Pontiff then reigning." He had also changed the last words of the fifth article so as to assert his claims to the Papal territory; for, instead of "the churches of the French Empire and of the Kingdom of Italy," which would have extended the decree to the Papal States recently annexed to the Empire, he substituted "the churches of France and Italy."⁵⁵ At the same time Pius VII. wrote to the Emperor assuring him that he trembled at the thought of the strict account which he should one day have to render of the way in which he had exercised his apostolic ministry. He reminded the Emperor that the Lord had given him the sword to defend and sustain the Church, and he implored of God to grant him His light, His assistance and His blessings.

Napoleon, who was already making preparations for his Russian

⁵³ Rinieri, t. II., p. 243. This document was found among Cardinal Spina's papers, and had not been previously published.

⁵⁴ D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 397. Rinieri, t. II., p. 250. The brief was addressed "Episcopis Parisiis simul congregatis," and not "in Concilio congregatis," as the delegated Bishops would have wished.

⁵⁵ Rinieri, t. II., pp. 242, 247. Weischinger, p. 305. For the words, "aux maux des églises de l'Empire Français et du Royaume d'Italie," in the fifth article of the decree, were substituted, "aux maux des églises de France et d'Italie." The Roman States had been annexed to the French Empire, not to France.

campaign, was then visiting the seaports of Holland. He deferred the consideration of the brief until his return to Paris, and ordered the Minister of Worship not to mention that it had been received, but to inform the members of the council that there seemed to be no doubt as to the issue of the affair, and that they might return to their dioceses. By this method, he remarked, he got rid of the council and was free to act according to circumstances.⁵⁶ A further development of his plans was announced in a letter from Rotterdam on October 26 to his Minister of Worship. The two decrees of the council were to be published as laws, but the brief was to be sent back to the Pope in order to have the objectionable passages eliminated, and the Pope would have to submit. Before the Pope was made aware of this difficulty he should be made to grant canonical institution for all the vacant sees. He would then find that the decrees had become a law of the State, and that the Bishops having received institution, he would not be able to obtain any settlement of his affairs until he had approved the decree. The greatest secrecy was to be observed with regard to this question; neither Cardinal Fesch nor the Bishops of the deputation were to be informed.⁵⁷

In a previous letter Napoleon had ordered the Bishops at Savona to send him a report proving that they had informed the Pope that the decree of the council was not to be extended to all the sees of the Empire of which the Roman States form part. On applying to the Holy Father they found that he had been fully aware of the Emperor's intentions when he accepted the decree, but that he had hoped that, by means of some clause or arrangement that he would suggest, the Emperor would allow him to nominate to the bishoprics of the Roman States; for to give up these nominations would seem to imply the renunciation of the sovereignty of Rome, which was forbidden him by his oath. This new pretension on the part of Napoleon subjected Pius VII. to a fresh persecution, but to all the arguments of the Bishops and of M. de Chabrol he had only one answer—that he had not enough of advisers; that he required to be free and assisted by his entire council, and that if he made any further concessions he would be dishonored in the eyes of all Catholicity.⁵⁸

On November 7 the Bishops addressed a long memorandum to

⁵⁶ *Lecestre*, t. II., No. 875. M. Daru & M. Bigot de Préameneu. Flessingue, 28 Septembre.

⁵⁷ *Lecestre*, t. II., No. 890. Au Comte Bigot de Préameneu. Rotterdam, 26 Octobre, 1811.

⁵⁸ D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 430. L'Archévêque de Tours au Ministre des Cultes, 18 Octobre, 1811. *Id.*, p. 444. L'Archévêque de Tours au Ministre des Cultes, 8 Novembre, 1811.

the Holy Father, in which they employed both arguments and threats to induce him to yield to the Emperor's pretensions, and pointed out to him the necessity of an immediate decision, for everything belonging to the churches of the Empire and of the Kingdom of Italy was absolutely in the power of the Emperor, who by "withdrawing his protection could reduce them to a more wretched state than that of the Irish Catholics." If His Holiness refused to come to terms, the Concordats would be considered as having ceased to exist, and in all the churches under the Emperor's rule canonical institution would be conferred by the metropolitan; all the other Catholic States would follow that example, and the Holy See would lose everywhere and forever its glorious prerogative of confirming Bishops. In order, however, that there should be no doubt about the matter, the Emperor wished them to declare positively to the Pope that his brief should not be accepted unless it extended to all bishoprics, even to those of the Roman States.

But the Holy Father saw clearly that by granting this demand he would ratify the Emperor's usurpation of the Papal States and would annul the sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced against him, and he refused to yield with regard to such an important matter. He dictated, therefore, to the five Cardinals on November 17 a reply which, as Cardinal de Bayane hastened to assure the Minister of Worship, was not in accordance with their views, for they had done all in their power to obtain that the brief should be extended to all the sees. In this note the Holy Father stated that by the brief of September 20 he had granted all that had been asked of him in the five articles of the decree which were based on what he had promised to the first deputation—namely, that he would confirm the Emperor's nominees according to the forms agreed upon in the Concordats of France and Italy, and that he would be willing to extend the same measures to the churches of Tuscany, Parma and Piacenza. As for the Emperor's intention of extending the brief to the Roman States, of which he had been informed by some Cardinals, he thought that His Majesty might perhaps have changed his mind, for the Bishops had not mentioned it to him. Though this extension would not comprise the See of Rome and the election of the Sovereign Pontiff, it would comprise the six suburbicarian dioceses to which the Pope does not nominate, but which are conferred by the choice of the Cardinals themselves according to their seniority. His Holiness, moreover, was much afraid of scandalizing the faithful, who might believe that he made these concessions to purchase his liberty, and he again asked to be assisted by a sufficient number of his experienced and learned councillors in order that, guided by their advice, he might seek, with the

help of the Lord, the way to settle everything in a satisfactory manner.⁵⁹

Napoleon then ordered M. Bigot de Préameneu to inform the prelates at Savona that the Papal brief had been examined by a committee of Ministers and Councillors of State, who had unanimously decided that it could not be accepted because it was hostile to the authority of the Emperor, as it did not recognize the assembly of Bishops in Paris as a council; it gave the Church of Rome titles to which the government could not assent, and it required that canonical institution should be given in the name of the Pope. The majority of the committee had then advised that the council should be again convoked, or that the Bishops-elect should be instituted by a metropolitan synod until a general council should have decided the question. The Emperor, however, by way of a compromise, ordered some changes to be made in the brief, so that if the Pope consented to adopt them the brief could be accepted. Under these circumstances the Emperor declined to discuss questions of ecclesiastical discipline, but would wait until the decree of the council should be accepted before he could believe that a first step had been taken towards a reconciliation.⁶⁰

The Bishops begged in vain of the Holy Father to reconsider his brief, but he objected that that would only give rise to fresh demands, and he added that nothing could be decided with regard to the Papal States without another Concordat. He would not even discuss the matter with the Cardinals, but remarked that it was a serious affair and required to be carefully considered. To Dr. Porta, who still acted as de Chabrol's spy, he said that he was totally absorbed by the demands presented to him, and that thinking of them was turning his hair white. During several weeks the Holy Father was subjected to this persecution. The Cardinals, the Bishops, Mgr. Bertalozzi and M. de Chabrol succeeded each other without intermission, imploring of him to make the concessions asked by the Emperor, but without being able to make him yield.

On January 7 the Bishops presented to the Holy Father an *ultimatum* on the part of the Emperor and informed him in His Majesty's name that if they were recalled from Savona without having obtained any result, the right of instituting Bishops granted to the Pope by the Concordat would be abolished, and that the

⁵⁹ D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 458. Note des Cardinaux en réponse à celle remise par les évêques députés. Savone, 17 Novembre, 1811. The suburbicarian sees are Ostia and Velletri, Porto and Sta Ruffina, Frascati or Tusculum, Palestrina, Sabina, Albano. (Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, t. XCV., pp. 204, 224.)

⁶⁰ D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 472. Le Ministre des Cultes aux évêques députés à Savone, 3 Décembre.

Bishops nominated by His Majesty would receive institution from the provincial synod or from the metropolitan. M. de Chabrol even adopted an insolent tone in his interviews with the Holy Father. He told him that he was alone in his opposition to his council, to the Bishops and to the opinion of all the faithful; that his refusal was gradually destroying the interest which his partisans took in him, and he warned him that he should blame no one but himself for whatever might happen to him. But to all these attacks the Pope gave the same unvarying reply—that he would come to no decision until he was set free and was assisted by a more numerous council; for his honor demanded that such an important concession should not seem to have been the result of constraint.⁶¹

The Pope repeated the same statement in a second letter to the Emperor on January 24. He assured him that he did not refuse to make a further extension of the brief, but that he wished to have a larger number of advisers and to be allowed freedom of communication with the faithful in order to negotiate for the welfare of the Church with prudence and deliberation, so as to calm his conscience and avoid the scandal which might be caused if he were to act otherwise. When the Holy Father had sent this letter he declined to discuss the question again with the Cardinals or the Bishops, or even with Mgr. Bertalozzi; his health, he said, had suffered in consequence of his anxiety, and as he had come to a decision on the subject, he refused to hear any more about it until he had received an answer from the government.

The answer came on February 2 from the Minister of Worship. It was an order to the deputation to return to Paris, since their mission had failed, and then "everything at Savona was to be restored to its former condition." The Holy Father showed much emotion when the Bishops took leave of him, but his resolution was not to be shaken, and he expressed his confidence that Providence would intervene and settle the affairs of the Church. After their departure and that of the Cardinals everything in the Papal palace was placed in the same state as before, and precautions were taken to render all communication with the outer world impossible.

Napoleon did not reply directly to the Holy Father, but ordered the Minister of Worship to write to the deputation of Bishops a letter filled with the most unjust reproaches and false accusations against him. It bears witness to his deeply wounded pride and to the indignation which he felt at the unexpected resistance he had met with.

⁶¹ D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 487. Note remise à Sa Sainteté par les évêques députés à Savone, 7 Janvier, 1812. *Id.*, p. 489, L'Archévêque de Tours au Ministre des Cultes. Savone, 13 Janvier. *Id.*, p. 491, De Chabrol au Ministre des Cultes. Savone, 16 Janvier, 1812.

The Pope was accused of having preferred the opinions of Cardinals Pacca and di Pietro, whom the Emperor had been obliged to degrade as enemies of the State, to the advice of a hundred Bishops whose dioceses comprised three-quarters of Christendom. . . . "The Pope asks for free intercourse with the faithful; but how has he lost it? By not observing the duties of his ministry of peace and charity. He cursed the Emperor and the civil authority by a bull of excommunication, of which the original was found in Rome. . . . The condescension of the Emperor had left the Pope at Savona free to communicate with the faithful, but he had sent briefs to excite opposition in the chapters—briefs which were as remarkable for their ignorance of the canons as for their malevolence. . . . He has stirred up a spirit of resistance in the Roman States and caused those who obeyed him to be exiled; how could the Emperor allow free communication to be held with him? . . . The only councillors whom he wants are the 'black Cardinals,' whom he shall never have. If he thinks that he can decide nothing without them, and therefore loses forever the right of confirming Bishops, it is his fault." The Bishops were then ordered to obtain within three days a simple consent to the decree which should comprise all the sees except that of Rome or leave Savona. The Emperor will then look upon the Concordats as abrogated and will not allow the Pope to interfere in the confirmation of Bishops. This diffuse and arrogant letter concluded by an insolent demand that the Holy Father should resign. "Why does he not abdicate and acknowledge himself incapable of distinguishing between what belongs to dogma and to the essence of religion and what is temporal and variable? If the Pope does not understand a distinction simple enough to be understood by any seminarist, why should he not voluntarily leave the Papal Chair to let it be occupied by a man stronger by his brain and his principles, who may at last repair the misfortunes he has caused in Germany and in all the other countries of Christendom?"⁶²

As the Cardinals and Bishops had already left Savona, it was M. de Chabrol who undertook to read to the Holy Father this lying and contemptuous document, and in his letter to the Minister he states that he read the strongest passages twice over to him. He also carefully noted the effect which they produced, and if the Pope made no remark he looked upon his silence as an acknowledgment of guilt. But neither then nor at any subsequent interview could de Chabrol by his arguments or his threats obtain any concessions. The Holy

⁶² Lecestre, t. II., No. 921. Lettre dictée par l'Empereur au Ministre des Cultes pour les évêques députés à Savone. Paris, 9 Février, 1812. D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 502.

Father positively refused to publish another brief, and said that his conscience would not allow him to grant what was demanded of him, and that God would intervene to settle his affairs. Finding, therefore, all attempts to conquer the Holy Father's resistance hopeless, de Chabrol announced to him, by the Minister's orders, on February 23, that, as the brief dated September 20 had not been ratified, the Emperor would consider the Concordats as abrogated and would no longer allow the Pope to intervene in the canonical institution of Bishops.⁵³

For some months Pius VII. was allowed to live in peace in his prison at Savona, completely isolated from the world and apparently forgotten by Napoleon, who, surrounded by a brilliant court of German Princes at Dresden, was fully absorbed by the immense preparations which he was making for his Russian campaign. Shortly, however, before the war broke out he sent orders to Prince Borghese, Governor of Piedmont, to transfer the Pope from Savona to Fontainebleau, giving as a reason for this sudden resolution that he had just heard that there were English vessels before Savona, and that it was necessary to provide for his safety. The Pope was not to wear his Pontifical robes, but to be dressed as a priest; he was to stop only at Mont Cenis and to pass through Turin, Chambery and Lyons at night. The utmost secrecy was to be observed.⁵⁴ On the afternoon of June 9 M. de Chabrol and Captain Lagorse, an officer of *gendarmes*, who was to serve as escort, informed the Holy Father that he was to leave that night, and began to prepare him for the journey. They cut the crosses off his white shoes and blackened them with ink, so that he had to put them on while still wet. They took away his pectoral cross and gave him a black hat and a gray overcoat. About midnight they led him through Savona on foot and placed him in a carriage. Dr. Porta and Captain Lagorse accompanied him and Ilario Palmieri, one of his servants, preceded him in another carriage. The rest of the household was ordered not to mention the Pope's departure, and for several days, in order to conceal it, the candles were lighted on the altar where he said Mass and his table was served as if he were still present.⁵⁵

⁵³ D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 521. De Chabrol au Ministre des Cultes. Savone, 23 Février.

⁵⁴ Correspondance de Napoléon I., t. XXIII., No. 18,710. Au Prince Borghese. Dresde, 21 Mai, 1812.

⁵⁵ The account of Pius VII.'s journey from Savona to Fontainebleau is from a manuscript in the British Museum (Additional MS. 8,390, folio 19), of which M. d'Haussonville first made use. It is unsigned, but is evidently by some person in the Papal service. Also from a letter (Additional MS., 8,389) from Surgeon Claraz, of Termignon, in Savoy, dated 15 Septembre, 1814, to "M. l'avocat Luigi Cereghelli, Secrétaire de la maison du St. Père, à Rome. Account of the journey from Savona to Fontainebleau in June, 1812."

The infirmities of the Holy Father, aggravated by the rapidity with which he had been made to travel, caused him such suffering that when he arrived at the Monastery of Mount Cenis he seemed to be about to die. Captain Lagorse was much embarrassed; he was anxious to hasten on his way, but he feared the responsibility which he would incur should the Pope die while in his charge. A surgeon was sent for from a neighboring village and warned that it might cost him his liberty or perhaps his life if he revealed the fact of the Pope's presence. With his help the Holy Father was sufficiently restored to health, after a rest of three days, to be able to continue his journey, lying on a bed fitted up in his carriage. As by that time his identity had become known, crowds of peasants assembled at every village to express to him their sympathy and their veneration, but Lagorse took care to pass through the large cities at night and at full speed, although the jolting over the rough pavement caused the Holy Father intense pain. On arriving at Fontainebleau, about noon on June 19, it was found that the porter of the castle had not received instructions to prepare for the arrival of the Holy Father, and did not, therefore, dare to admit him, but could only give him hospitality in a neighboring house until, late at night, orders came from the Ministers to throw open the palace. A few months of repose then ensued for the Holy Father, which were followed, on the Emperor's return from his disastrous Russian campaign, by another attempt to extort further concessions.

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A MARQUISE OF THE OLD RÉGIME.¹

THE history of the French Revolution, with its horrors and its pathos, its heroisms and its tragedies, is irresistibly fascinating, and among its many sided aspects the story of the "emigration" is one of the most interesting. Not, indeed, that we can admire the light-hearted "insouciance" with which, as early as 1790, many French nobles left their country, ostensibly with the object of defending their King by raising an army on foreign soil. By uniting their forces to the enemy *without*, they exasperated the opponents of the throne *within*, and thereby increased the difficulties that encompassed their sovereign. As a political move their exodus was undoubtedly a mistake.

¹ La Marquise de Lige de Volude, d'après des documents inédits par la Ctesse. de Reinach Foussemagne. Perrin, Paris.

Among the thousands of *émigrés* who for more than twenty years wandered over Europe many were, no doubt, provokingly foolish and frivolous, full of childish delusions and completely out of touch with the tremendous changes that were being wrought in the social world. Their chief charm lay in the bright courage with which they smilingly faced poverty, and the woman whose biography we lay before our readers is a good sample of an *émigré* lady of rank, with the virtues and the faults of her class.

The Marquise de Lage de Volude was a typical eighteenth century "grande dame." She had the brilliancy and grace, the sociability and ready wit, the frivolity and high courage of her race; her blind devotion to the Bourbons was often illogical, but always touching in its whole heartedness, and as time touched her with its mellowing hand and sorrow with its chastening rod, a graver element reveals itself in her character, bestowing extra dignity without any loss of charm.

Her life was closely bound up with that of the most famous personages of those dramatic times, and her story is interesting, not only because of her attractive personality, but also from her connection with the great political upheaval, the effects of which still control the destinies of modern France. Beatrix Stephanie de Renart d'Amblimont was born in 1764. Her father, the Marquis d'Amblimont, was a distinguished naval officer, but more refined and amiable was his wife, Marie Anne de Chaumont Quitry, between whom and her daughter there existed strong mutual love and confidence. Indeed, her mother seems to have held in our heroine's affections a higher place than either husband or children.

The little girl, her parents' only surviving child, was educated at the Abbey of Panthémont, in the Rue de Grenelle. The convent chapel is now a Protestant church; the convent itself is a barrack, hemmed in on all sides by busy streets and tall houses. The shady paths where Mdle. d'Amblimont and her young friends played have long since been swept away. The revolutionary tempest was to scatter far and wide the happy girls whose existence in the "ancien régime" convent was peaceful and refined rather than austere. Many bright heads were to fall beneath the knife of the guillotine; others were to grow white in the monotony of exile or live among the fearful risks entailed by life in France during the Reign of Terror.

One of Beatrix Stephanie's favorite companions was a girl from the south, Louise d'Esparbes de Lussan, a gentle and timid creature, whose childish grace appealed to Mdle. d'Amblimont's stronger nature. The two remained fast friends in the future. Louise became the wife of the Cte. de Polastron and subsequently the

mistress of the Cte. d'Artois, the King's youngest brother, but her equivocal position does not seem to have shocked her friend's principles. Our *émigré* lady's blind loyalty towards her "dear Princess" somewhat obscured her views of right and wrong.

When she left Panthémont our heroine was taken up by the Princess de Lamballe.² She was a childless widow and resided either at court or with her father-in-law, the Duke de Penthièvre.³ Beatrix Stephanie henceforth shared her life. In some of her letters that have happily been preserved Melle. d'Amblimont draws charming pictures of the household of which she now formed a part. The Duc de Penthièvre, one of the wealthiest noblemen in France, was as generous as he was rich; moreover, in a skeptical age, he was a devout Catholic. On his way to church he often found his young daughter-in-law and her companion reading novels. "When you are older," he used to say with a smile, "you will read more serious books, 'il faut que jeunesse se passe.'" The only child and heiress of this kindly old man was the wife of the notorious Philippe Egalité, Duke of Orleans.

The Princess was much attached to the witty and impulsive girl who brought an element of brightness into her widowed life, and it was she who arranged the marriage of Mdle. d'Amblimont to the Marquis de Lage de Volude, a naval officer of good family. He was a kind-hearted, easy-going man, subservient in all things to his brilliant wife. "I might have led him like a child," she wrote fifty years later.

The wedding took place on January 16, 1782, in the chapel of the Palace of "l'Arsenal," where the bride's mother had an apartment. Few among the foreign visitors to Paris have the curiosity to visit this ancient dwelling place of the Valois Kings. Its exquisite "boiseries," with their dainty grace, carry us back to the day when Beatrix Stephanie's bridal draperies swept along the polished floors. It is pathetic to note how many of those who were present at the ceremony or who signed the wedding contract died a tragic death. Mgr. de la Rochefoucauld, who gave the nuptial blessing, was massacred at the "Carmes" in September, 1792; the King, the Queen and Princess Elisabeth perished on the scaffold. Worse was the fate of the bride's second mother, Madame de Lamballe, hacked to pieces in the streets of Paris ten years later.

The young Marquise as a married woman was now qualified to take part in the social gayeties of the court. The years that imme-

² Marie Thérèse Louise de Savoye Carignan, married to the Prince de Lamballe, cousin to the King, 1749-1792.

³ Louis de Bourbon, Duc de Penthièvre, son of the Comte de Toulouse, himself a natural son of Louis XIV. 1725-1793.

diately preceded the Revolution seem to have had a peculiar attraction. Talleyrand enlarges upon "la douceur de vivre" of that brilliant and most fascinating epoch. To us there is a strange charm in the contrast between the refined elegance and careless wit of the day and the terrific tragedy that looms in the background. Over the powdered heads hovers the knife, and the tiny feet, so eager in the pursuit of pleasure, soon grew weary of treading the high roads and byways of exile.

The upper classes of society, barring a few exceptions, were serenely unconscious of the perils ahead. They knew little and cared still less about the spirit of discontent that was growing up among the people and which many complex causes helped to develop. The vices and reckless expenditure of Louis XV., the weakness of his well meaning successor, the evil teaching of the free thinking philosophers, all these abuses combined to prepare the most complete upheaval of modern times.

To realize the danger that lay under the brilliant surface of society it needed thought and observation, and our heroine had time for neither; nor was she, as she candidly owns, in touch with the lower orders, whose existence she ignored. In her own world, however, she soon made her mark by her liveliness and gayety, her wit and good humor, and with a light heart she plunged into a vortex of dissipation. She was no beauty, but very captivating, and she soon became a general favorite. Her intimates were the Duchesse de Palignae, the Queen's favorite; her daughter, the Duchesse de Guiche, and the Comtesse de Polastron, her convent friend. Among the Royal Princes she was most devoted to the King's youngest brother, the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles X.

In many of her judgments of public persons and events Madame de Lage shows much good sense, but her blind worship of the frivolous and dissipated young Prince, whose follies discredited his brother's cause, cannot be defended. He remained her idol to the end. If not always reasonable, she has at least the merit of faithfulness. More than half a century later we shall find her speaking of the aged Charles X. with the same loving devotion as she spoke in her youth of the scatter-brained Comte d'Artois.

One of the pet vices of the day was gambling, and to this failing our heroine cheerfully pleads guilty. She was an assiduous visitor of Lady Kerry,⁴ an Englishwoman of wealth, at whose house in Paris high play was the order of the day. Supper parties at "la Mucette," Versailles, Rambouillet and other royal residences filled up much of her time, together with more childish diversions, such

⁴ Anne Daly, married first to Charles, Earl of Galway; secondly to Harry, Viscount Kingsland; thirdly to Francis Fitzmaurice, Earl of Kerry.

as donkey rides in the park of Versailles in company of the little Duchess de Guiche, *née* Aglaé de Polignac, whose infantine notes were carefully preserved by her friend to her dying day.

At this period of her life the Marquise de Lage's warmest affections seem to have gone out, not to her husband, whose career kept him at sea and who when present passed unnoticed, but to her mother, the Marquise d'Amblimont, to whom she wrote constantly. She possessed the essentially French gift of spontaneousness and grace, with the airy charm that gives life and color to the smallest details, and as we peruse her letters visions of the court of Versailles pass before us—the Queen, beautiful and dignified, who was slowly realizing that the nation's adoration for its sovereigns was a thing of the past; the King, with his apathy and ungainly manners, which irritated our Marquise's energetic nature and offended her taste; the Princess Elizabeth, who, says Madame de Lage, "is a perfection of perfections, full of noble and generous feeling and whose timidity changes into firmness when she strives to enlighten the King." The somewhat quixotic enthusiasm with which a portion of the French nobility hailed what was regarded as the advent of a golden age of universal brotherhood rouses our heroine's sarcasms. In her usual downright fashion she condemns the liberal views of M. de la Fayette, M. de Noailles and other young noblemen who had served in the American War of Independence, and she makes no secret of her aversion for Necker, Mirabeau and the Duke of Orleans. She belonged to the old *régime* by her convictions as well as by her birth, and had no patience with those of her friends who were inclined to adopt the new-fashioned theories that were then afoot. One letter to her mother relates an amusing discussion between Madame de Lage and the Duchess de Luynes. The latter seems to have expressed a certain sympathy for the leaders of the popular party, while the former admitted that the rebellious chiefs of the "Fronde" and the "Ligue," being *grands seigneurs*, deserved consideration, but to be led by the people, "My Duchess, does not this horrify you!"

On May 4, 1789, the States General of the kingdom assembled at Versailles. Our Marquise was present at the gorgeous pageant that heralded the approach of the revolution. She noticed the sadness of the Queen, who was wrung with anxiety for her eldest boy. The little Prince, an immensely precocious child, lay hopelessly ill at Meudon. He died a month later, leaving a "heritage of woe" to his younger brother, the unfortunate Louis XVII. During the same month of June the first symptoms of insubordination appeared among the Deputies, and the insolent attitude of the "Tiers," or bourgeois party, foreboded graver evils to come. On July 14 the Bastille was taken by the mob. Thereupon Madame de Lage and two of her

friends, Madame de Polastron and Madame de Poulpry, fled in undignified haste across the frontier.

Our Marquise, as events will prove, was a brave woman, who more than once steadily faced death. In this case she acted like a frightened child, and we are tempted to wonder if this hasty rush to a new country was not partly suggested by the passion for traveling, which, unlike most of her countrywomen, she possessed in an extraordinary degree. The three ladies (M. de Lage only joined them later) met with some adventures on the way. They were insulted and threatened by the people, and, worse still, at Belfort they were mistaken for Madame de Staël, M. Necker's famous daughter, a fact that our Marquise bitterly resented, for Madame de Staël, so brilliantly clever, was also hopelessly plain. "The mistake was bound to cease when we showed our faces," writes Madame de Lage, "for we three and our maid were tolerably good looking."

At Bâle the fugitives found the Duchess de Polignac and her party, and when once the danger was past they laughed at each other's frightened faces. This first taste of exile had no bitterness about it; it was a comedy rather than a tragedy, and soon our *émigrés* seem to have realized the foolishness of their position, for Madame de Lage decided to return to France. It was characteristic of her to choose the longest route. From Bâle she and her husband made their way to Berne, Lausanne, Geneva, then across France, by Lyons, Clermont and Limoges to Tirac, M. de Lage's "château" near Saintes. Here, in February, 1790, her third and youngest daughter, Calixte, was born. She already had two little girls, but they filled an insignificant place in her life and seem to have been cared for by the Marquise d'Amblimont. It was not till some years later that our Marquise awoke to a sense of their claims upon her. She cannot pose as an attentive mother, and it is one of the curious traits of her complex nature that, in her old age, she became as affectionate a parent as she was an indifferent one in her youth. When she had recovered her strength Madame de Lage started for Paris with her husband and father-in-law. On the way they visited their Breton relations, and at St. Brieuc "some silly peasants," writes our heroine, "mistook us for the new Constitutional Bishop and his suite. My father-in-law amused himself by giving them his blessing, and some of them were stupid enough to kneel down to receive it, although my presence and that of my maid made up an escort that was scarcely canonical."

On arriving in Paris in the spring of 1793 the Marquise took up her position in the household of Madame de Lamballe, who assured her that things were less "terrible" than she imagined, and for the next three months life seemed to resume its even course. In reality,

matters were becoming tragical. The King was a prisoner within his own palace, a sovereign only in name, and after much hesitation he determined to break his bonds, and our readers know how the ill-managed attempt failed miserably and how the royal family was brought back to closer captivity.

The Princess de Lamballe and her lady-in-waiting spent the fateful night of the King's escape at Lady Kerry's, where, as usual, they gambled and, our heroine confesses, "lost all their money." Somewhat crestfallen, they returned to sleep at Passy, then an outlying village, where the Princess had a country house, little thinking that a cumbersome vehicle containing the royal family was even then making its way beyond the suburbs of Paris along the country roads eastwards. At daybreak a note from the Queen informed Madame de Lamballe of her flight. The Princess, much perturbed, awoke our Marquise, and the two women began their preparations for departure. These were of the simplest description, and this second exodus, like the first, has a touch of comedy. Madame de Lamballe took her diamonds and Madame de Lage two "chemises" and a few pocket handkerchiefs. Money they had none, having lost all their ready cash the previous night. A few hours later a traveling carriage left Passy. In it were packed the Princess and her ladies, Madame de Lage and Madame de Ginestous, their two husbands, Madame de Ginestous' little girl, and on the box next to the coachman, a servant fully armed.

The travelers passed the barriers of Paris with some difficulty, and towards evening, hungry and frightened, they arrived at Aumale, where the Duc de Penthièvre was living with his daughter, the Duchess of Orleans, whose husband was notorious for his partisanship of the revolutionary party. The fugitives were warmly welcomed, but Madame de Lamballe was anxious to hurry on; she consented, however, to sit down to a meal, which Madame de Lage confesses was a welcome boon. The Duchess gave the ladies clothes and money, the Duke's servants filled the carriage with eatables, and thus equipped the travelers started for Boulogne, where they embarked for Dover in a small boat. On landing in England they heard of the King's arrest at Varennes. However, Madame de Lamballe decided to go on to Belgium, and on July 11 she and her party arrived at Aix la Chapelle, where large numbers of their countrymen had already assembled. Most of these belonged to the serious minded class of *émigrés*, who realized the deadly meaning of the revolutionary crisis and who foresaw its tragic developments.

Our young Marquise soon found her surroundings somewhat austere, and, the Princess de Lamballe having reluctantly given her leave of absence, she started for Coblenz, where a very different

atmosphere prevailed. Here the King's brothers held a mimic court. Two distinct classes of men surrounded them. The most estimable, if not the most enlightened, were the gentlemen who formed the nucleus of the royalist army, of which the Prince de Condé was the organizer and the chief. There was a pathetic element in the composition of these unconventional troops, where gray-haired "châtelaines" from remote provinces fought by the side of true-hearted and impetuous lads, who were children in years. The same spirit inspired both—a heart whole devotion to what they believed their duty as servants of the King, together with many optimistic delusions as to the real strength of the hated republicans. Then among the immediate surroundings of the Princes were the frivolous and mischievous intriguers, who helped to discredit the cause they professed to serve, men bent on pleasure, however grave might be the perils ahead. In this particular set the Comte d'Artois was master of the revels, and his favorite, Madame de Polastron, was enthroned as Queen.

Madame de Lage's letters to her mother describe the entertainments that filled up the days and nights of the Comte d'Artois' friends. The price of everything was high, but "one must dress, and 'chiffons' cost frightfully dear." To pay for her "toilettes" our Marquise sold a diamond necklace. Her favorite Prince excites her enthusiasm: "He is our hope, the grandson of Henry IV. He has, say the old people, a look of Louis XIV. Each one of his words is treasured. . . . Bad news is forgotten and we feel encouraged when we look at him."

A gracious word, a noble gesture coming from their idol were enough in these early days to make the *émigrés* forget their own privations and dangers and also the anarchy that now reigned in France.

The gayeties of Coblenz seem strangely out of tune with the scenes of bloodshed that were taking place across the frontier. Gambling was the ruling passion of the exiles, as it had been that of the courtiers of Versailles in happier days. Our Marquise relates how one night after a supper given by the Comte de Provence the gay company decided, instead of going to bed, to adjourn to a country inn and to breakfast next morning "in the prettiest garden in the world." On arriving the men of the party, having ransacked the primitive hostelry, found a shabby table, on which they threw a cloak. They then brought candles, counters and cards, and the whole party "played till five in the morning. We were quite ruined," adds Madame de Lage, "but we laughed heartily."

In September our heroine returned to her post, but a month later Madame de Lamballe determined at all hazards to leave Aix la Chapelle and take up her duties as mistress of the Queen's house-

hold. This resolve was simply heroic. The Princess, a delicate and nervous woman, was physically unfit to face the dangers that even then surrounded her royal mistress. Of her two ladies in waiting she only took Madame de Ginestous with her to Paris, leaving Madame de Lage behind under the wing of Madame de Polastron.

However, eight months later, in July, 1792, the Marquise d'Amblimont became dangerously ill at Bordeaux, and our Marquise on hearing the news unhesitatingly decided to return to France, although, in consequence of the severe laws recently issued against the *émigrés*, she thereby risked her liberty and her life. Love for her mother was her strongest passion, and the perilous journey she now undertook proves the depth of her filial devotion. Her father and husband, both of whom had joined the royalist army, bade her farewell as to one who was facing certain death.

Traveling was no easy matter for a lady of rank in 1792. Madame de Lage left Coblenz on July 14, and after several narrow escapes, she reached Paris, where Madame de Lamballe begged her on no account to show herself at the Tuileries. The presence of an *émigré* from Coblenz was enough to compromise the royal family still further. The Princess herself, who one month later was brutally murdered in the streets of Paris, still believed that a favorable crisis might take place. "The King has so many friends," she urged. "This is true," shrewdly observed her friend, "but he will not allow them to act."

At last, after being repeatedly delayed by vexatious formalities and alarmed by hostile demonstrations, our traveler reached Bordeaux. At this point of her history she reveals a depth of feeling that is all the more precious because such expressions are rare under her pen. "I am not sentimental," she once owned. She walked to her mother's house in terror, not venturing to ask for news. When told that the invalid was still alive, "It seemed to me," she writes, "as if heaven was rewarding me for what I had suffered." Overcome by all she had endured, she sank down on the stairs, where her three little girls stood waiting for her.

Madame d'Amblimont, although better, was still in a critical condition. The two doctors who attended her were the one a fervent royalist, the other a rabid republican. "Messieurs," she used to say, "I hope you will come to a better understanding over my constitution than over the constitution of the State." Her daughter hardly left the sick room. One of her friends supplied her with newspapers, which she devoured in secret, and the news she gathered was full of horror. Her uncles, the Bishops of Beauvais and Sanites, the latter of whom had officiated at her marriage, were massacred in the prison "des Carmes" on September 2, and, worse

still, the friend of her youth, Madame de Lamballe, was done to death outside "La Force." Our readers know how the Princess' head was severed from her dead body and how, after her fair hair had been carefully curled and powdered, the ghastly trophy was paraded under the Queen's windows at the "Temple."

The Duchesse de Tourzel, governess to the royal children, was Madame de Lamballe's fellow-prisoner at "La Force," and in her memoirs—for she fortunately escaped death—she described the calmness, dignity and religious feeling with which the fragile and fanciful woman, whose "vapours" in her prosperous days had excited some ridicule, went to meet a hideous death.

In Madame de Lage likewise the unborn courage of her race and breeding comes to the surface at this crisis and outweighs the childish frivolity of other days. During the Reign of Terror the pleasure-loving Marquise of Coblenz reveals herself a brave, self-sacrificing woman.

These surprises meet us at every turn. They bring out in strong relief the characteristics of the eighteenth century French nobility. These men and women may be provokingly careless and curiously illogical. Their gay heroism is almost sublime, and after a hundred years their subtle charm enthalls us still. Maybe that the very contrasts that puzzle our Anglo-Saxon thoroughness help to make this charm more irresistible.

From her mother's sick bed at Bordeaux Madame de Lage was called away in January to her father-in-law at Tirac. The old man gladly welcomed his son's wife, but one winter evening the friendly "maire" of a neighboring village secretly informed our Marquise that the "gendarmes" were on their way to arrest her. According to the revolutionary legislation she was liable as an *émigré* to be immediately executed. Her dying father-in-law had sufficient presence of mind to provide for her safety. He gave her all his ready money, put a light carriage and his best horses at her disposal and, having sent for his coachman: "My friend, save my daughter. It is the last and greatest service you can render me."

At Blaye, where she had to cross the ferry, the fugitive accidentally overheard that the King had been executed. At Bordeaux she was concealed in the house of a rich tradesman named Perrier, who allowed her to occupy a garret, her own mother's "hotel" being closely watched.

It is pleasant to note that in her dire distress our heroine met with humble friends who risked their lives to help her. One of these, a Savoyard named Maurice, undertook to conceal her money and her jewels and to carry her letters when, Bordeaux having become dangerous, she removed to a lonely farmhouse at some distance.

Madame de Lage's indomitable spirit served her in good stead at this crisis. She was absolutely alone, separated from all those whom she loved. Almost within sight of her hiding place the guillotine was in daily use. She owns that the isolation weighed upon her, and that when the honest Maurice appeared he seemed "a god." By degrees, however, her bouyant spirits returned. "I began," she says, "to get accustomed to my lodgings and to the kind of life I had to lead. I sent for my pencils and for some books, and I spent the day reading, drawing and writing."

But even this lonely farmhouse was not safe. One day Madame Perier, to whom it belonged, heard that it was to be searched. She came in person to warn her guest, and, to avoid notice, the two women returned to Bordeaux on foot. On the way they met a group of excited peasants and overheard the name Antoinette. "Oh, mon Dieu!" exclaimed Madame de Lage, "they are speaking of the Queen." Her companion put a question, and the answer confirmed their worst fears. Maria Antoinette had been executed on October 16, and when that evening the two royalist ladies entered Bordeaux they found the town brilliantly illuminated in honor of the event.

Thickly veiled, Madame de Lage ventured to creep into her mother's room. If discovered in the house her presence meant death for both. For once our heroine's nerves got the better of her. "I was so weak and tired that I fell on my knees by her side," she says. "I kissed her hands and our tears fell fast. We remained, I believe, for more than an hour without speaking. I was sitting at her feet, my head resting on her knees."

The news that Madame d'Amblimont gave her daughter was scarcely fitted to soothe her overstrained mind. All their friends were either beheaded or in prison, and the house was so closely watched that only by the merest chance did our *émigré* lady escape detection.

Her next hiding place was the apartment of a midwife, Madame Coutanceau, but in order to justify her presence under this good woman's roof the fugitive had to pretend that she would ere long require her services. With the help of some towels she altered her figure so as to produce the desired effect, and we seem to see her humorous smile as she adopted this ingenious disguise. But, as it was impossible that she could play her part for an indefinite period, Madame Coutanceau decided to appeal on her behalf to the future Madame Tallien, who was at that time living with Tallien, the despot of Bordeaux, over whom she possessed unbounded influence.

The career of this extraordinary woman is one of the most curious episodes of an epoch when truth is often stranger than fiction.

Terezia de Cabarruy was a Spaniard, the divorced wife of a French nobleman, the Marquis de Foutenay. By right divine of her matchless beauty she reigned over the hearts of men, and Tallien, the regicide, the rival of Robespierre, after saving her from death on the guillotine, promoted her to share his dictatorship at Bordeaux. In the symbolic pageants which were then the fashion this strangely assorted pair paraded the streets in a triumphal car, the beautiful Spaniard in vaporous garments resting her tiny hand on the shoulder of the man who held at his mercy the lives of thousands.

Be it said to her credit, the "citoyenne" Tallien was of a kindly disposition, and many "aristocrats" owed their safety to her good offices. She became interested in Madame de Lage and asked to see her. To her new friend Terezia spoke openly of the difficulties of her position. She owned that she did not care for Tallien, but by protecting her he had compromised himself in the eyes of his party, and she felt bound in honor to stand by him. "She had more courage and kindness than good sense," adds our Marquise. The two women exchanged locks of hair. "My hair for its beauty and its length was quite unique," says our heroine, and Terezia's "the prettiest that I ever saw in another style, like black silk."⁵

In possession of a passport where she was described as an American, Madame de Lage returned to the house of her humble friend, where her figure resumed its natural proportions. She dared not visit her mother, but on her way to the boat she passed under the window at which Madame d'Amblimont stood in tears. The faithful Maurice saw her off. "Do not come back; you have given us too much trouble," said the honest fellow, who had over and over again risked his life in her service.

Madame de Lage left Bordeaux on February 27, 1794, and after a rough passage landed in Spain, where she imagined that both she and her family would find peace and protection under a Bourbon King, but her expectations seemed to have been disappointed, and she eventually made her way to England, where she found herself, not knowing a word of English, stranded alone in a low class London inn. She managed, however, to make her presence known to her friends, and many "habitués" of her Paris "salon" gathered round the forlorn traveler.

Matters had assumed a different aspect since the days of Coblenz, and most of the French exiles who congregated in London were now, in spite of the generosity of the British Government, reduced to dire distress. These light-hearted noblemen and delicate women worked for their bread and displayed much dignity and courage

⁵ Madame de Fontenay afterward divorced Tallien and married, as her third husband, the Prince de Chimay, of an illustrious Belgian family.

under adverse circumstances. Their inborn gayety was unquenched, and it adds an undoubted charm to their brave struggle against poverty.

The Marquise de Lage had a young brother-in-law, the Vicomte de Volude, who is a typical example of the folly and high-mindedness that combined to make the *émigrés* at once provoking and delightful. He was a brilliant, handsome, charming spendthrift, whose extravagance had often irritated his father, so merry and witty that he kept Madame de Lage and her friends in fits of laughter half through the night, thereby scandalizing the staid lodging house keeper, who remonstrated with her pensioners on their ill-timed mirth. This careless young fellow had, to all appearances, nothing of a martyr in his composition, yet his death was heroic. Like many of the refugees in England, he enlisted in the royalist army that, owing to the mismanagement of its chiefs, fell into the hands of the republicans at Quiberon, in Brittany. The promise given by the republican General Hoche that the prisoners should be spared was put aside and orders were sent from Paris to execute them one and all. Young de Volude's boyish face struck the republican soldiers. "Do not tell us your real age," they whispered; "say you are younger, and you will be saved." The youth turned to his uncle, M. de Kergariou, and his eyes asked a question. "Better die than lie," answered the stern old Breton, and a few minutes later uncle and nephew fell in the wide field by the river side still called the "Champ des Martyrs."

In June, 1797, after three years' stay in London, Madame de Lage decided to return to Spain. She was still haunted by the idea that the Spanish Bourbons might help her, and this time her hopes seemed to have some foundation. Her father, the Marquis d'Ambli-mont, after fighting in the *émigré* army had taken service in the Spanish navy. He had just died a soldier's death at the battle of Cape St. Vincent, a fact that gave his family some claim on the gratitude of the Spanish Government. Acting on this idea, the Marquise de Lage, who was idle since the disbanding of the *émigré* army, hastened to Madrid to negotiate for a grant of land near Porto Rico. His wife started to join him, but although the Reign of Terror was at an end, stringent laws still prevented the *émigrés* from entering French territory, and our heroine's attempt to evade the prohibition proved a failure. She went from London to Hamburg, where she had an interview with the republican Minister Reinhard, to whom she endeavored to prove that she had never emigrated. Her uncle's stern creed, "Better die than lie," did not appeal to her, and her fantastic account of her proceedings does credit to her imagination. The wily republican was not deceived. "He merely

smiled and bowed his head at all I said that was not true," owns our heroine, to whom leave to travel through France was eventually refused.

Nothing daunted, she pursued her way leisurely through Switzerland and northern Italy, stopping to visit the French *émigrés* at Schaffonse, Constance, Bale, Lucerne, Lugano, Milan, Turin and Genoa. She crossed the St. Gothard Pass in December and spent, she says, "five days on horseback on a road of ice, under the snow and rain." This delicately nurtured Marquise had nerves of iron, and her physical endurance equaled her spirit of enterprise. At Genoa she met Madame de Ginestous, who like herself had belonged to the Princess de Lamballe's household. The scenes she had witnessed in Paris in August, 1792, had given the unfortunate woman a shock from which she never recovered, and she trembled from head to foot when she related her terrible experiences to her old friend.

At last, after a crossing that lasted ten days, our traveler landed at Barcelona, whence she proceeded to Madrid, where her husband had just obtained from the Spanish Government a grant of land near Porto Rico. Soon after his wife's arrival he left for America, where he died a few months later.

Although he filled so insignificant a place in his wife's life and probably in her affections, Monsieur de Lage was not devoid of sound common sense, if we judge from a letter written in 1798, in which he strongly urges the Marquise to abstain from political intrigues, rightly pointing out that as an exile in a foreign country it behooved her to win sympathy rather than excite criticism by her vehement partisanship of her beloved Princes.

At this point of our heroine's story her children appear upon the scene. Apart from its widespread political consequences, the Revolution of 1789 wrought untold havoc in the private lives of thousands. It snapped or loosened family ties that were never formed again; it inflicted wounds that never healed; it created breaches that were never bridged over, and many children whose little lives were shaken by the terrific tempest bore to their dying day the marks of the ordeal through which they had passed.

Of the Marquise de Lage's three children—Natalie, born in 1782; Stephanie, in 1787, and Calixte, in 1790—the eldest was taken charge of by Madame Senart, a friend of her family's, who, when the Reign of Terror was at its worst, fled with the child to New York. The two younger, Stephanie and Calixte, now joined their mother at Madrid.

Judging from a delightful miniature in possession of Madame de Lage's descendants, the three girls were unusually pretty. Their

childish figures have a dainty grace that is irresistibly fascinating, and their mother, whom first her court life, then her exile abroad and adventures at home, had separated from her daughters, awoke somewhat late to a sense of their charms. Her letters from Madrid have a true ring of pain, when Clixte, the youngest, died in 1800. "If you only knew," she writes to Madame de Polastron, "how she understood and felt everything. . . . What a child I have lost! She was too perfect to live, too serious, too sensitive and loving." And again: "I can neither work, read nor draw. . . . I spend my days in a state of prostration such as I never felt before. . . . Something within me is broken." But Madame de Lage's nature was too bouyant for any sorrow, however keenly felt, to cast a lasting shadow over her. Her second daughter, Stephanie, absorbed much of her attention. "She is a little love," writes our heroine to Madame de Polastron; "you would love her to distraction." And she goes on to relate how, reared among the tragic surroundings of the Revolution, Stephanie had early learnt lessons of self-possession. On one occasion, when she was asleep, the friends with whom she was living burst into her room, made her get up and, having concealed a hunted "Vendéen" under her mattress, told her to lie down again and feign sleep. The stratagem saved the man's life. These experiences delighted Madame de Lage. "You have no idea," she writes, "of all that Stephanie knows about la Vendée. . . . I could hardly believe my ears when I heard this little parrot talking of these things."

Although she had many friends at Madrid, the chief of whom was the Comtesse de Montijo, to whose family belonged the Empress Eugénie, Madame de Lage as time went on felt a growing desire to see her country and her mother again. The star of the victorious General Bonaparte was now in the ascendant, and however much she hated the "Corsican ogre," she could, owing to his absolute government, return to France without risking her head.

She began her homeward journey in September, 1800. The roads were unsafe, and she joined other travelers bound for the frontier—a stout French lady, "who believed that the eyes of all France were fixed on her return," and two priests, who hailed from Cadiz, where the plague was raging, a fact that made our Marquise look askance on the two abbés.

On arriving at Bayonne she was delighted to be once more among her own people, but thunderstruck at their optimistic illusions, when they naively assured her that "Bonaparte was about to offer the crown to the Duke d'Angoulême* and to his wife."

*Son of the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles X., married Marie Thérèse, the only daughter of Louis XVI.

She visited her mother, who had left Bordeaux for the quiet provincial town of Saintes, and then hurried to Paris to receive her daughter Natalie, who was returning from New York. Delighted with the girl's charming appearance and manners, she began, with her usual impetuosity, to form projects for Natalie's marriage with the noble scion of some royalist family. But the girl had grown up among other surroundings, and she gently, but firmly, informed her mother that she was engaged to marry Thomas Sumter, a young American diplomat, whom she had met on board the ship that brought her home. He was a wealthy, well connected, honorable and high-minded man, deeply attached to Natalie, and was no unworthy partner for the penniless girl, whose parents had been completely ruined by the Revolution. But to Madame de Lage, a woman of the old *régime*, the announcement came as a blow. She could not understand that her daughter should decline to fall in with the ideas and customs that she herself held dear, and it is amusing to note how her old friends thought it necessary to "condole" with her on what was in reality an excellent match.

The Marquise d'Amblimont seems to have been less prejudiced, and when, after some delay, she gave her consent, she did so with a graciousness that must have won her new grandson's sympathy. Her letter breathes the subtle, refined, old-fashioned courtesy for which her contemporaries were famous, and she confesses that from all account M. Sumter seems "the most worthy, affectionate and loyal of men."

Madame de Lage ended by giving her consent, though less gracefully than her mother, and the wedding took place in Paris in March, 1802.

Our heroine's maternal feelings were subject to curious vicissitudes. After her marriage her American daughter seems for many years to have passed out of her life, but thirty years later she clung to her and to her children with strange tenacity. Natalie Sumter's grandchildren are now the only surviving descendants of the Marquise de Lage.

After her daughter's wedding a feeling of unrest seems to have taken possession of our Marquise. She was now free to settle down in her own country, but the charm of a wandering life still appealed to her, and when we consider the difficulties of traveling at that date and her very reduced circumstances, the way in which she flits from Edinburgh to Madrid is truly wonderful.

In Scotland she went to stay with the Comte d'Artois and her old friend, the Comtesse de Polastron. In Spain she put forward her claim to certain sums of money that were due to her father, who had been killed in the service of the Spanish Government. Then in

January, 1804, she rushed back to London, where Madame de Polastron was dying of consumption.

This journey took place in the depths of winter, and, accustomed as she was to rough it, our heroine confesses that she never endured such hardships. She traveled safely enough from Paris to Antwerp, but between Antwerp and Rotterdam, "Nothing," she writes, "can give an idea of what I suffered. . . . The people of the country could not imagine how a woman ventured to travel at such a season." Between Rotterdam and Gravesend, to which port she was bound, a storm arose and drove the ship into Yarmouth. At last, on January 22, Madame de Lage stood by the deathbed of the woman whom she had first known as an innocent child in the cloisters of Panthémont. "From that moment," she writes, "I never left her house and seldom her room."

Madame de Polastron's deathbed repentance was the outcome of the religious convictions that since her convent days had slumbered, but had never been extinguished. She was to the last gentle, loving, timid, unselfish, incapable of exercising an invigorating influence over the Prince, to whom her life had been devoted. Her sins were the result of weakness rather than of vice, and her contrition was touchingly expressed as she lay with her hand tightly clasped in that of her friend.

After her death the Marquise de Lage lingered on in England. Then we find her in the south of France, at Bagnères, and finally at Saintes, where she remained for about a year. The old spirit of unrest again took possession of her, and she went to Spain to visit the Duchess of Orleans, widow of Philippe Egalité and daughter of the kindly Duc de Penthièvre, under whose roof she had spent her youth. The two had many memories in common. "The Duchess is a relic of the family and of the society in which I was brought up," writes our traveler.

With marvelous elasticity the exiles had made themselves tolerably happy in an obscure Spanish town. As the sole heiress of the Duc de Penthièvre the Duchess of Orleans was at one time the wealthiest woman in France. She was now reduced to poverty, but she and the members of her little court devoted much time to conversation, that supreme pleasure of the eighteenth century men and women, in whose hands it became a fine art. With her varied experiences and sparkling "verve," Madame de Lage proved a welcome addition to the narrow circle.

In 1808, however, she returned to Saintes, where this time she remained for nearly five years. The marriage of her daughter Stephanie took place during this period, but, as in the case of Natalie, Madame de Lage's ambitions were doomed to disappointment. Since

Stephanie had returned with her to France she had, it must be owned, troubled herself very little about the girl. Small wonder, then, that she found her "cold and undemonstrative." She was, however, anxious that "Fanie" should make a good match, and different grandees of Spain are alluded to in her letters as possible sons-in-law. In order to give her friends a favorable impression of Stephanie's sentiments and style, she persuaded her mother to compose some charming epistles, which, as she cheerfully confesses, she read aloud to the people whom she wished to impress. She is delighted at the cleverness with which the old lady "adopted the style of a young person who is tender, amiable, perfectly well educated, but simple and even childish, with much natural grace and delicious 'naivete.'" But neither these ingenious devices nor the care with which she refrained from scolding Stephanie lest she should cry and spoil her complexion, brought about the desired result. Instead of a grandee of Spain, Mlle. de Lage married, probably for her greater happiness, M. de l'Ile de Beauchaine, a country gentleman, who, if he was not a brilliant conversationalist, was a worthy and sensible man.

Madame de Lage herself owns some weeks after the wedding that "M. de l'Ile calls me 'maman' with all his heart, and I call him my son with all mine, for he seems a good young man." Her opposition to the match was suggested merely by vanity, for after acknowledging that her son-in-law, "if not the ideal that I wished for, is a good man," she adds, "but as far as this world goes, he and a laborer are to me much the same"—"Un laboureur et lui, c'est tout un."

In spite of her cleverness our heroine could not bring herself to accept the practical results of the Revolution that had changed the old order of things. She remained to the end of her life a woman of the "old régime." A touching episode of Madame de Lage's residence at Saintes is the visit she paid to Tirac, her husband's property, that had passed into other hands. She had not been there since the January night when she fled for her life from her father-in-law's deathbed, and the reception that she met with went to her heart. The peasants surrounded her, eager to make her welcome. They shed tears when they spoke of their former "seigneurs," whose kindness they remembered, and the penniless *émigré* lady was received with as much honor as though she still possessed the broad lands of Tirac.

Another old retainer sought her at Saintes, and his visit brought back vividly the occupations and interests of the past. "Madame," he said, "you remember Pacault? It is I, who when you had the measles used to read to you the *Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, I who copied out for you the passages that you marked for

me in the Memoirs of St. Simon. . . . I was in poverty; you helped me to live. . . . I remember the unhappy Princess de Lamballe, the Duchess of Orleans and her venerable father. . . . I remember the flowers that you wore and the perfumes that you used; perfumes always make me think of you." And, anxious to prove his affection for his former benefactress, the good man, who was now in the wine trade, presented her with a barrel of old brandy.

Very pathetic is the way in which the returned *émigrés* who congregated in the provincial towns strove, in spite of their poverty, to keep up a dignified appearance and bravely made the best of their narrow circumstances. Many, like Madame d'Amblimont and Madame de Lage, were living almost in sight of the "châteaux" and lands of which the Revolution had robbed them, but though their wealth had vanished their spirit was unbroken.

They proudly kept aloof from those whom the great upheaval had enriched and also from those who of their caste, from policy, adhered to the new order of things, and, steadfast in their faithful, if blind, devotion to the vanished past, they waited in dignified retirement till "the King should have his own again."

Now and then the bouyant spirit of their race prompted them to break the dull monotony of their lives by a *fête*. On one memorable occasion Madame de Lage acted as hostess. The entertainment began by a dinner party, followed at six o'clock by a dance, to which came "a cloud of young ladies chaperoned by respectable mothers. . . . Even the old people danced. . . . My mother was extremely gay and did not regret her thirty bottles of wine."

The extraordinary rise of the man whom she continued to call "Bonaparte" exasperated our Marquise, and when, in 1808, the Emperor and Empress passed through Saintes, she refused to lend her house to lodge them and to illuminate to do them honor. When requested to join a group of ladies who were to be received by the Empress, "I have long since renounced Satan and his pomps," was her reply.

Her indiscriminating love for the past often makes her unjust. Her son-in-law's personal supervision of his property is a grievance. "It is quite impossible," she complains, "to find among young men the politeness and delightful manners of old times. No wonder; they are all farmers and tradesmen."

In 1812 the Marquise d'Amblimont closed her long life at Saintes, and her daughter, eager to escape from the empty house, gladly accepted an invitation from her uncle, the Chevalier de Chaumont Quitry, to come and live with him at Orleans. The Chevalier was a charming specimen of an old soldier. He entered the army when only fourteen, and saw much hard fighting in the Royal Grenadiers.

Through the ups and downs of a chequered career, he kept the faith of a little child. "I am so sure of God's goodness," he used to say, "that I am no more afraid of dying than I am of passing from one room into another. It is not in vain that my Saviour died for me." Every Sunday the old soldier, half blind, very deaf and rheumatic, was present at High Mass at the Cathedral, cosily ensconced in a place among the canons, where he was safe from draughts. He gave his niece a loving welcome. "When I arrived he took me into the full light to examine me, turned me round and round to look at me. Tears of joy came into his eyes when he saw that my figure had not altered. He kissed me as if I had been a baby. When he noticed my complexion he grew sad. 'How is it that you have lost your pretty color?'" The old man's warm affection, his chivalrous courtesy and the cheerfulness with which he bore his infirmities delighted our Marquise. "I thank God for allowing me to keep my faculties," he used to say. "I can think of Him and realize all I owe Him. For many years I did not pay attention to these things." This devout spirit did not make him intolerant. He loved young people and was always indulgent towards their follies, remembering his own wild youth. His chief weakness was his propensity for telling long stories, and Madame de Lage humored this foible by listening day after day to a certain episode of his campaigns—the retreat of Prague. "As soon as we are alone, he says: 'Now I must tell you about the retreat of Prague.' . . . He is delighted when I ask him questions. Sometimes I fall asleep, but he is blind and does not notice it."

With her liveliness and wit, her varied experiences and love of conversation, Madame de Lage brought a new element and interest among the Chevalier's friends. These were the dean of the neighboring cathedral, a good conversationalist, accustomed to refined society, an old soldier, who had served in the *émigré* army and who wore his arm in a sling, and two Breton ladies, who boarded in a convent close by. Every evening these survivors of a *régime* past and dead discussed their hopes for the future, hopes that centred on the King's return, and watched with feverish anxiety the gradual downfall of Napoleon's power. When at last the crash came, the Marquise could no longer restrain her impatience. She made her way to Paris through a camp of Cossacks, "the most amiable men in the world," and with other royalist ladies, dressed in white and carrying lilies, she stood at the entrance of the Tuileries to welcome the daughter of Louis XVI. The Princess had not crossed the threshold of the palace since the 10th of August, 1792, when she followed her parents to the Temple. Of those who surrounded her on that fatal day, the King, the Queen, the Princess Elisabeth, the

Dauphin, the Princess of Lamballe had perished at the hands of the revolutionists. No wonder that the saddened woman, who twenty years later found herself among the once familiar surroundings, burst into a passion of tears.

The return of Napoleon on the 20th of March was a terrible shock to our Marquise. She immediately fled to Spain, and only in December, 1815, when her beloved Bourbons had taken the place of the "Corsican ogre," did she return to Paris, where, her means being limited, she settled down in a small apartment, Rue des Saussaies.

The restoration of Louis XVIII., to which she had looked forward as to the crowning joy of her life, did not bring Madame de Lage unmixed satisfaction. Her uncompromising temper rebelled at the concessions which the new King thought it necessary to make, and she was indignant when men like Talleyrand and Fouché became his counsellors, while those who, to use her words, "had only served honor and their King," were left out in the cold. She was no diplomat and unable to understand or to accept the ungracious necessities that, it must be owned, often wore the appearance of ingratitude.

On the other hand, her sociable temper and love of conversation were fully satisfied by the eagerness with which the friends who, like herself, had been wanderers over the face of Europe, now flocked to her little "salon," but their attentions seemed no longer to completely satisfy her. She began about this time to wish for a closer acquaintance with the numerous grandchildren who were growing up on the other side of the ocean and who, her second daughter having no children, were her only lineal descendants.

Mrs. Sumter, whose marriage had been so grievous a disappointment, now took an important place in her mother's affection, and to this long-forgotten daughter Madame de Lage wrote delightful letters, which are treasured to this day by her American grandchildren. In these letters our Marquise, who was essentially a woman of tradition, evidently sought to bridge over years of neglect and separation. She informed her daughter not only of present events, but of a thousand details and incidents concerning her family, anxious that her new world descendants should be fully acquainted with the past glories of the d'Amblimonts and of the de Lage de Volude. When Mrs. Sumter came to Paris, bringing her daughters, Natalie, Bresilia and Marie, the girls remained on a visit to their French grandmother. She seems to have been kind to them, though severe on the subject of "good manners." It was hardly likely that the sturdy young Americans should in every respect come up to the ideals of their "old régime" grandmother. They belonged to a different race and to a different epoch. "My dear," Madame de

Lage wrote to Mrs. Sumter, "I find that your daughters are too much at their ease with you. . . . For pity's sake, do not spoil Bresilia. . . . I send her back to you very gentle, submissive and respectful. . . . Let her remain so."

Bresilia Sumter became Mrs. Brownfield, and died in 1889 at Summerville, surrounded by memorials of her grandmother, to whom she was much attached. One of her sisters, Marie, died in Paris at the age of twenty-two, and another, Natalie, married a French diplomat, the Vicomte de Fontenay.

As years passed by Madame de Lage began to feel the isolation that old age brings in its train. One by one her friends died off and their loss was deeply lamented by one in whose life friendship had filled an important place, so important indeed that her family ties, save that binding her to her mother, appear somewhat sacrificed to "le culte de l'amitie."

This feeling of isolation was not without a beneficial effect on our Marquise's buoyant and restless nature. Suffering seems to have developed her religious convictions that long lay dormant; when sorrow and solitude laid their heavy hand upon her, her spiritual perceptions became keener, her views of life graver, and in her correspondence occur many sentences like the following: "My child, I have prayed a great deal these days."

The increasing unpopularity of Charles X., who, in 1824, had succeeded his brother, Louis XVIII., was an anxiety to our royalist lady; she loved her sovereign with a personal affection, and to her his accession had been a joy beyond words. She therefore noted with pain the symptoms of popular discontent that culminated in the revolution of 1830, a revolution that drove Charles X. into exile and changed the course of her own life.

She now declared that the soil of Paris "burnt her feet" and that she could not live under the government of the "infamous usurper," and in the spring of 1831 she emigrated to Baden, where she spent the last twelve years of her long life. Louis Philippe, be it said to his credit, continued to pay her the annuity which his mother had settled on her, in memory of the Princess de Lamballe.

At Baden the Marquise de Lage enjoyed a unique position. An introduction to her was eagerly sought for and her visitors were fascinated by the Old World atmosphere of her "salon" and by the attractive personality of its mistress.

She kept to the end her vivacity and brilliancy; she was as vehement in her likes and dislikes, as enthusiastic and sensitive, as imaginative and warm-hearted as she had been in her youth. Age had not dulled her perceptions nor diminished her interest in men and things, and her delight in conversation was as keen as ever. She sat,

among the memorials of a vanished past, an interesting and pathetic figure. Close at hand was a clock given to her by the Princess de Lamballe, an exquisite miniature of Marie Antoinette, painted in the heart of a rose, a watch that had belonged to Louis XIV., portraits of her long lost friends and many dainty "bibelots," to which were attached memories of her court life. She was always ready to conjure up the visions of her brilliant or tragic days. "Madame de Lage knows an infinite number of interesting things and speaks of them in an original way," says one of her visitors; "she feels with extraordinary keenness."

Twice during these later years our royalist lady went from Baden to Toeplitz to visit Charles X., who was taking the waters. The old King and his life-long admirer met on the familiar terms of other days; she dined and spent her evenings with his little court, treated by him as a confidential friend. The death of Charles X., in 1836, made her shed bitter tears. "Never was a Prince so tenderly served," she writes to her daughter. "The King's death has done for me. It is the loss of an affectionate interest, the breaking of a strong tie made up of a thousand sweet and sacred links—the respect for authority, the confidence of friendship and the charm of past memories. . . . If you knew how good he was to me!"

The aged royalist's passionate devotion to the Bourbons now transferred itself to the Duc de Bordeaux, the one hope of his ancient race. "I would gladly be killed for that child!" she exclaimed on her deathbed.

The Marquise de Lage died on December 7, 1842, one year after her daughter, Mrs. Sumter. Her end, we are told, was devout and peaceful.

In her will are reflected the affections that filled her heart during life. She desired to be buried in Vendée, among the royalists of that faithful province; her papers and "souvenirs" were left to her grandchildren or to her friends, each bequest being accompanied by explanatory comments that prove how precious to her were the memorials of those whom she had loved during life.

This faithfulness is one of the most attractive traits of Madame de Lage's character; she was no saint, merely a clever, impulsive, brave woman. The secret of her undoubted social triumphs lay in her spontaneous wit and vivacity, that contrasted with the artificial atmosphere in which she was bred. She was often one-sided and prejudiced in her judgments, capricious in her attitude towards her children, and occasionally unjust when even her best beloved ran counter to her wishes. But in circumstances of unusual difficulty and danger she showed a bright good humor and an endurance that are at once charming and estimable. At an epoch when political

apostasies suggested by self-interest were common she proved herself disinterested and faithful to her ideals, and even those to whom those ideals do not appeal cannot but appreciate the pathetic fidelity that never swerved from its allegiance.

BARBARA DE COURSON.

Paris, France.

GLIMPSES OF BRAZIL.

TO land in Bahia is to drop suddenly into another world. We had been nearly two weeks at sea, and cast anchor in the harbor after the record run of the steamer Verdi, of the Lamport & Holt Line. No other steamer is known ever to have made the voyage from New York in so short a time. We arrived a day before the scheduled time.

The voyage had been most pleasant. After the pitching on the long swells off the American coast, for the Verdi rolls little, we crossed the Tropic of Cancer to sail upon summer seas. Captain and officers did all they could to make life agreeable for the passengers, and the doctor, F. R. Warden, helped assiduously to keep up our health and spirits. The voyage resembled all other voyages to the southern hemisphere. There were sports, games and varied amusements to break the monotony; the ever vigilant Neptune paid us his customary visit as we crossed the Equator, and time sped away under happy circumstances. The North Star had long set to rise no more, and the Southern Cross was shining in the heavens when we neared the coast of South America. Closer and closer we approached to the shore, after passing Pernambuco in the distance, until we could see the houses and the trees on the land. Finally, on the afternoon of May 3, we entered the bay of Bahia. With the fiery sky of the tropics overhead and the blue-green waters beneath, our ship steamed on, while a splendid panorama opened before us. Parallel with our course rose the point of La Barra, beneath which a deserted battery and above which the large Church of San Antonio de la Barra drew our attention. Turning the point, we had the city before us, where churches innumerable raised their steeples to the sky. In fact, the most striking objects in Bahia are its churches.

The first thing done when our anchor had gone rattling down to the bottom was the reception of the officials. They came in two launches, the doctor and his staff in one and the police in another. These visits completed, we began to go ashore. A number of sail-

boats manned by Negroes were tossing about at the foot of the ladder, with the boatmen crying at the top of their voices for passengers. A quick and very satisfactory bargain, and I sat in my boat with a party of gentlemen, to be wafted ashore over the pleasant waters, past steamships and square-rigged vessels and through a crowd of small boats and lighters. Three-quarters of an hour passed and we stepped on land.

Unfortunately we had only a few hours to skim the surface of the city, and so the impressions came tumbling over each other into my mind.

The population of Bahia is about 300,000, the vast majority of which is colored. I am told that the Negro population amounts to eighty per cent. This was confirmed by experience, for there were Negroes and mulattoes in picturesque costumes everywhere, while those who seemed to be white might be counted on the fingers. Brazil was one of the great slave-holding countries in the world, and slavery existed there longer than anywhere else in the Western Hemisphere. It is only a few years since it was abolished.

Notwithstanding some modern improvements, such as electric cars, electric lights and elevators, Bahia, the third largest city in Brazil, has best preserved its old colonial character. Many of its churches bear an air of antiquity with the old Spanish Renaissance style dating back to the early colonial epoch. The streets are narrow, the houses massive, with a number of arched buildings. In spite of its squalid appearance, the city is said to be most healthy, and many of the inhabitants are long lived. It is divided into two parts, the upper and the lower town, the latter stretching out along the water front, with its landing places, its stores and its markets. Quaint old stone stairs lead upward, and these in days gone by must have been one of the means of reaching the upper town. To-day the spirit of the modern era has struck the city. Electric cars, built in Philadelphia, remind one of home. Two inclined railways scale the heights and two large elevators of Otis manufacture render the ascent easy. There is also a residential section of the city which time did not permit me to visit.

We were struck by the unobtrusive character of the people. There were no would-be guides, no impertinent venders of curios. We were scarcely noticed or looked at, but when spoken to every one was most polite and affable. Some of the party did a little shopping, but though I had a general theoretical knowledge of Brazilian money, I grew confused when it became necessary to put it into practice, and the constant use of hundreds and thousands upset me. I paid fifteen hundred reis to go ashore. The sum sounds big, but it was only about forty-five cents. A postal card

costs one hundred reis, or between three and four cents, and so on. Bahia is the centre of the tobacco industry, besides a brisk trade in diamonds and in whale oil. Adjacent as it is to the whaling grounds, it sends out its whaleboats during the season to bring in the great monsters of the deep. A great deal of business is in the hands of Germans. There is also an English colony, but Americans are few.

Of course, the religious and moral condition of the place interested me. Had time permitted, I would have visited the churches and would have interviewed the priests. As it was, though there were churches all around me and the sweet sound of their evening bells fell upon my ears, I might visit one only—the Cathedral—to thank God for my safe journey over the seas. Bahia is the seat of an Archbishop, and his Cathedral, to which I will later devote my attention, deserves a visit. I did not meet a single priest in the streets, though churches were everywhere.

My object in my travels is Spanish, not Portuguese America, hence I cannot pose as a student either of its literature, its manners or its history. I can barely record my impressions and relate what I saw and heard. In the short time at my disposal I saw much and heard a little. Had I been one-sided or had Providence not arranged it thus that I might listen to both sides, I might have left the place with very wrong notions.

My first informant was one of the Negro boatmen, who spoke a little broken English, but with whom I managed to communicate in Spanish. He volunteered the information that there were three hundred churches in Bahia; that they were very rich, and the important occupation of the priests was to make money. One of my fellow passengers remarked that this burden did not appear to weigh very heavily on him.

We had with us Mr. Warner, the newly appointed Consul of the United States to Bahia, and as we went in quest of the Consulate, then in charge of the Vice Consul, I met with a young man, quite polite and affable, who pointed out the way and with whom I engaged in a somewhat prolonged conversation in French. He told me that he was a student. As the talk drifted to religious matters he expressed the opinion that Catholicity in Bahia was dead, and that the only religion in the place was atheism. He said that the number of churches was so great that some believed that there might be one for every day in the year. The priests, he added, were merely engaged in making money. Here, then, were two witnesses, a Negro boatman and a university student. They gave me a gloomy view of the situation, and had I heard none but them I would have gone away with an impression most unfavorable. I fear that some

travelers might have been content with this testimony, and that they would have drawn general conclusions from these *ex parte* witnesses to the extreme detriment of religion.

Now it so happened that several Brazilian passengers came on board our steamer at Bahia. I managed to strike up an acquaintance with one of them and obtained from him much information. There seemed to be no bias in his mind in favor of the Brazilian clergy; in fact, he even praised the Protestants at the expense of his own countrymen. Yet his testimony was directly opposed to that of the boatman and the student. He positively denied the assertion regarding the prevalence of atheism, and asserted that Catholicism universally prevailed, and that the churches were frequented. Of course, as everywhere else, there are unbelievers of all kinds, but Catholicism is the religion of the people, and the priests generally perform their duties well. Among them are a number of foreign clergymen.

I was also fortunate enough to obtain a copy of a Bahia newspaper, the *Jornal de Noticias*, through the kindness of Mr. Mueller, the Vice Consul. A careful study of this paper gave me a glimpse of the life of the people, social, political and religious.

As regards their religion there is no doubt that exercises of piety are indicative of the fact that it is not dead. I find that in many churches and institutions the exercises of the month of May are held, either at Mass in the morning or in the afternoon at different hours from two o'clock until six. Among the chapels and churches special mention is made of the private chapel of Senhor Joao Taveres da Silva, where the devotions of the month of Mary were inaugurated with great solemnity, and a well filled chapel with decorations of the altar and the glare of electric lights, ladies singing the hymns with harmonious accompaniment. The paper congratulates Senhor Taveres for thus honoring the Blessed Virgin. A few days before our arrival the Typographical Association of Bahia celebrated its thirty-ninth anniversary, the solemnities beginning with a Mass celebrated in the Church of San Pedro dos Clerigos, a band of the police regiment furnishing the music and playing the Brazilian air at the "Sanctus."

I find in the same paper two columns of names of residents of Bahia, by a rough calculation amounting to five hundred. They are all of men in different walks of life, political, social and commercial. The list is headed by a State Senator. These signatures are affixed to a petition addressed to an ecclesiastical superior, begging that the Father Vicar, Antonio Cyro do Valle, should not be transferred to another place, because he is necessary to their parish of "A Cruz das Almas é Sapé" and because he is universally admired for his virtues

as a man and as a priest. Surely these five hundred signatures show that some interest in religion exists in Bahia and that priests are admired for their virtues. We learn also that the Society of the Apostolate of Prayer had forwarded a similar petition with 301 signatures.

That a certain amount of piety exists among the people, which, of course, our intelligent American visitors might designate as superstition, is shown by the stores of religious articles one meets. They are far from being artistic, these rude statuettes, but they speak volumes. Then, as you walk along the streets and hear the beggars imploring alms in the name of "Maria Imacolada," you are reminded that atheism has not succeeded in eradicating all sentiments of that Catholic poetry which our fathers knew and which the Middle Ages have bequeathed to us.

From what I can learn, an intellectual atmosphere once existed at Bahia, which appears to have somewhat decreased of late, though it still manifests itself by the discussions of learned societies and by public lectures. The question of cremation is now agitating the popular mind of the State of Bahia.

On the day I sailed from New York, April 20, an article appeared in the *Sun* concerning the views of Mr. William J. Bryan on "Missions" in South America expressed before the Board of Presbyterian Missions. The distinguished gentleman had just returned from a visit to South America, traveling in a direction opposite to the one I am following. Our good ship the *Verdi* had brought him up from Bahia to Barbados.

We know that for some years the Protestants have been carrying the war into Africa, and that among many countries they have been bringing the Gospel to the "benighted" peoples of South America. Thus far I have not come in touch with them, but by the time this article appears I shall most likely know more. Following the method I have prescribed to myself, I shall always draw the line between what I have heard and what I have seen.

I have heard that they are carrying on an active propaganda in Bahia among the lower white class, and to a small extent in the better class, by means of their Sunday sermons and Thursday conferences and by literature which they spread around. The missionaries, gentlemen as they are, make themselves respected by the natives, and though a few years ago Protestantism was unknown in Bahia, it has made a number of converts. I repeat that I have this merely on hearsay. However, I am of the opinion that it is a fallacy and a most dangerous error to rest on our oars and let matters take their course in the belief that Protestantism will never succeed in Latin countries. We cannot keep the faith in people merely by the ringing

of church bells and external observances. These may act upon the feelings, as Emilio Castelar was tenderly recalled to the memory of his early years by the sight of St. Peter's dome from the Monte Pincio, and as even a Byron was affected by the bells of the "Ave Maria" at "the hour of prayer." But the emotions pass. The people in all countries need instruction, for ignorance can never be proof against seduction. I am told that the clergy in Bahia give catechetical instructions, but to what extent I know not. I am sure they must have their hands full with the immense Negro population they have to cope with, the residuum of the slave trade, of which Bahia was at one time the centre.

I am now going to relate an incident that was of the greatest interest to me. Strange to say, nearly everywhere I have been—in Holland, Belgium, Germany, Spain and Italy—I have met with memories of the "old" Society of Jesus as it existed before the suppression. Surely that society has left its impress upon the world, and were it still extinct, it would be remembered by its monuments. I did not think on landing at Bahia that one of the first objects that would rivet my attention would be a monument of the Jesuits.

In our search for the American Consulate we passed through a large square, upon which stood an imposing edifice united to a church. I soon discovered that the building was that of the medical faculty. But the church? Above the main door of the façade stood a statue of St. Ignatius, and in the wall a slab dedicated to the seventeenth century Jesuit, Father Antonio Vieira, one of the classical writers of Brazil, whose centenary was celebrated at Bahia some time ago. Was this then the church of the Jesuits, and had they perhaps charge of the medical college? The front doors were closed, but I decided to investigate. Above the entrance to the part of the building immediately adjoining the church I read the inscription, "Colegio de S. Paulo." This, then, must be the Jesuit college, I concluded, and passed in through the open door expecting to see the Brother porter and to inquire of him where I might find the American Consulate. But all was as silent as the tomb. A long and deserted corridor stretched its gloomy perspective before me. Not a being was in sight; not a sound could I hear. A door on my left was ajar. I pushed it open and walked in, and the golden splendor of a magnificent church buried in solemn gloom burst upon me. In a far-off chapel flickered a feeble light. I dropped upon my knees to thank God for our safe journey. I had no time to investigate further, for my companions were outside, and I did not want to lose them. At a glance, however, I had noticed that the entrance to the pulpit was from the rear, reminding me of that of the Gesu, in Philadelphia. But was this, then, the church of the

Jesuits? My further inquiries resulted in the information that the church I had entered is now the cathedral, but that at one time it was the church of the society. A portion of the building of the present faculty of medicine was once their college. So here I stood in presence of the work of Pombal. As the memory of that gorgeous church remains engraved on my memory I cannot help thinking of the barbarous cruelties practiced by Pombal and Arauda on the men who at one time were the great educators of Latin America, and the illustrious names of whom will last forever in the history of its literature. Bahia possesses also an old Franciscan convent of the early colonial period, known especially for its artistic paintings on Dutch tiles. I had, unfortunately, no time to see it.

Darkness fell upon us at sunset with that suddenness so characteristic of the tropics, and when we had pushed off from the shore to return to our ocean home the Southern Cross was in the sky. The electric lights of Bahia fell back as those of the Verdi grew brighter. Indistinct lay the dark hulls of the vessels in the harbor. The rattling of the anchor chain of a French liner told us she was getting under way. Our Verdi blew her whistle to call us home, and in a few hours we were steaming on to Rio Janeiro.

Before reaching Bahia the coast of Brazil is visible for a day or more, but between that city and Rio de Janeiro and, in fact, until the vicinity of Montevideo is approached, very little of the coast is seen. The bay of Rio de Janeiro, with its mountains on all sides and its characteristic "Sugar Loaf," is famed as one of the finest harbors of the world. Of course, tastes differ. As to myself, I prefer the Bay of Naples. Yet there is no doubt of it, the Bay of Rio de Janeiro is beautiful. As we entered it in the early morning we were rejoiced by the sight of the American flag flying from our man-o'-war, the North Carolina. From Bahia to Santos we saw the English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Dutch and Brazilian flags, but this was the only occasion we might greet on the seas that flag so dear that reminded of home and which years ago was seen in every port of the world. So small is our traffic with South America that while one may proceed via England, France, Holland, Germany, Spain or Italy, there are only two lines carrying passengers from the United States, the Lamport & Holt, the passenger service of which is of comparatively recent development, and the Lloyd Brasileiro, an unimportant Brazilian line. Our influence in South America amounts to little, though in Brazil more than anywhere on the east coast. English capital is everywhere operating railroads and other industries, while German commerce is prominent, but the United States remains in the background. I am told, however, that since the visit of Mr. Root a great change has taken place, and a Brazilian

newspaperman did not hesitate to assert to me that American capital is beginning to pour into Brazil. From all that I can learn, Mr. Root made an excellent impression.

To return to Rio Janeiro, I must say that this beautiful city, situated as it is just at the edge of the tropics, is a dream, and its main street, the Avenida Central, would be an ornament to any city of the world. The heat of the tropics does not appear to interfere with the industry of its inhabitants, for it is teeming with life. The streets of Brazilian cities are filled with pedestrians, but the absence of well-dressed ladies may, perhaps, be noted. The ladies in Brazil keep indoors a great deal, I am told, though in Rio they may be seen abroad in the late afternoon when it grows cool.

Old Rio, with its narrow, picturesque streets, is disappearing and a new Rio, quite modern, is developing. Yet even this new Rio is beautiful and artistic, for if the Anglo-Saxon often sacrifices the beautiful to his utilitarian instincts, in the Latin the "æsthetic" is never lost sight of. Rio has no skyscrapers, for the Brazilians do not like high edifices. The highest building is probably the new edifice of the newspaper on the Avenida, the *Jornal do Brazil*, one of the most important papers of the country. I observed in the city of Sao Paolo that nearly all the houses are low, very many of them being of one story. This is true even of the aristocratic residences on the fashionable Avenida. There are many streets in Sao Paolo which, with their low houses, give an idea of what Pompeii must have been.

In the harbor of Rio ships still anchor some distance from the shore, but docks are now in process of construction, and it will not be long before one may step from his vessel to the land. As I approached the landing place in the launch of the Lamport & Holt Company I observed the dome of the "Candelaria," the finest church in Rio, which is said to be also one of the most beautiful of South America. I lost it, however, in the maze of narrow streets when I had landed. On the other hand, I observed a very conspicuous building with a church on the summit of a hill, to which a broad flight of stairs led. Thither I directed my steps, little dreaming that I was to find there the most delightful hospitality. Almost breathless from the ascent and from the tropical heat, I reached the square in front of the church, where an officer was drilling a number of boys in uniform. I therefore concluded that I was at a military college. Entering the church, I found by the epitaph of its foundress that it dated from the seventeenth century. It proved to be the church of a Benedictine abbey. My reception was most cordial by the whole community, which consists of a number of nationalities. The abbot was absent in Europe, but as my good

fortune would have it, the Apostolic Nuncio, Mgr. Bavona, and the abbot of Sao Paulo arrived that day, and from both I received all possible marks of kindness. The latter, Dom Miguel Kruse, had spent some years in the United States. He gave up a great part of his day to me and furnished me opportunities of seeing Rio de Janeiro which I otherwise would not have had.

The Monastery of San Bento, perched on the hills above the harbor, has in revolutions of the past been used as a fortress, whence the guns could command the lower town. It has passed through the vicissitudes of the country, but now its once deserted cloisters again reëcho the voices of prayer, and within its halls the Brazilian youth enjoy the benefits of a Catholic education. The courtyard of the abbey, with its tropical features, offers a picture that will not easily be forgotten. From one of the windows of the abbey, on a far-off hill, may be seen the old Jesuit college, now a military hospital.

The Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro, Cardinal Alcoverde Cavalcanti de Albuquerque, is the only Cardinal in South America. His cathedral, rather small for such a large city, was once the church of the imperial family. The most prominent church in Rio de Janeiro is that of the Candelaria, a parish church belonging to one of the "Ormandaes," or brotherhoods of the city. These "brotherhoods" are a Brazilian institution which serves to link the laity to the Church, even though their independence sometimes brings them into conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities.

Rio de Janeiro, the capital, it need not be said, is the most important city of Brazil, with a population of about 800,000. Santos is one of its most prominent ports and the largest coffee exporting city in the world. Ships of all nations may be seen moored to the docks at Santos, loading and unloading, while freight trains are running to and fro, hydraulic derricks are swinging immense boxes or pieces of machinery and immigrants are disembarking. Santos is situated on a bay between two mountain ranges, the "Serra do Mar." The town itself is perfectly flat, the most prominent object being the chapel of Montserrat, on the heights beyond the town. Not many years ago Santos was the dread of mariners, infested as it was by yellow fever; but Brazil has made immense strides in hygiene, and to-day yellow fever has disappeared from Rio de Janeiro and from Santos. Visitors need no longer be alarmed. The day has passed when whole ships' crews were killed off by the yellow fever in the harbor of Santos.

At Santos you may take the train for Sao Paulo, the second city of Brazil. The railroad will take you through one of the most beautiful sections of tropical mountain scenery it is possible to

imagine. Through numerous tunnels you pass, over bridges you roll across ravines that make you dizzy, while verdant heights tower over you and tropical vegetation surrounds you on all sides. At some points you behold the clouds down in the valley far beneath you, or you plunge into their foggy depths. At some distance from Santos the train is pulled up the heights by a cable for a number of miles until Alto da Serra is reached, when the descent begins. The Sao Paulo railroad, which is operated by an English company and pays large dividends, has performed some wonderful feats of engineering skill. Its main stations are truly beautiful, and the one at Sao Paulo may compare favorably with our best depots in the United States.

Sao Paulo lies at an elevation of 2,000 feet. Though outside of the tropics, its vegetation is truly tropical. The heat is moderated by the altitude, and the mornings and evenings are cool. The whole State of Sao Paulo is devoted to coffee raising, and the city possesses great wealth. While our steamer lay at Santos I ran up to Sao Paulo, where I spent the night at the Benedictine abbey. The energetic abbot, Dom Miguel Kruse, is building up one of the finest colleges in Brazil. Sao Paulo, with its polytechnic institute, its normal school, the Ladies of Sion, the American school and the Mackenzie Institute, is an important educational centre.

As to religion, there is a new Brazil as much as in politics and in material prosperity. The Catholicity of the colonial period has left its monuments in the old churches, nearly all in the style of the Renaissance of the period. But religion in Brazil had declined, and the abomination of desolation was prevailing in the holy place. I could not begin to tell you of the utter deterioration of religion which once existed. All this I learned since leaving Bahia. Then came the change, one of the most wonderful changes recorded in ecclesiastical history, and all within a period of twenty years. The empire fell—it was a Providence of God—and the State ceased to meddle with the Church. Breathing the atmosphere of freedom, the Church expanded, and to-day she finds herself in a most flourishing condition. The impulse is due to that great statesman, that noble Pontiff, that Leo XIII., whose eagle eye never ceased to scan the horizon. He sent Cardinal Gotti to Brazil, the reformation began in earnest. The old religious orders were nearly extinct; their ranks were recruited from Europe. The old Benedictine abbeys arose from their tomb, while the Carmelites and Franciscans, equally recruited from abroad, were born anew. Other orders, like the Praemonstratensians, Dominicans, Jesuits, Redemptorists, Salesians and Spanish Fathers of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, came to share in the good work, and to-day numerous foreign religious—German, Italian, Spanish, Dutch and Belgian—are laboring zealously in this portion

of the Lord's vineyard. The hierarchy has increased from less than ten to nearly forty Bishops, all of them excellent men. The secular clergy, too, is doing good work in the parochial ministry and gaining the respect of the people. A number of them are educated in Rome. Priests are the great need of Brazil, for vocations, especially among the better classes, are scarce and seminaries are few. For instance, there is one seminary for the whole province of Sao Paulo, with a small number of students. Should matters continue to advance and no untoward events occur, the Brazilian Church has now an era of prosperity ahead of her. Freemasonry is widespread, it is true, but it is not of the intensely hostile character of France or Italy, and thus far the Church is not hindered by the government. Perhaps the greatest danger lies in the possible increase of an anti-foreign sentiment, but as Brazil is a federal republic, each State being autonomous, it is not likely that persecution, should it break out in one State, would become general.

Brazil has made great advances since the fall of the empire. The climate is, perhaps, a drawback, but it is an obstacle that may be overcome. The resources of the country are unlimited. Its area is immense, but it needs population. If an enlightened government will not only hold out first inducements to immigration, but also continue its protection of foreign enterprises, eliminating all sources of fear to investors, there is no reason why Brazil may not become the foremost country of Latin America.

It is strange that while in Spanish America universities have existed from a very early period, Brazil has no university. There are faculties of law and of medicine, but no institution to give other degrees in theology, philosophy or letters. However, it is quite probable that the day is not far distant when a good university will be established.

The normal school at Sao Paulo owes its initiative to an American lady. The Mackenzie College, in the same city, has been carrying on educational work for years. Of late the American College and the Mackenzie Institute no longer teach religion, and many families stipulate in sending their children to them that no religion is to be taught. The danger in institutions of the kind for the youth of Brazil does not lie so much in the Protestantizing tendency as in the fact that indifferentism toward religion is increased. Many may be robbed of their Catholicity, but few, if any, will be made Protestants. Still, as I have said, converts are made, and the editor of an influential newspaper in Brazil is one of these. The only way to neutralize influences antagonistic to Catholicity is to instruct the Brazilian youth, as the Benedictines and others are doing. The Salesian Fathers in Sao Paulo are also conducting a large industrial

school for poor boys, and there are several schools for girls under the care of Sisterhoods.

I regret that my time in Brazil was so limited, but these lines may suggest further studies to others. An American priest, Father Caton, is teaching in the College of San Pento, at Sao Paulo, and I trust that some day he may add to our knowledge of the country. There is room for an exhaustive book on Brazil, published in a more convenient form than "New Brazil," by Marie Robinson Whright, which contains much information.

CHARLES WARREN CURRIER.

Washington, D. C.

AN INTERESTING CENTENARY.

THE approaching centenary of the introduction of the Irish Ursuline nuns into the United States revives the memory of an Irishwoman who contributed largely to the educational uplifting of the masses in her native land and to the extension of Catholic education on a religious basis in both hemispheres.

In 1810 the Very Rev. Dr. Koleman, V. G., of New York, proposed to the Ursuline community in Cork, founded by Nano Nagle, to establish a branch of their order in the Empire City. The nuns took no active steps towards the execution of the project until it was a second time submitted to their consideration in the following year. It opened up a very promising prospect for the development of their order and its work. A fine mansion in the midst of a beautiful park adjacent to the city was to be placed at their disposal, while the existence of a Jesuit college in the neighborhood was assumed to be a sufficient guarantee that their spiritual requirements would be well looked after. It was further stipulated that they would be put to no expense, and that they would be at liberty to return to Ireland, if they thought fit to do so, on the same conditions. Three of the community—Sister M. de Chantal Walsh, Sister M. Anne Fagan and Sister M. Paul Baldwin—were assigned to the new mission. Leaving Cork early in March, 1812, they sailed from Dublin on the 19th in the brig Erin. The days of ocean steamers, Atlantic grayhounds and luxurious liners, bringing two continents into closer proximity by means of floating palaces, which have improved away the perils and discomforts of traveling, were as yet far off. Before they had quite cleared Dublin Bay the vessel narrowly escaped being wrecked on a sandbank, and when they were nearing Newfoundland

they discovered one morning that they had been sailing all night in proximity to an immense iceberg rising four hundred feet above the sea level, which, if it had collided with their frail craft, would have shattered it to pieces. Placing themselves under the protection of Our Lady Star of the Sea, they reached New York safely on April 9, 1812, after a voyage of twenty days. Cordially greeted by Dr. Koleman, after a brief delay they took possession of their convent at Bloomingdale, within six miles of New York. They had been led to hope that their ranks would be recruited by American ladies sure to embrace their institute, but their hopes were deceived. Other disillusionments awaited them. Though their schools were rapidly filled, many of the pupils being Protestants, they completely failed to render these very self-assertive youth amenable to discipline. They missed, too, the religious consolations familiar and accessible to them in Ireland. Though living within six miles of the city, they were often whole weeks without an opportunity of hearing Mass, dependent on the casual visit of some priest who might happen to call on his way to a station of his mission. The little pioneer band got discouraged and hopeless, and were ultimately recalled to Ireland in 1815, failing to found a permanent mission during their sojourn of over three years. They found it very difficult to secure a passage, as all the vessels available were pressed into the service of the government to convey troops to check the progress of Napoleon, who had escaped from Elba and started on that last mad campaign which ended in his downfall. Dr. Burke, V. G., of Quebec, aided by two wealthy Irish Catholics, had to charter for the nuns' exclusive use a vessel which, sailing from Halifax, reached Cork on August 13. Thus ended the first abortive attempt of the spiritual children of Nano Nagle to gain a foothold on American soil.¹

¹ Though this was the first foundation sent to America by the Irish Ursulines, the order had already been established there through the missionary zeal of the French daughters of St. Angela Merici. As far back as the seventeenth century a colony of Ursulines from Bordeaux established themselves in Quebec, and were subsequently joined by Sisters from the congregation of Paris. When Canada was annexed by Great Britain, the Quebec Ursulines, fearing the hostility of the invaders, fled for a time from their convent, but returned shortly afterwards. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the community sent out a second colony to Boston. Another branch was established in New Orleans, and when the British troops were forced by General Jackson to retire from that city, by their unremitting attentions to the sick and wounded, earned the warmest thanks of the President of the Republic. An interesting relic of the pioneer period of the order in America is preserved in the gardens of the Quebec convent—an old ash tree, the sole survivor of the forest primeval, beneath which the foundress of the house, the Venerable Mother Mary of the Incarnation, styled by Bossuet "the Teresa of New France," used to sit while teaching the mysteries of the faith to the savage Hurons two hundred and seventy years ago. The Ursuline convent which once existed at Charlestown, near

A descendant of one of the most ancient Anglo-Norman families in Ireland, the progenitor of which came over with Strongbow in 1169 and won for himself and his sons titles and territories, Nano Nagle belonged to the branch which settled near Mallow, on the banks of southern Blackwater, and counted among its most notable members Sir Richard Nagle, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in 1689, and his brother, Pierce Nagle, High Sheriff of Cork in 1688—the last Catholic who had held that office before O'Connell achieved the emancipation of Catholic Ireland. She was born at Ballygriffin, in the County of Cork, in 1728, the daughter of Garret Nagle, and related through her mother, one of the Mathews of Thomastown, to the famous Irish Capuchin, Father Theobald Mathew, the Apostle of Temperance; was first cousin to Edmund Burke, the most philosophical of British statesmen, whose father, Richard Burke, married a daughter of Patrick Nagle, of Shanballyduff; and could also claim kinship with the poet Spenser, for while the author of the "Fairy Queen" lived at Kilcolman Castle, near Doneraile, his eldest son, Sylvanus, espoused Ellen Nagle, eldest daughter of David Nagle, of Monanimy. The southern Nagles have not only written their names large in Irish history, but have linked it with a range of mountains—the Nagle Mountains—which overlook the beautiful valley of the Blackwater, the "swift Anniduff" and "Mulla mine" of Spenser, and "the Irish Rhine" now much frequented and admired by the ubiquitous tourist. It is a land as storied as it is picturesque. "From her windows," says her biographer, Rev. Dr. Hutch,² "she could see the venerable oaks waving around Carrigacunna Castle, and the sacred ruins of Monanimy, still peopled in her fancy with the weird old legends and traditions of the Knights Templars."

Not much is related of her earliest years, an epoch some biographers love to linger over, discerning, or fancying they discern therein foreglimpses of the future. She seems to have been an ordinarily good child of a vivacious temperament, and when her mother endeavored to check her youthful sallies her father would interpose and say that "his poor Nano would be a saint yet." Born at a time when Catholic education for Catholic children was pro-

Boston, was, on the night of Monday, August 11, 1834, burnt, wrecked and pillaged by fanatics during the Know-Nothing agitation, its innocent and defenseless inmates narrowly escaping perishing in the flames. The mission was founded in 1818 by two Limerick ladies, pupils of the Ursulines of Thurles, at the instance of the Rev. John Thayer, a converted Presbyterian minister and a native of Boston, and Bishop Cheverus, afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux. They were the daughters of Mr. James Ryan, and were joined by their youngest sister and cousin, Catherine Molyneux. The Charlestown convent was built in 1826.

² "Nano Nagle: Her Life, Her Labors, and Their Fruits," by William Hutch, D. D., p. 6.

scribed, when there was no alternative between running the risk of apostasy in a Protestant school or sending them abroad, which only the moneyed classes could afford to do, she was sent to a convent in Paris, where some of her relatives had formed part of the suite of the dethroned and exiled Stuart, James II.; for the Nagles were as ardent royalists as they were staunch Catholics, Sir Richard Nagle having followed his sovereign into exile after the battle of the Boyne, forfeiting thereby nearly five thousand acres in the baronies of Fermoy and Duhallow and considerable estates in Waterford.

Out of evil cometh good. The penal laws—a code which Edmund Burke described as “a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment and degradation of a people as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man”—a code designed to stamp out Catholicity and make Catholic education in Ireland impossible, then in full force, which drove her to seek such education abroad, led to her becoming an instrument in the hands of Providence to foil that iniquitous design, to be the foundress of an order which was to foster the ancient faith and bring education on strictly Catholic lines within the reach of a people long socially and intellectually enslaved.

It was during her sojourn in Paris occurred the incident which was the turning point in her life—her religious vocation. One beautiful spring morning, her biographer relates, while most of the Parisians were asleep, and such as were not hastened to enjoy the needful repose after the gayeties and dissipation of the preceding night, Nano Nagle found herself in a well-appointed carriage which rumbled along the pavement of the Faubourg St. Germain. She was returning from a ball; the voluptuous music still sounded in her ears, the gay throng of pleasure’s votaries still kept flitting across her brain; and the recollection of the soft flatteries she had listened to made her breast heave and her heart beat more quickly, as she hastened home to rest her weary limbs and prepare, it may be, for a similar round of pleasures on the morrow. In passing a church which lay along her route she glanced out of the carriage window and saw congregated on the steps a number of poor working people, who had assembled there at that early hour that they might avail themselves of the opportunity of assisting at the first Mass and asking God’s blessing on their daily toil. That sight was as an arrow of grace shot through the heart of Nano Nagle. She contrasted the position of these poor work people with her own, as they stood relatively in the sight of God. *They* seeking the *one thing* necessary, *she* a slave to the perishable world; *they* fervent in their piety, *she* tepid and all but cold; *they* devoting the early morning to the worship of their Creator, preparatory to a day of useful labor, *she* devot-

ing the same hours to indolent repose, to be succeeded by an afternoon of purposeless, if not sinful frivolities. The contrast was too striking, and in her own heart was she forced to confess that the poor laborers were walking in the right path, and that she, the belle of the salons of Paris, was treading in the ways that lead to perdition. Grace nurtured the seed that it had sown in the breast of Nano Nagle, and she at once resolved to bid adieu to the world and its pleasures and devote the remainder of her life to the service of God.*

The Ireland to which she returned about 1750 was very different from the Ireland of to-day. It was an Ireland in which "the peasant scarce had leave to live," when the tiller of the soil had "no tenure but a tyrant's will," when Catholics,

Forbid to plead,
Forbid to read,
Disarmed, disfranchised, imbecile,

lived like helots in their own land; when all the concessions granted to them by the Treaty of Limerick, "broken ere yet the ink where-with 'twas writ could dry," had been revoked; when "Papists" were prohibited to teach school, either publicly or privately, under a penalty of £20 fine and three months' imprisonment, or parents to send their children abroad to be educated, under the penalty of forfeiting all right to sue in the law courts, deprivation of all goods and lands for life and inability to be guardian, executor or administrator or to take a legacy or receive a deed of gift; when Catholics had been disarmed and priests banished from the kingdom, under penalty of being hanged should they attempt to return; when "the ferocious Acts of Anne," as Edmund Burke stigmatized them, provided that "all converts in public employments, members of Parliament, barristers, attorneys or officers of any courts of law, shall educate their children Protestants;" when a Catholic could not even be usher in a Protestant school, and a reward of £10 was offered for the discovery of each "Popish" schoolmaster or usher; when any magistrate might summon before him any "Papist" of eighteen years, and if he refused to disclose the residence of a Catholic priest or schoolmaster, commit him to prison for twelve months, without the option of bail, or fine him £20; when, in 1759, the Irish Chancellor authoritatively declared from the bench that "the laws did not presume a Papist to exist in the kingdom, nor could they breathe without the connivance of government." Of this atrocious tyranny Edmund Burke wrote: "While this restraint upon foreign and domestic education was part of a horrible and impious system of servitude, the members were well fitted to the body. To render men patient under a deprivation of all the rights of human nature, everything which could give them

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 11, 12.

a knowledge or feeling of those rights was rationally forbidden. To render humanity fit to be insulted, it was fit that it should be degraded. Indeed, I have ever thought that the prohibition of the means of improving our rational nature to be the worst species of tyranny that the insolence and perverseness of mankind ever dared to exercise."⁴ Although the severity with which it was exercised was relaxed during the Viceroyalty of the Earl of Chesterfield (1745-1747), when to conciliate the downtrodden Irish they were permitted to open their obscure chapels, hidden in byways, for public worship—a concession extorted by the alarm aroused by the Stuart revolt in Scotland, which did not imply the revocation of any of the penal laws, still unrepealed—the laws against education continued as stringent as ever. It was only in 1782—the year of the Volunteers and the Dungannon Convention—that Catholics were legally authorized to teach school.⁵ Meanwhile, the mass of the Catholics had to get their education by stealth or at some hedge school, where

—stretched on mountain fern
The pupil and his teacher met, feloniously to learn.

Their condition was deplorable. Touched by it, Miss Nagle wished to do something to ameliorate their lot. She found them sunk in enforced ignorance, not through their fault, but through the State's neglect of one of its fundamental duties. She saw how great and urgent were their educational needs, and wished to supply them, but she was confronted by the risk of infringing the laws of William and Anne, still in force, which might involve her relatives in pains and penalties and afford a pretext for further persecution. Despairing of being able to do anything, she resolved to leave Ireland and seek admittance into a foreign convent, and for that purpose returned to France. Still the idea of bringing relief to the persecuted children of her race pursued her, and taking counsel with a Jesuit, to whom she opened her mind, he told her God willed her to return to Ireland and labor for the instruction and sanctification of the poor. Others whom she consulted were of the same view as her spiritual director. "Nothing," she wrote to her friend, Miss Fitzsimons (July 17, 1769), "would have made me come home but the decision of the clergymen that I should run a great risk of salvation if I did not follow the inspiration." Her own decision was the result of a simple incident which points its own moral and shows the importance and force of good example. Her father having died during her absence in Paris, on her return she joined her mother and sister, who were then sojourning in Dublin. One day she asked her pious sister to get made up a splendid silk dress, the materials

⁴ Letter to a peer in Ireland, quoted by Dr. Hutch, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁵ Twenty-first and twenty-second George III., c. 62.

for which she had purchased in Paris. She often said she was never so edified or astonished as when her sister disclosed to her in confidence that she had disposed of the silk for the purpose of relieving a distressed family. This circumstance, together with the death of this sister soon afterwards, wrought so powerfully on the heart of Miss Nagle as perfectly to disengage it from the fashionable world, which she tasted so much of and enjoyed until then. She frequently in after years remarked to her Sisters in religion that it was this trifling occurrence which fixed her determination to devote the remainder of her life to God in the service of the poor.^a

Her resolve was no sooner taken than she set to work. There is a conflict of opinion among her biographers as to whether she began in Dublin or Cork. Bishop Coppinger, her first biographer and to some extent her contemporary, states that she opened her first school in Dublin, but Dr. Hutch avers that the evidence which would give to Cork the honor of Miss Nagle's first school is overwhelming and rests mainly on her own written testimony.

Cork in her time was as different from Cork at present as the Ireland of her day and ours. It sadly needed a reforming hand, and it was the gentle hand of a delicate lady that reformed it. As contemporary records depict it, its ill-kept streets were the scene of daily and nightly turbulence. Faction fights—a relic or reminder of the old tribal conflicts—were of frequent occurrence. Rioting had become so common that in 1769 it was not safe for any person to stand at his door without some weapon of defense. Cock-fighting and bull-baiting were carried on in open day. There were no police, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the City Sheriffs, with the aid of the military stationed in guard houses, preserved any semblance of law and order, often set at defiance by the unruly populace. In addition to this, the drink habit, which affected all classes in days when hard drinking was the rage, added fuel to fire in fanning the flame of disorder and demoralizing the community.

For a weak woman to try and stem the tide of corruption seemed Quixotic; it was like cleansing the Augean stables. But though weak in body, she was strong in spirit, and her spirituality strengthened her will-power. Nothing could give a better idea of the woman and her work than the simple, unadorned language in which she relates its humble beginning in a letter to Miss Fitzsimons on July 17, 1769. "When I arrived," she writes, "I kept my design a profound secret, as I knew if it were spoken of I should meet with opposition on every side, particularly from my own immediate family, as to all appearances they would suffer from it. My confessor was the only person I told of it, and as I could not appear in the affair,

^a *Annals S. P. Convent, Cork*, note, pp. 3, 4, 5.

I sent my maid to get a good mistress and to take in thirty poor girls. When the little school was settled I used to steal there in the morning. My brother thought I was at the chapel. This passed on very well until one day a poor man came to him to beg of him to speak to me to take his child into my school, on which he came in to his wife and me, laughing at the conceit of a man who was mad and thought I was in the situation of a schoolmistress. Then I owned that I had set up a school, on which he fell into a violent passion and said a vast deal on the bad consequences that may follow. His wife is very zealous and so is he, but worldly interest blinded him at first. He was soon reconciled to it. He was not the person I most dreaded would be brought into trouble about it; it was my uncle Nagle, who is, I think, the most disliked by the Protestants of any Catholic in the kingdom. I expected a great deal from him. The best part of the fortune I have I received from him. When he heard of it he was not at all angry at it, and in a little time they were so good as to contribute largely to support it, and I took in children by degrees, not to make any noise about it in the beginning. In about nine months I had about 200 children. When the Catholics saw what service it did, they begged that for the convenience of the children I would set up schools at the other end of the town from where I was, to be under my care and direction, and they promised to contribute to the support of them. With this request I readily complied, and the same number of children that I had were taken in, and at the death of my uncle I supported them all at my own expense. I did not intend to take boys, but my sister-in-law made it a point, and said she would not permit any of my family to contribute to the schools unless I did so, on which I got a master and took in only forty boys. They are in a house by themselves and have no communication with the others. At present, however, I have two schools for boys and five for girls. The former learn to read, and when they have the Douay catechism by heart they learn to write and cipher. There are three schools where the girls learn to read, and when they have the catechism by heart they learn to work. They all hear Mass every day, say their morning and night prayers, say their catechism in each school by question and answer all together. Every Saturday they all say the beads, the grown girls every evening. They go to confession every month and to Communion when the confessor thinks proper. The schools are opened at eight; at twelve the children go to dinner; at five they leave school. The workers do not begin their night prayers until six, after their beads. I prepare a set for first Communion twice a year, and I may truly say it is the only thing that gives me any trouble. In the first place, I think myself very incapable, and in the beginning, being

obliged to speak for upwards of over four hours, and my chest not being so strong as it had been, I spat blood, which I took care to conceal for fear of being prevented from instructing the poor. It has not the least bad effect now. When I have done preparing them at each end of the town, I feel myself like an idler that has nothing to do, though I speak almost as much as when I prepare them for their first Communion. I find not the least difficulty in it. I explain the catechism as well as I can in one school or the other every day, and if every one thought as little of labor as I do, they would have little merit. I often think my schools will never bring me to heaven, as I only take delight and pleasure in them. You see, it has pleased the Almighty to make me succeed, when I had everything, as I may say, to fight against. I assure you I did not expect a farthing from any mortal towards the support of my schools, and I thought I should not have more than fifty or sixty girls until I got a fortune; nor did I think I should have a school in Cork. I began in a poor, humble manner, and though it pleased the Divine will to give me severe trials in this foundation, yet it is to show that it is His work, and has not been effected by human means. I can assure you my schools are beginning to be of service to a great many parts of the world. This is a place of great trade. They are heard of, and my views are not for one object alone. If I could be of any service in saving souls in any part of the globe, I would willingly do all in my power."

She not only taught the children, but she begged for them from door to door, enduring many humiliations and hardships in the toilsome, self-imposed task of collecting a subscription limited to a shilling a month, although at the time she was suffering from a spitting of blood and ophthalmia. After her death such prominent and angry excrescences were observed on the soles of her feet as made it a matter of surprise how she could by any possible exertion even stand upon them, much less walk as she did, so much and so constantly, during the last three years of her life. It was said there was not a garret in Cork she had not entered. She visited the most miserable haunts in the city in order to discover those who needed the advantages which her schools could confer, but who from some reason or another were slow to avail of them.¹ "How often," says Bishop Coppinger, "have we seen her passing with steady composure through the rigors of every season to tend her little flock? How often have we seen her after a well-spent day returning through the darkness of the night, dripping with rain, mingled in the bustling crowd, moving thoughtfully along by the faint glimmering of a wretched lantern, withholding from herself in this manner the

¹ Dr. Hutch, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

necessaries of life to administer the comforts of it to others." She not only fed the minds of her protégés with knowledge, but their stomachs with food, besides clothing their bodies.

Wishful of securing the continuance of the good work, she decided to place it under the charge of a religious community. Here again the penal laws interposed a serious obstacle. It was a time when religious orders, even now only tolerated and, strictly speaking, illegal, were proscribed. There were then only a few convents in Ireland, whose inmates led a stealthy and precarious existence, in hourly peril of imprisonment, or exile, or even some heavier penalty. By the advice of Father Doran, a Jesuit, and the Rev. Francis Moylan—subsequently Bishop of Kerry and later translated to the See of Cork—she decided to invite the Ursuline nuns to take charge of her schools. "The members of religious communities on the Continent," says Dr. Hutch,⁸ "did not appear over anxious to come as missionaries into Ireland, principally because they feared the harsh and cruel penalties which might be enforced under the then existing penal laws, and in the next place because of that natural antipathy which they felt to leave the country of their birth and the convent in which they had been professed—to both of which they were bound by so many sacred ties, and by remembrances hallowed at once by nature and religion. However, God never fails to raise up workers for the execution of His designs, and in the present instance He inspired four young ladies to place themselves unreservedly at the disposal of Nano Nagle as the germ of the future Ursulines in Ireland. These were: Miss Fitzsimons (Mother Angela), Margaret Nagle (Mother Joseph), cousin of the foundress; Miss Coppinger, a member of the Barryscourt family and cousin to the then Duchess of Norfolk, and Nano Kavanagh, who was closely allied to the noble house of Ormonde." After making a novitiate in the Ursuline convent in the Faubourg St. Jacques, Paris, they returned, on May 9, 1771, in company with the Abbé Moylan and Mrs. Kelly, one of the Ursuline community at Dieppe, a venerable and holy *religieuse* of Irish birth, who volunteered to be temporary superioress of the new Sisterhood, to occupy the house Miss Nagle built for their reception in Douglas street in such an unpretentious and unobtrusive manner so that it might not attract notice as a convent. Up to this time she had not disclosed to her family the fact that she was about to establish a religious community in Cork. The selfsame reasons which from the first induced her to keep secret the opening of her schools rendered it doubly imperative to conceal as much as possible her views in regard of the foundation of a convent. However, the matter could not longer remain undiscovered, and she

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

determined to be herself the bearer of the intelligence to her friends. For this purpose she proceeded, in the summer of 1770, to Bath, from whence she wrote to Miss Fitzsimons: "It gives them all great pleasure that I should be the means of promoting such a good work, and my sisters-in-law are as eager to get good subjects for it as we could be. I hope you will approve of my manner of acting, as the less noise is made about affairs of this kind in this country, the better." The sequel showed the wisdom of her cautious method of procedure; for, when the fact was noised abroad in the city, the bigoted Protestant Corporation of Cork endeavored to suppress the convent and expel the nuns, but were induced to desist by the sane arguments of a broad-minded corporator, one Alderman Francis Carleton, who pointed out that the statute on which they based their action (9th William III., chap. 1, sec. 8), which bound them to apprehend and commit the nuns to prison, with a view to their transportation, had, owing to the increased number of Catholics and their improved social conditions, become practically a dead letter, and that "the great Protestant Constitution" could hardly be imperilled by a few piously disposed ladies living together "to teach poor children, drink tea and say their prayers." Still, though tolerated, the small community lived in constant fear of the penal laws; so much so that it was only by stealth and on the more solemn festivals that they ventured to put on the religious habit, which they did not finally assume until November 11, 1779, eight years after they had entered the convent, which was placed under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph, and in which Mass was said for the first time on September 22, 1771.

Not long after the introduction of the Ursulines Miss Nagle realized that a mistake had been made. That order being chiefly occupied in the education of the daughters of the upper and middle classes, was not specially adapted to the work she had initiated—the education of the children of the poor. "Miss Nagle's heart," says Mother De Pazzi in her manuscript life of the foundress, "was centred in the *poor*; her whole aim was to reform *them*, and though her efforts did not flow into that channel to which all her solicitude was directed, still they were thrown into one of very great importance, too. Her views were greatly disappointed, so far from being fulfilled, when she found that the Ursulines were bound by their constitutions to enclosure and to the instruction of the higher classes in society. Consequently they could not, as she wished and intended, visit the sick and poor abroad, nor devote themselves to the instruction of the poor at home. This was *her* object, her most ardent and earnest desire; so that the establishment of the Ursulines in Cork was more the accomplishment of God's designs than of Miss Nagle's.

She was, however, the docile instrument of God's mercy towards thousands in the city, and though she discovered the institute not to be altogether according to her own heart, this did not cool her zeal for its interests." It is clear from this that her primitive project rather anticipated, in one aspect at least, the work of another Irish foundress—Mary Aikenhead—than foreshadowed the creation of an order of cloistered nuns.

She decided, therefore, to found another community more in conformity with her views. This led to the foundation of the Presentation order of nuns, a teaching Sisterhood, begun toward the close of 1775, when she gathered around her a few pious women who wished to devote their time, their labor and themselves to the immediate exclusive service of God in the persons of those we have always with us as His earthly representatives—the poor. Although she had gone to great expense in erecting a convent for the Ursulines, she had still enough left to build another in the same street and quite adjacent to it. This occasioned some passing friction between her and the Ursulines and the parish priest (Dr. Moylan), the former fearing that a division of Miss Nagle's solicitude might prove prejudicial to them. It went so far that the pastor threatened to demolish the unfinished convent and ordered her to commence her work in another part of the city, but she persisted, saying that if banished from thence, she would never try to pursue her intended object in Cork, but retire to some other part of Ireland, where she would meet with no opposition, but more encouragement to effect her purposes on behalf of those whom she always carried in her heart—the poor.* The parish priest, who later, as Bishop of Cork, was one of her strongest supporters in her good work, gave in, subordinating his personal views to those of one who, he said, was led by the Spirit of God. The result again proved her wisdom. The Ursulines, not the Presentation nuns, removed from the parish, to found in the suburb of Blackrock a convent, long known far and wide for the excellent teaching imparted to the daughters of the higher classes in its boarding school.

The first subjects who joined Miss Nagle in her new undertaking were Miss Fouhy, Miss Elizabeth Burke and Miss Mary Anne Collins, who in 1775 went to live in what Mother De Pazzi describes as the "lowly, comfortless abode in Douglas street"—the small house into which she received the Ursulines on their first arrival from France, and in which they continued to reside until the convent

* Manuscript *Life of Mother Nagle*, by the late Mrs. M. de Pazzi, South Presentation Convent, Cork.

¹⁰ They did not ordinarily wear the religious habit, except on festival and ceremony days, until 1803.

intended for them was completed. On June 29, 1776, Nano Nagle and her three companions received the religious habit,¹⁰ from which year dates the establishment of what is now known as the Presentation Order. She herself never contemplated anything but a simple congregation devoted to works of charity among the poor, not bound to enclosure or making solemn vows—servants of the poor, whom they were to be free to seek in their lowly hovels of wretchedness and want. Their manner of life was austere and self-denying; their dress a plain black gown, over which was worn a black silk handkerchief, crossed in front, and a plain cap fitting closely and made tight by a broad black ribbon fastened round the head. When attending the schools in various parts of the city they were enveloped in long mode cloaks (a garment used in those days), the hoods of which were drawn over the small black bonnets. The new convent, finished towards the close of 1777, was opened on the Christmas of that year, when she dined fifty beggars, waiting on them at table with inexpressible joy and singular charity, helping them as their menial servant, a custom she scrupulously observed while she lived.¹¹ The first name she adopted was "Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus," the rule being drawn up for them by the curé of St. Sulpice. "Edifying as was Miss Nagle's previous life," says Mother De Pazzi, "her demeanor as a religious was far more striking, the evening of this great woman's life being the most brilliant portion of her earthly career. Her humility, her regularity, her application to prayer, her mortification, her charity (which was unbounded) were never at any other time so conspicuous. One can only do them justice by saying that her life was the Gospel and the Counsels perfectly reduced to practice." On the 24th of June, 1777, they pronounced their simple vows in presence of Dr. Butler,¹² Bishop of Cork. From that time until 1793, when the rule of the order was approved by Pope Pius VI., they made only annual vows, and those in private.

"The sainted foundress," records Dr. Hutch in his admirable biography,¹³ "often told the infant community that she never expected to see her little congregation elevated to the rank of a religious order.¹⁴ She was content to see it struggle on in its path of humble usefulness. In one respect her words were prophetic, for she was sleeping her last sleep when Pope Pius VI. approved of the Presentation rules; but Catholic Ireland must rejoice that her wishes on this head were disregarded, and that the mustard seed sown in

¹¹ Mother de Pazzi, *op. cit.*, quoted by Dr. Hutch, p. 83.

¹² Lord Dunboyne, whose name is perpetuated in the Dunboyne House, Maynooth.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

¹⁴ To which position it was raised by Pius VII. by a Brief dated April 9, 1805.

Douglas street has, under the fostering care of the Church, grown to be a great tree, whose branches extend over four continents."

She literally wore herself out in the service of the poor until exhausted nature could stand the strain no longer. It was only death that put an end to her labors. For over six years she toiled unceasingly as superioress, spending altogether nearly thirty years in the service of God and of the poor. "Of a constitution naturally delicate," writes the reverend author last quoted, "she was at an early period of her life afflicted with a spitting of blood. The fatigue of continual speaking in school, sometimes for five hours together; the cold and wet of the street, to which she was continually exposed; the corporal austerities which she practiced; the opposition she encountered in the execution of her designs, and the severe mental trials to which she was literally a martyr—all told upon her constitution, and about the year 1784 it became painfully evident to her Sisters that their holy foundress was hastening to her reward. In the early part of that year her health began to fail more rapidly. The Sisters noticed that she was losing that buoyancy of spirit which had so often cheered them in the recreation hall after the labors of the day. The face, once a type of perfect female beauty, was prematurely old and wrinkled; her appetite was not that of a healthy person, and a troublesome cough, echoing through the corridors of the house all night, told but too plainly that Miss Nagle's chest affection would ere long assert its supremacy. The curtain was about to fall. She knew it, and though death could have few terrors for one whose blameless—nay, singularly holy—life had been spent in God's service, she no sooner felt the approach of the destroyer than she demanded to be fortified with the last sacraments of the Church. She received them with marked piety, and then, calling her little community around her, she made what may be termed her last will and testament. She had few earthly goods to leave them, but she bequeathed to them a treasure which she prized beyond every other—the poor of Jesus Christ. She bade them spend themselves for the poor; and that their efforts might be crowned with success, she gave them a parting injunction, which is, indeed, worthy of being written in golden letters over the door of every Presentation convent—'Love one another as you have hitherto done.' Simple words these, but embodying in a single sentence the spirit of Nano Nagle, as well as of her Divine Master, and 'the disciple whom Jesus loved.' For the discourse of the Redeemer at the Last Supper was but a homily of love; and, if tradition speaks truly, the Apostle of Patmos in the closing years of his life used to preach but one sermon, and that very brief—'My little children, love one another.' Miss Nagle gave the selfsame injunction to her spiritual children, and, having

imparted to them her dying blessing, she resigned her holy soul into her Maker's hands on the 20th of April, 1784, being then in the fifty-sixth year of her age."¹⁵ Her limbs were so feeble towards the close of her life that she was obliged to use a stick when walking, which stick, with a plate inscribed with her name inserted in it, may be seen in one of the reception rooms of the South Presentation Convent, Cork, along with some other interesting memorials of the foundress. She had to stop frequently in the streets to get a little strength to proceed in her long and painful walks. "They were, indeed, so many steps on the road to eternal life," wrote her friend, Miss Fitzsimons. She added to her usual austerities that of fasting every Wednesday and Friday on bread and water, enjoining secrecy on the subject to all the Sisters during her life; took the discipline four times each week during the *Miserere*; gave instructions three hours daily during Lent, fasting, and passed eleven hours on the last Holy Thursday night before the Blessed Sacrament, kneeling all the time, as she never was seen to sit during exposition. Her fervor increased so much towards the end that Miss Fitzsimons believed she lost all sense of bodily pain or suffering. She read the Passion three times at different schools on the Monday and Tuesday of the last Holy Week she spent on earth without experiencing the least sense of fatigue. Drenched with rain one day when making the round of her schools, the next day she was seized with a spitting of blood, and to a lady who remonstrated with her, requesting her to go no farther, she replied: "What a coward you are! I have a mind to go to the schools and walk it off as I am used to do." But a weakness ensued, and she had to walk home for the last time. She never complained, and had hopes of recovering till about twenty-four hours before her death. Then she desired three of her favorite children to pray for her recovery, if it was for the glory of God, that she might have more time to prepare for eternity. The doctors would not permit her to receive the last sacraments till about seven hours before she died, lest the application and her extraordinary devotion would exhaust her too much, as they had still hopes that God would spare her longer to the poor and distressed, to whom she was a tender mother.¹⁶ But she lives in her order, which has preserved her spirit and perpetuated her work. *Etiam mortua adhuc loquitur*. In the words of a fervent admirer of the foundress quoted by her biographer:¹⁷ "Dead in the flesh, she lives in the lives and hearts and hopes of ten millions of Irish Catholics dispersed over

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 89-91.

¹⁶ Letter of Miss Fitzsimons to Miss Mullaly, of Dublin, dated Cork, May 21, 1784, quoted by Dr. Hutch, pp. 91-93.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

the globe. She speaks beyond the Atlantic to the child of the hardy fisher beyond the snows of Newfoundland. On the shores of the Pacific her voice is heard in many a crowded audience among the miners of California. In Australia, on the banks of the Paramatta, among the orange groves of Sydney and across the straits, in the streets of Tasmania; under the Southern Cross, as on the confines of the Arctic regions, the living influence of this deceased female outlaw¹⁸ is felt. At home, in every dell in her native Desmond, her name is uttered with benediction. Millions have dedicated their daughters to her care, so that since the days of St. Bride of Kildare—the Mary of Ireland, as she was called—no woman has had her name so interwoven with the Irish race as the venerable Nano Nagle of Cork.”

The Dungarvan Convent, a filiation from Waterford, which has just celebrated the centenary of its foundation, owed its origin, like the Cork convent and the order itself, to a number of pious women mutually agreeing, for the greater glory of God, to devote their lives to the instruction of poor children, and its erection was facilitated by the donation of £1,000 by Mr. Pierce Barron, of Saraville. Its genesis was a free school in Jail lane, and the first essay in conventual life was made in a private house in Church street, from whence, in 1822, they removed to a convent built in the same street, which in 1858 gave place to the present larger and much admired convent and schools. “There are well authenticated traditions in connection with the first inmates of the Dungarvan Convent of the Presentation Order,” says Dr. Hutch, “which would go far to prove that while the outside world is nowadays all but atheistic, the daughters of Nano Nagle emulate in the cloister the penances and the sanctity of the servants of God in the olden times. Some of them were remarkable for possessing in an eminent degree the spirit of prayer, in which holy exercise they would spend whole hours together whenever their doing so did not interfere with the discharge of any other duty. One of them, now deceased, on days of vacation from the schools, was frequently known to thank God at midday that previous to that hour she had spoken to Him alone. Many of the deceased Sisters were remarkable also for their spirit of mortification, and in some instances it was discovered after their death that they had been in the habit of using instruments of penance. Others, again, would use no protection against intense cold in winter. A novice who did not live to make her profession, at a period when the community was still in its infancy, had attained such a degree of perfection that she was regarded as a saint. This

¹⁸ Allusion to the “wings” of the Emancipation Act of 1829, which “out-lawed” the religious orders.

young fervent soul would often in confidence give expression before her seniors to her determined resolution never to cease her efforts until she had brought herself to such a state of indifference as to be insensible to all that was not God. So much did she dread the loss of time that in her walks with her companions her first care after purifying her intention was to remind them gently to turn every moment to good account, and should she chance to hear a useless remark, she would sweetly rejoin: 'Sister, this remark will not surely rank among your most perfect actions on the day of judgment.' People may smile and say this is old-fashioned sanctity, but it is sanctity, nevertheless, approved of and practiced by the greatest saints, and not to be lightly condemned until the philosophers of the twentieth century shall have discovered a surer path to heaven."

In 1833 four Presentation nuns from Galway crossed the Atlantic to found a house of their order in St. John's, Newfoundland, which in course of time established eleven filiations or offshoots of the mother house in that British colony, where the early Irish settlers, like their co-religionists in Ireland, gave proof of their steadfastness in the faith, heroically standing to their guns under fire of persecution; for the pitiless penal laws pursued them even across the broad ocean. San Francisco gave a cordial welcome to four Sisters from Midleton in September, 1854, who began their work in a little shanty (for the city had not yet been regularly laid down, the gold mania engrossing all the settlers' thoughts) until a wealthy Irish-American, D. T. Murphy, donated \$20,000 to purchase a site for a convent. In New York, where the Ursulines in 1812 failed to make a permanent foundation, the Presentation nuns, in 1874, under more favorable conditions, were successful. The magnificent work they have since done in the sphere of education is a work that has a most important bearing upon the progress of Catholicity in the United States. It was in the fitness of things that Nano Nagle, through her spiritual daughters, should be privileged to have a share in the building up and extension of the Church in America, in laying the foundations of which her friend and fellow-citizen, Dr. England,¹⁹

¹⁹ Dr. England, before he was nominated to the See of Charleston (1820), which comprised the two Carolinas and Georgia, had been, in 1808, chaplain to the North Presentation Convent, Cork, where his sister, one of the community, lived to a very advanced age. In 1834 he introduced the Ursulines from Blackrock into his vast diocese, where his stupendous exertions for the strengthening and spread of the faith earned for him the title of "Light of the American Hierarchy." Even when a student in Carlow he paved the way for the introduction of the Presentation nuns into that town. He had early knowledge of the educational disadvantages under which the people labored. His father was obliged to support himself in early life by teaching mathematics and land surveying, and in order to do this with safety, at a period when most rigorous enactments were in force against Catholic schoolmasters, he was forced to take refuge in the mountains, where he

the illustrious Bishop of Charleston, labored so strenuously in the past.

R. F. O'CONNOR.

Cork, Ireland.

THE PERIODICITY OF ANTI-CATHOLIC CALUMNIES.

CALUMNIES, like comets, appear to move in parabolas or ellipses, and to have their regular periods of return to their starting-points in the celestial hemisphere. This fact is suggested by the report of a symposium over the remarkable address on "Religion and the Mores" delivered by the late Professor Sumner, of Yale University, at the fourth annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, in New York, last year. The symposium appears in the *American Journal of Sociology* for March last. It furnishes, no doubt in perfect sincerity and ingenuousness, a most amusing study in the idiosyncrasies of the professorial mind. Several eminent pundits took part in the discussion which followed the address. Each of these maintained an independent view of the soundness of the theory propounded by Professor Sumner—namely, that religion is the result of man's environment and the "mores" or social tendencies of certain cycles or ages of human society. This is not a direct denial of a revelation of God, but it is none the less a denial. It must strike one as not a little paradoxical that out of the same atmosphere that produces this agnosticism as regards a Creator God there should be found proceeding a ready willingness to believe in an infernal power which or who exercises unlimited sway over the hidden things of nature, and a concurrent belief that the Catholic religion is the heir-at-law of the old pagan cult of Egypt, Greece, Rome, Mexico and all other nations where the deities of blood and cruelty had their reeking and smoking altars and tumuli on the summits of the hills and the gloomy recesses of the dense forests. The culture that denies the revelation of a beneficent Deity is apparently satisfied to acknowledge the claim of the revelation of a mighty Spirit of Evil. It recognizes an Ahrimanes, but ignores the corollary of an Ormuzd, for so in the archaic Persian cult the mystery of evil in the world was put in the position of a mechanical

remained until the partial relaxation of the penal laws, which followed the declaration of American independence, permitted his return to Cork. In that city he attained a position of comparative prosperity before the birth of his eldest son, the future Bishop of Charleston. Young England pursued his early studies in a Protestant school, there being none other, and, being the only Catholic pupil, was subjected to many galling insults on account of his faith, not only by his companions, but even by his master.

contrivance and a mathematical arrangement of the great hidden forces that rule the universe.

The political economy of the school of Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill came after a time to be called "the dreary science." The new pseudo-science of sociology has taken its place in the realm of the monotonous and the bewildering. It would seem that a consciousness of this repellancy in character of the study has become too much for some of the professorial exponents of the new cult; hence the attempt to infuse an element of attraction by way of divertissement, in the shape of a revival of the old calumny that the Catholic faith and ritual are nothing more than the resuscitation of beliefs and attendant ritual that prevailed over a vast proportion of the known globe, from the twilight ages of history down to the Christian era.

"The Rôle of Magic" is the subject of a lengthened treatise in the *American Journal of Sociology* for May of the present year, from the pen of Professor Thomson Shotwell, of Columbia University. The learned teacher assumes at the outset that the literature on magic is defective, but it yet may be made satisfactory he would appear to imply. He says:

"It is incredible that so vital a subject should have so long escaped satisfactory treatment. But the incredible is true. For there is not an exhaustive description or analysis of magic—simply as magic—in existence. It fills many treatises on other things; its dark seams run across the pages of practically every work on comparative religion; investigations on early law touch on its domain; primitive institutions are seen to have in it many of their roots; and it is from these outside angles that we get our impressions of its mysterious rôle. But apart from a single essay, which claims to be only a sketch, and to which we refer below, there is no satisfactory treatment of magic as magic and not as an adjunct to something else. There are no encyclopedias of magic science."

This fact need not have demanded the space of a dozen lines of thought from any learned professor. There cannot be any such analysis or diagnosis of a thing which is either a fraud of the human mind or a wonderful mystery of the occult. Psychology has demonstrated that maleficent powers exercise an influence in the hidden world and over human action—how or why it is not given to mortal to know as yet. Until this knowledge is man's, there can be no reliable text-book on magic.

Several writers have boldly asserted that the Catholic religion is nothing more than a system superimposed upon the old pagan theological one, and adapting the ruins of that system to the new one, changing only the names and the attribution. This vulgar

process is repudiated by Professor Shotwell, chiefly, it would seem, not because there was no evolutionary relationship established between paganism and Christianity, but because the mode of proving it adopted has been too clumsy and unscientific. The author of "The Golden Bough," Professor J. G. Frazer, of Cambridge, is especially objectionable to him, by reason of his inconsequentiality. He says of his *schema* of evolutionary religion:

"According to Frazer, magic is the opposite of religion. It is a rude and mistaken science, in which man began his struggle with the mysterious forces of the world. By spell and by charm he met those dangerous powers whose presence he saw revealed in the multifold crises of his life: in sickness and death, in the chances of the hunt or the perils of war, in birth, in sexual relations, in the terror of spilt blood, in the gloom of the night, in the march of the storm, in all the terrible and the wonderful in his miracle-wrought universe."

Magic is no "science"—or else Professor Shotwell would not have to complain of want of definitions or text-books. It is no more a science than sin is: it is a terrible power exerted over the sinful mind by the arch-enemy of human souls. It is the possession of many in the world to-day, as it was when the Egyptian sorcerers vied with Moses in the field of miracle-working and when St. Patrick was opposed in his work of conversion in Ireland by the fierce Druids who tended the Baal fires on the hills and cast their malign spells, at the prayer of devotees, in the dark recesses of their sacred groves by the furtive rays of the midnight moon. The spiritualism of to-day is the same cult, differing only in the mode of its production and its formulas, as the power which enabled the Witch of Endor to call up the dead whom Saul wished to question. Against this awful power the Catholic Church has had to build its defenses from the earliest years of her existence. The Apostles had to deal with it—as in the case of Elymas, the magician; and the case of Simon Magus is a notable instance of the temerity with which the followers of the impious cult were inspired when they went so far as to compete with God Himself in miraculous proofs.

The proofs that true religion is everlastingly inimical to false pretense are many, and yet men like Professor Shotwell are constantly turning up to maintain the astounding theory that both are identical in source, and in many cases in regard to ritual and formulas. Thus we find Columbia's professor expressing astonishment at the fact that the author of "The Golden Bough" drew a distinction between the true and the false in the supernatural order. He writes:

"Religion, according to Frazer, comes in a second stage of human

evolution. Frazer claims that there is a 'fundamental distinction and even opposition of principle between magic and religion.'

"The attempt to exclude magic from religion leads one into strange straits at the other end of our evolution. For Frazer actually defines religion so narrowly as to exclude that highest religious thought, that mysticism where belief has grown into confidence, and that theism which reverently but calmly faces omnipotence. The conciliation of higher powers by sacrifice and prayer represents only a part of religion.

"One cannot separate religion from magic by a mere definition. The further we examine the phenomena of religions the more we find them interpenetrated with strains of magic forces, and where our comparatively keen analysis fails to detect those elusive penetrations of varying grades of intensity and power, the primitive mind certainly never was able to distinguish them. The Romans had their college of augurers as well as their sacrificing priests; the augurers by their arts of divination made sure what sacrifice would be acceptable or adequate, and then the sacrificing priests fulfilled their demands. The joint operation, although it involved 'religious' action in the sacrifice, was an improved form of that compelling of 'the gods' which in primitive culture we term magic. Religious action is intelligible only upon the assumption that it will accomplish something. Whether it will accomplish all that is desired or not, the basis for the action remains substantially the same. It is only when religion, fertilized by thought, brings forth theologies that Frazer's contrast has a meaning."

Magic and sorcery and divination were commonly practiced in the religions of archaic paganism, and are so practiced still, in the East and in other places beyond the Christian pale. There have been those who pretended to speak as prophets. "I have seen folly in the prophets of Samaria; they prophesied in Baal and deceived my people, Israel," said the Lord, speaking through His prophet, Jeremiah. It appears to be Professor Shotwell's contention that the magical power wielded by these priests and prophets of Baal is the same power by means of which the ever-active miraculous power of God works in His Church, in the mystery of Transubstantiation, in the imparting of sacramental grace in baptism, the sacrament of Extreme Unction, the bestowal of the grace in Holy Orders. There can hardly be a doubt that this is the point which is intended to be made by this learned professor, for he proceeds to show that the very same power exists among savage peoples and is exercised for good or evil by their "medicine men." He illustrates this contention by pointing out the universality of what he calls "contagious magic," as beheld in the power of the mantle of the prophet Eliseus:

"It now transpires that savages the world over have gone farther in their analysis of their own actions than the Cambridge anthropologist. For even in about as primitive a state of culture as has yet been found, there is not only distinct recognition of this mysterious power behind contagion, but the savages have gone so far as to give it a name. It is *orenda* among the Hurons. The Aruntas of Australia call it *arungquiltha*, the Malgaches of Madagascar call it *hasina*, the Maoris *atua*, the Melanesians *mana*.

"We have no time here to take up the question as to whether this *mana* is behind all magic practices, or merely underlies those of contagion. . . . Its maleficent elements grows less and less apparent, and its beneficence more, until as divine grace, it nourishes the faith and strengthens the moral purpose of the Christian world. In the sacraments of the Church it still works by the old laws of sympathetic magic. In the realm of faith it has at last left the material media of its long prehistoric phase.

"One can see dimly now how much of the history of mankind in general and of Europe in particular, of social taboos and state jurisprudence, of marriage and inheritance, of power of priests and kings, rests directly for an explanation upon magic. The sacred and the holy are merely our equivalents for *mana* and *arungquiltha*. Moreover, if our surmises are correct, we have at last a consistent theory for the main line of religious evolution; and we reach the strange conclusion that the sacraments, as institutions which still definitely embody the earliest impulses toward religion, are older than God Himself—older, at least in that comparatively modern thing in this old universe, that reflex of actuality which we call the human consciousness."

In the proposition that "religious action is intelligible only upon the assumption that it will accomplish something," the learned professor furnishes a key to the line of argument as well as the ideal which he proposes to follow out. It is not the Christian concept of religion. True religion, in its essence, is the tie that subsists between God and His creature, man. Mutual love would have been, had man remained incorrupt, the fibre that formed the strands of that bond. Where love really exists, there can be no selfishness. Man should not desire anything beyond a continuance in the enjoyment of his Creator's love and guardianship, and God would ask nothing of man but his loving dependence upon His bounty and omnipotent power, for all eternity. The conception of religion which Professor Shotwell puts forward seems to be that which is embodied in the theory called Pragmatism—a system that tests religion by its practical results; a sort of materialism and cynicism combined.

For one thing, it cannot justly be complained that such a line of argument is lacking in boldness; nor yet can it be maintained that it is entirely and distinctly original with the present author. It is a portion of a long-drawn-out and often renewed attempt to show that Christianity is only a continuance of ancient paganism, and that its doctrines, sacraments and ritual are merely adaptations and modifications of the various features of the old pagan cult as it existed in Italy for centuries before the Christian era. This theory, again, is only a portion of a larger contention—namely, that there never was a Divine revelation, and that religion is nothing more or less than the outcome of a natural process of evolution.

We are brought back to the very beginnings of Christianity by such audacious attempts to confound its pure doctrines and noble practices with the foul and impious cult of ancient Rome upon which, to add to their repulsiveness in many features, were superimposed the worship of Mythra and the Egyptian orgies of Isis and the Epicurians. As far back as the days of Cyril and Tertullian, the Fathers of the Church were confronted with similar sophisms and were obliged to refute them publicly. St. Augustine denounced Faustus, the Manichean, for having stated that the Christians and the pagans had many practices in common. "*Habemus quaedam cum Gentibus communia, sed finem diversum*," the great Doctor wrote. ("We have some things in common with the Gentiles, but we apply them to different ends.") The Christians, he went on to say, did not so much blame the pagans for sacrilegious rites, but because they offered sacrifices in honor of idols and demons. The Sacred Scriptures bristle with denunciations from God Himself, speaking through His prophets, of this awful sin of offering sacrifice to infernal deities—Moloch, Baal, Astarte, Dagon, and others of the Phœnician, Babylonian and Egyptian cult. Tertullian acknowledged that certain resemblances were to be found in the old and the new forms, and surmised, oddly, that it might have been part of the policy of the Arch-deceiver to copy the rites of the old in the new, that so he might lead men astray!

References to magic, sorcery and false prophets abound in the books of the Old Testament, and there are also some in the New; so that nobody can doubt as to the existence of some mysterious power for evil in all ages. Beelzebub, "Prince of Devils," we know from the Fourth Book of Kings, was worshiped in Accaron, where probably he had a temple or a shrine at which his deluded believers were wont to pray to him and ask his counsel as to going to war or remaining at peace. This Beelzebub is written of in such a way as to show that he was not merely an idol, but a real veritable evil spirit—one of the fallen angels. The incident of the four hundred

false prophets and Micheas, the single true one, as related in the Third Book of Kings, takes the reader up to heaven to show him how and for what purpose these false prophets were allowed to ply their maleficent trade—to lead the wickedly disposed into the just punishment of their designed and premeditated wickedness. To maintain that the Church makes use of this same magic in the ministration of the sacraments instituted by Christ, the Son of God, is, surely, blasphemy gone mad!

The sacred and the holy are merely the equivalents for “mana” and “arunquilha.” Mark the significance of this assertion. The two barbarous words quoted are described by the writer himself as conveying the meaning of “mysterious, wonderful, uncanny potency.” “Our equivalents” for this uncanny thing are the holy sacraments that were instituted by our Divine Lord and Saviour for the purpose of preserving our immortal souls from the snares of their eternal enemy!

Then the conclusion that the sacraments “are older than God Himself,” as the writer says, is certainly a strange conclusion. Analyzed, it means simply this: that God is nothing more or less than a creation of man’s own imagination; in other words, that the creature has created his Creator, and is logically, therefore, greater than God, who creates only inferior beings. And now, when we have arrived at this definite conclusion regarding the origin of the God whom we adore, the question then comes up for solution: who created the wonderful animal, man, who is capable of creating even a God? “Hang up philosophy unless philosophy can make a Juliet,” exclaims the frenzied lover, in the play. Hang up evolution unless it give us a logical answer to a plain requirement, say we. When you have eliminated God from the equation, what are you going to substitute? To tell us that “mana” and “arunquilha” are the savage equivalents of the Christian sacraments and the illimitable power of God does not help in the slightest degree to unriddle this crux. It only proves that a Supreme Being is as necessary to a savage as to a blood-glutted French triumvirate and a howling horde of sans-culottes. It merely establishes the universality of the human conscience—one of the most irrefragable inductive evidences of the existence of the great beneficent Being whom we know and love as God, the Creator and the Lord of all things, visible and invisible, created and yet to be created.

Seventy-five years ago Cardinal Wiseman, writing in the *Dublin Review*, found it incumbent on him to take up the challenge thrown out in letters in the *Times* newspaper written by a very shallow and unlearned Protestant named Poynder, on the very same topic, the identity of ancient paganism in regard to both beliefs and ritual,

with modern Catholicism. These letters were subsequently published in book form, under the title, "Popery in Alliance with Heathenism." Though the work did not really deserve serious discussion by scholarly men, because of its claptrap and shallow apologies for argument, the subject had been given such prominence by reason of its appearance in "The Thunderer," that the Cardinal was impelled to lay it on the dissecting table. He had not much difficulty in dealing with so puny an antagonist as Mr. Poynder. An archæologist, a classicist, a linguist, a hagiologist, the most erudite scholar of his day, he disposed of his fatuous antagonist with the ease and skill of a matador despatching a bull blinded with rage in the arena. Four letters he devoted to the subject. These letters are of inestimable value to the lovers of truth and the lovers of fine literature, for the light they throw upon many points obscure not only to non-Catholics, but to many Catholics as well.

For argument's sake the Cardinal admits that the Christians did transform some heathen temples into Christian churches, as in the most famous case—that of the Pantheon, in Rome. The neatness with which His Eminence turned his adversary's own arguments against himself is the most enjoyable feature of the great rejoinder. For instance, this passage regarding the transformation of the Pantheon:

"I will suppose, if you please, an ancient Roman revisiting that temple. The first thing which would strike him would be the sign of salvation—the image of Christ crucified, raised upon every altar—and most conspicuously upon the principal and central one. On the right, the picture of one whom men are stoning, while He, with eyes uplifted, prays for their conversion, would rivet his attention; and on the left, the modest statue of a Virgin, with an infant in her arms, would invite him to inquiry. Then he would see monuments of men, whose clasped or crossed hands express how they expired in the prayer of hope; the inscription on one side would tell him how the immortal Raphael had willed that no ornament should deck his tomb, but that very statue of God's mother which he had given to that church; another informs you, that the illustrious statesman (Consalvi), after bequeathing the fortune he had made in the service of the public, without reserve, to the propagation of Christianity among distant nations, would have no tomb; but that his friends had, as it were by stealth, erected to him that modest memorial. Around him he would see, at whatever hour of the day he might enter, solitary worshipers, who gently come in through the ever unclosed brazen portals, to keep watch, like the lamp which sheds its mild light upon them, before the altar of God. And I fancy it would be no difficult task, with these objects before us, to expound

and fully develop to him the Christian faith; the life of our Redeemer, beginning with His birth from a Virgin to His death upon a cross; the testimony to His doctrine, and the power which accompanied it, exhibited in the triumph of the first among His martyrs; the humble and modest virtue which His teaching inspired to His followers, their contempt of worldly praise, and the fixing of their hopes upon a better world; the constant and daily influence His religion exercises among its believers, whom it sweetly invites and draws to breathe a solitary prayer, amidst the turmoils of a busy life. And methinks this ancient heathen would have an idea of a religion immensely different from that which he had professed—the religion of the meek and of the humble, of the persecuted and the modest, of the devout and the chaste. . . . Julian the Apostate thus writes to the Christians: ‘You, oh hapless men! while you refuse to adore the shield descended from Jove’ (the ancile which you somewhere compare to a popish thing), ‘which the great Jupiter, or our father Mars, sent down, giving a pledge, not by words but by deeds, of sure protection to our city, adore the wood of the cross, signing its image on your foreheads, and sculpturing it on the front of your houses.’ You see, therefore, that Julian did not think that the substitution of our symbols for those of heathenism was any continuation of the same religion.”

Julian commenced his demurrer by accusing Christianity of being inconsistent. Although he began by complaining that the Christians had borrowed their doctrines and their ritual from pagan philosophers and Egyptian ceremonies, he wound up by declaring that the substitution of the symbolic cross for the “ancile” or shield of Jove (said to have been sent down from Olympus by Jupiter or Mars as a pledge of heaven’s protection for the city of Rome) was not any continuation of the same religion by any means, but rather the token of the effacement of the old in favor of the new. Cardinal Wiseman reminded Mr. Poynder that though he and other Protestants complained of the ancient Catholic practices on account of their having (as alleged) been borrowed from the old heathen ritual, they yet retained that ritual themselves in their baptismal ceremonial, their marriage formula, their vestments, their ordination forms, and various ecclesiastical usages and nomenclature.

Shifting his base of attack, the Cardinal took his antagonist into a new field. He invited him to accompany him into St. Paul’s Cathedral, in London, and look around and guess the religion which it represented. Does it represent any religion at all, or is it a place of worship, the visitor might be excused for asking. “No altar, no chapel, no emblem of any holy thought is visible; no point toward which men turn, as strongly concentrating the divine presence; no

emblem of a peculiar dedication; not a worshiper or a reverential spectator; not one who, as he crosses the threshold, prepares his soul, as if approaching God, in prayer. There he sees men with their heads covered as in the public street, walking to and fro, looking at the edifice only as an architectural wonder; while the gibe and the joke, or the state of the funds, or the scandal of the day alone divide with their well-taxed curiosity the conversation of the various throngs."

At no great distance from the hollow dome of English Protestantism rise the towers of an older and richer fane. It recalls the virtues of one of England's greatest saints, and the vaults hold the dust of some of her greatest kings and queens. Modern Philistinism has made it a Pantheon for modern heroes, while it graciously accords modern poets and prose genius a corner (Poets' Corner). The Cardinal invites his adversary to survey the monuments and ideals that speak from the halls and pillared recesses of this famous fabric:

"There he sees emblems indeed in sufficient number—not the cross nor the dove, nor the olive branch, as on the ancient tomb, but the drum and the trumpet, the boarding-pike and the cannon. Who are they whose attitudes and actions are deemed the fit ornaments for this religious temple? Men rushing forward with sword in hand, to animate their followers to the breach, or falling down while boarding the enemy's deck—heroes if you choose, benefactors to their country, but surely not the illustrators of religion. Of one it is said that he died as a Roman would certainly have wished him, after having grappled with his enemy's ship and rendered the destruction of one or both secure; the epitaph of another is expressed in the words of his commander's despatch; that of a third in the vote of the House of Commons; not a word of a single Christian virtue, not a hint that one professed or believed in any religion. And would not the heathen rejoice to have found a temple where the courage of the three hundred Fabii, or the self-devotion of the Decii, or the virtues of the Scipios were so plainly taught and held up to the practical admiration and imitation of men?

"And how would his delight increase, on more closely inspecting the emblems under which these virtues or their circumstances are expressed! Sea and river gods, with their oozy crowns and out-pouring vases; the Ganges, with his fish and calabash; the Thames, with the genii of his confluent streams; and the Nile, with his idol, the Sphinx; Victory, winged and girt up as of old, placing earthly laurels on the brows of the falling; Fame, with its ancient trumpet, blasting forth their worldly merits; Clio, the offspring of Apollo, recording their history; and besides these, new creations of gods

and goddesses, Rebellion and Fraud, Valor and Sensibility; Britannia, the very copy of his own worshiped Roma; and some of these, too, with an unseemly lack of drapery more becoming an ancient than a modern temple. This assemblage of ancient deities, as the only symbols to instruct his eye, would as readily go to confirm him either that his ancient religion, its emblems and its morality, had never been supplanted or that they had lately been restored."

When Christianity was at last free to come up from the vaults of the Catacombs it was unprovided with temples wherein to render thanks to God for the cessation of persecution. Paganism was dead, and the temples of the pagans were empty and abandoned. What more fitting than to wrest these from the dead hands of dead deities and, after lustration, rededicate the walls to the worship of the one true God? Such was the imperative need of the first few years of deliverance from force. But after a little while it grew upon the Catholic mind that it was more seemly that the worship of the Most High should have its own proper temples as well as its own priesthood and ritual. A decree of the Emperor Theodosius prohibited the further utilization of the fabrics or materials of the old pagan cult in the erection of Christian churches, and this speedily terminated the reign of makeshift in the realm of religious architecture.

If we admit, for the sake of argument, that man's consciousness preceded the invention of God in that consciousness, with what a strange position are we confronted! Professor Shotwell holds that magic and religion are correlated, if not actually one and the same. Magic, identical with that of present-day Catholic religion, was, according to his theory, existent practically, under other forms, among aboriginal savage peoples, all over the known world in ancient times. If God had, as he postulates in this theory, a definite beginning at some unknown but conceded period, when, then, did the magic of the pagans have its birth, or was it a part of the spontaneous, self-creating thing or quality that belonged to the aboriginal race of mankind, but is by this school of "original research" denied to God—the God of Judaism and Christianity?

The obi man and the anointed priest of God stand on the same plane of respect for the awesome and the holy in the minds of the "illuminati" who sit in a place apart in the reserved gallery of Science, the place of the profound ones who never agree with the outsiders or even among themselves, but proudly exercise "the right of private judgment" about science as well as about religion.

The dilemma or *impasse* to which Professor Shotwell's theories lead was recognized by at least one of his fellow professors who

listened to his argument, Professor Shridar V. Ketkar, of Cornell University. He commented, in part, in these terms:

"If I understand Professor Shotwell correctly, he disapproves of, if not disproves, Frazer's theory, which claims for magic precedence in time over religion. Frazer has held that man, with his brutal tendencies, first tried to command nature by his magic, and when he found nature too strong for him to control, he began to feel religious emotions. I am in full sympathy with the objections which professor Shotwell has to make to that theory. I have at least one source at my command which would show that the magical element in a religion became stronger and the devotional element became weaker in the course of time. 'The History of the Religion of the Hindus' supplies us with enough evidence to controvert the theory of Frazer.

"The literature which is considered as sacred and as final authority by the Hindus is called the Vedas. These Vedas are divided into two portions, Samhitas and Brahmanani. Of these two the former are the older and they are called Vedas in popular usage. The Vedas are four in number, and of these R̥gveda is the oldest and the Atharva Veda is the latest. One would find a strong devotional element in R̥gveda, and specially in those hymns which are connected with the god Veruna, which are considered to be the oldest hymns in that collection. Here one finds prayers to the deity to give the devotee health, strength, progeny, cattle, etc., earnest supplications to confer on the devotee a victory against the enemies, confessions of weakness, and supplications for forgiveness. But in Atharva Veda, which is a later literature, the devotional element is less marked and has a large portion given to magic."

It is evident, from a careful study of Professor Shotwell's phraseology on the subject that he had in his mind only the Catholic Church while seeking to establish between it and the occult powers a co-partnership in the trade of imposition on the minds of the credulous and superstitious. This undeclared purpose was palpable to the perception of another listener, Professor J. L. Gillin, of Iowa University. In his commentary he, unconsciously, no doubt, powerfully strengthened the retort of Cardinal Wiseman to Mr. Poynder, already referred to. He said:

"Not only in the Catholic Church has magic played a very important rôle, but even in our Protestant churches the same is true. Luther's protest was a breaking-away from the superstition that existed in connection with church ceremonials in his day, but how short-lived was that protest is shown by the fact that his followers, and the Protestant sects in general, soon reverted to the magical interpretations of Church rites and Church doctrines which he had

repudiated. Every succeeding edition of Melancthon's 'Loci Communes' becomes more retrogressive than its predecessor. Soon among the Protestants grace was conveyed to the infant by the waters of baptism, just as much as it had been in the Catholic Church. The communion bread and wine had magical power, just as it had had before Luther protested. Even pietism, protest of protests, together with a demand for return to the simplicity and earnestness of primitive Christian life, contained also a reversion to the magical ideas of Catholicism concerning ceremonials and rites. Many of these beliefs still persist. Almost numberless are the Protestants even to this day who to some extent believe in the magical power of ecclesiastical rite and ceremony, and of the ministration of consecrated hands."

Well, after a study of the whole field of controversy, what is the position now? Science is in the lead—at least, so it appears to think—and what has it to offer? It scorns and rejects both magic and religion, yet its professors are unable to agree whether religion is the gift of God or the invention of man, whether man was created by God or God is the creation of man's brain, whether magic existed before religion or religion before magic.

Some of the professors state flatly that magic and religion are identical. They do not offer any evidence—scientific, psychologic, or hermeneutic—to support this modest proposition; their *ipse dixit*, they appear to think, as good as the Quaker's affirmation in a court of law. They serve at least one useful function, when the weather is as intolerably exasperating as their own apologies for logical reasons for becoming infidels: they make us laugh when hardly anything else could do so.

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JOHN BLACK, SCOTTISH DOMINICAN MARTYR.

He's a man who dares to be
Firm for Truth when others flee.

THE appearance, last year, 1909, of Mr. W. Moir-Bryce's monumental work, "The Scottish Grey Friars," has naturally awakened the hope that the Scottish Black Friars may be the next to receive similar treatment at the hands of some equally fair-minded historian. If excellence can be gauged by popularity, and popularity by numbers, the Dominicans of pre-Reformation Scotland, with their twelve¹ houses, do not compare unfavorably with the Conventual and Observantine Franciscans, who possessed seven friaries and nine, respectively. But, apart from this question of merit, the histories of these two orders are so interwoven, and are in many respects of such similarity, that they obviously form fitting and natural companions. Nowadays, it is true, the interest taken in the life and work of the Poor Man of Assisi, not only by Catholics, but also by the cultured of every creed, has in great measure been extended to his sons. These are consequently viewed, at least here in England, by those outside the Church, in a much more favorable light than the brethren of the gloomy Inquisitors. However, it is surely a mere question of time before this diminution of prejudice as regards the Franciscans will naturally lead on to a fair hearing being given to and a just judgment being passed upon the sons of St. Dominic.

The Reformation in Scotland, looked at from the Catholic standpoint, presents a very sad picture, and this chiefly because, even among the religious orders, heroes were scarce. It was not that there were multitudes of bad religions, but that the staunch were very few. The Observantine Franciscans, for example, whose brethren in England had offered such a strenuous resistance to Henry VIII., all fled the land except two or three, who stayed behind only to fall away from the faith. More than half the Conventuals (there were but few of them) likewise yielded to the exigencies of the time and conformed. Of the Dominicans, who numbered certainly not more than two hundred, a few, including the provincial (an old man over seventy), apostatized; some twenty others gave way in so far as to become the recipients of pensions, while most of the rest who remained faithful probably took to flight. But not all of them; for there was at least one man (and others for that matter, into the details of whose history, however, I have not searched), a friar preacher and the subject of this paper, who did

¹ In 1510 they had eighteen houses, and some time before that date as many as twenty-two.

not seek a permanent refuge abroad—a man, indeed, worthy, if not of actual veneration, at least of the greatest admiration. For not only did he never really desert his country, but, animated with the purest zeal, he fought valiantly for the ancient faith and did battle in the cause of truth. At a time when the Church of Scotland was not overproductive of doctors, saints or martyrs, he stands out conspicuous (all the more so by the very contrast!) for his learning and heroism. If there be one name on the roll of Scottish Dominicans upon which all members of that order can look with pride, it is the name of Father John Black, the martyr.

I have divided this article into two parts. The first is a chronological account of the friar's life, and among other things the correct date of his death has been, it is hoped, finally established. Like other religious men of that stormy, and in Scotland almost barbarous time, Black has been the object of base and shameful accusations. Some of these have necessarily been introduced into the first part. Their refutation, however, must be deferred to Part II., in which the moral character of the friar will be placed under consideration and its integrity proved. In that part, also, Black's claim to the title of martyr will be discussed, and, I venture to think, sufficiently justified.

I.

SKETCH OF HIS LIFE.

Father John Black first comes to our notice in 1544, as a member already of some standing of the Dominican community at Aberdeen. For in that year, on August 24, counter actions for "strublanche"² took place between him and one Marjory Gray.³ In 1547 the friars preachers of Aberdeen were engaged in a troublesome lawsuit, and on April 30 and May 23 Black was one of the two friars who appeared on behalf of the convent. The verdict, unhappily, seems to have been finally given against the friars.⁴ Father Black became procurator of the community before very long, for in that capacity he went to law in January, 1547-48, "against David Low and Janet Lesly, his wife, for an annual of 36s. from deceased Robert Endeauchts land without Futeis port;"⁵ and in the March of the following year, "against John Litster for an annual of 10s. from

² *I. e.*, fraudulence (?).

³ *Aberdeen Friars, Red, Black, White, Grey. Preliminary Calendar of Illustrative Documents*, compiled by P. J. Anderson. (*Aberdeen University Studies*.) Aberdeen, 1909, p. 85.

⁴ The whole account of this interesting lawsuit may be read in the "Extracts From the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398-1570." Aberdeen, Spalding Club, 1844, pp. 225 sqq.

⁵ "Aberdeen Friars," p. 87.

deceased Andrew Stevinson's land, on the west of the Gallowgait, now pertaining to Elspet Annand."⁶ Finally, on January 17, 1549-50, he was again in court as "collector and procurator" because Elspet Annand herself had neglected to pay the friars the annual rent (5 lib. Scots) of some other land; and he won his case.⁷ That he was procurator may be also seen from an account⁸ posthumous as regards Black, of a royal concession to Alexander Hay, in which the friar is referred to as having been once the owner of some land.

Friar Black may have been procurator till as late as 1556,⁹ and it was perhaps during these years that he wrote some of his works,¹⁰ for David Chalmers (Camerarius) says of him: "*Aberdoniae plurima pietatis et doctrinae argumenta [exhibuit].*"¹¹ Henceforth, however, Edinburgh seems to have become his headquarters. On September 27, 1558, William Ogilvy, Chamberlain of Murray (possibly James Stuart, Earl of Murray, afterwards Regent), promised in presence of the Lords of Council at Edinburgh "to content and pay to Friar John Black, preacher . . . the sum of £20 usual money of this realm within twenty days."¹² But the time of peace was fast drawing to a close, and a great storm of the Reformation soon burst upon the land. From the middle of 1559 to the middle of 1560 civil war raged in Scotland. The violent Reformers, having already burnt and pillaged many monasteries and religious houses in the provinces, succeeded in the beginning of July, 1559, in destroying or desecrating all the churches, including that of the Black Friars, in the capital itself. The tide of fortune, however, soon turned in favor of the Queen Regent and the Catholics. In August Mary of Lorraine, daughter of Claude, Duke of Guise, and mother of Mary Queen of Scots, came from Dunbar, and having reëntered Edinburgh, took possession of Holyrood House. Friar Black, no doubt, attended her, unless, indeed, he had secretly remained in the city; for, as will be seen, he was her confessor. The following account, belonging to the period that now ensued, shows us something of the friar's work and of his reputation for learning: "Dureing this tyme, the Queene Regent maintained still the Masse in the Palace

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁷ "Extracts From the Council Register," etc., p. 265.

⁸ "Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, 1546-1580," 10th February, 1574-1575, No. 2,360.

⁹ "Aberdeen Friars," p. 93.

¹⁰ His works were: (a) "De reali praesentia corporis Christi in sacramento altaris," lib. I.; (b) "Acta colloquii cum Willoxio symmista," lib. I.; (c) "Conclones plae," lib. I.; (d) "Monitorium ad apostatas," lib. I. Cf. Tanner, "Bibl. Brit.," p. 104.

¹¹ "De Scotorum Fortitudine," Paris, 1631, p. 202.

¹² "The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland," XIX. (1557-1567); App. "Liber Responsionum," p. 428.

of Hallyrudhouse, wher the Papists resorted to her, and amongst the rest the Bishopp of S. Andrewes;¹³ who upon a day in this moneth of August, past to the pulpitt in the Abbay,¹⁴ shewing his commeing; and after he had vomited a little of his superstition, he declared that he had not bein weill exercised in that profession;¹⁵ therefore desyred the auditors to hold him excused. In the meantyme, he shewed unto them that there was a lerned man, meaning Fryer Blake, who wes to come immediately after him into the pulpitt, who would declare unto them the trueth; and therefore desyred them to lett him cease."¹⁶

The author who has given us this information, writing of a few months later, after Edinburgh has been retaken by the Reformers and again abandoned by them, relates that in St. Giles' Church, which was purified in November, "the Papist Friars ceased not in their sermons to blaspheme and cry out against the trueth which had beene lately preached there" by the Reformers.¹⁷ This shows that, at least up to this date, Black was not the only Scottish friar who had forsaken neither fatherland nor faith. It was now that the English came to assist the Reformers. On the 7th of May, 1560, these allied forces attacked the stronghold of Leith, which was defended by the Scotch Catholics and the French. The following account is given by John Knox himself: "The Queen Regent sat at the time of the assault—which was both terrible and long—upon the forewall of the castle of Edinburgh, and when she perceived the overthrow of us, and that the ensigns of the French were again displayed upon the walls, she gave a gaff of laughter and said: 'Now will I go to the Mass and praise God for that which my eyes have seen,' and so was Friar Black ready for that purpose . . ."¹⁸ and said Mass for her presumably in St. Margaret's chapel. But Mary of Lorraine had long been ailing. Her health now gave way completely, and she died on June 10. During her last illness she had an interview with John Willock, whose name will appear again in this paper. That apostate friar¹⁹ was a prominent Reformer. And so much notice has been taken of this interview that no one, it seems, has left any record as to who performed the last rites of the

¹³ *I. e.*, Archbishop John Hamilton, successor of the celebrated Cardinal Beaton, who had been murdered on 29th May, 1546.

¹⁴ *I. e.*, Holyrood.

¹⁵ *I. e.*, of preaching.

¹⁶ "The Miscellany" of the Wodrow Society, 1844, p. 67.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹⁸ Knox, "History of the Reformation of Scotland," ed. 1831, p. 198.

¹⁹ Some historians say that Willock was an apostate Franciscan; others, following Leslie, assert that he had been a Dominican. It is a curious fact, however, that he is nowhere to be found mentioned as a member of either order.

Church for the dying Queen Regent. Friar John Black was most certainly her confessor at this time,²⁰ and so it will not, perhaps, be very rash to conjecture that it was he who administered the last sacraments.

Thomas Wood, who transcribed MS. W. of Knox's "History," has inserted a poem playing upon the friar's name, "because he was borne in the *Blak* Freirs in Edinburgh, and was a man of *Blak* personage, called *Blak* to his name, and one of the *Ordour* of *Blak* Friers."²¹ But a more complete version of this doggerel describing Mary Queen of Scots' "Black Chaplane," which bears the date 1636, is given by Calderwood. "This Frier Black," the few lines of introduction begin, "was Black in the threefold consideration; first in respect of his Order, for he was a Black Frier by profession; secondly in respect of his surname; thirdly in respect of his black works. Whereupon these black verses following were made as a black trumpet to blaze forth all his blackness:

"A certain Black Friar, well surnamed Black,
And not nicknam'd, for black were all his workes,
In a black house borne, in all black deeds frack,
And of his black craft one of the blackest clerkes.
He took a black whoor to wash his black sarks,²²
Committing with her black fornication;
Black was his soule to shoote at such black markes;
Frier Black, Black Friar, Black was his vocation."²³

The foul charges against the Dominican apparent in these lines are of no value. They will be dealt with in Part II.

Some time during Cecil's visit to Edinburgh in 1560, that is between the 16th of June and the 20th of July, Friar John Black disputed with the Protestants in Holyrood Abbey. What the result was is not recorded. Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador in Scotland, is the only authority I have been able to find who makes mention of this affair at all. He does so in a despatch written three years afterwards, but unfortunately merely states the bare fact.²⁴ In the August of the following year, 1561, just before the arrival of Mary Queen of Scots in the kingdom, Black had, again at Edinburgh, a public disputation with John Willock, of whom mention has already been made. It was about the Holy Eucharist and the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the questions proposed were three in

²⁰ *Ibid* and "Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1562," No. 1,170.

²¹ Cf. "Works of John Knox," coll. and ed. by David Laing, 1848, Wodrow Society, Vol. II., App. p. 592, No. IV.; "Notices of John Black, a Dominican Friar," and Kirkton, "History of the Church," Edinburgh, 1817 (fourth), p. 10, n.

²² *I. e.*, shirts.

²³ Cf. David Laing, "Works of John Knox," *loc cit*.

²⁴ "Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots," ed. Bain, Vol. II., 1563-1569, No. 9, and *passim* for the dates of Cecil's letters from Edinburgh; also "Diurnal of Occurrents," Maitland Club, 1833, p. 59.

number: Quhether the naturall body of Christ was really in the sacrament of the altar, be vertue of the wordis spokin be the priest or no? Quhether in the sacrament efter the wordis of consecration, war any uther substance, than the substance of the body and bluid of Christ? Quhether in the Messe war a sacrifice propitiatorie for the sinnes of the kuicke and the deid?" The immediate results of this conference, which lasted two days, were not very satisfactory. Black, described as a learned man and a true defender of the Catholic doctrine, was unable to persuade Willock to abandon his heretical opinions. In the words of Leslie, who has given us this account, the friar "culd not bring Willox from defendeng his haeresie, nor culd turne him from his obstinacie." So the controversy, which was very keen and animated, ended where it had begun, and the common people "mekle mair doubted" and did not know which of the two disputants to side with.²⁵ From Chalmers²⁶ one would gather that Black was brought to Edinburgh as a prisoner (*raptus Edimburgum*), and that he overcame Willock in the dispute that followed. The latter statement sounds, at first, like the expression of an overzealous admirer; for this historian wrote some seventy years after the event, whereas Leslie, who states that in the disputation neither party secured the victory, was Black's contemporary. And yet to pass such a judgment would, I think, be hardly just; for the words of Chalmers are corroborated by those of other writers. The Jesuits in their "Report," which will be quoted at some length in Part II., declare that, even in the opinion of those only moderately versed in such matters (though very likely not in that of Leslie's "ruid peuple," or common people), the heretics were always defeated in discussions of this nature. Moreover, George Con,²⁷ in his account of this particular disputation, speaks of Willock as *egregie confusus*. And after all, the fact of Leslie's stating that neither party secured the victory is no real contradiction of this. For, as Con goes on to say, although Black quite outwitted Willock, the heretic refused to give in. And the explanation of this unsatisfactory state of things would seem to lie in the same historian's last observation. "Truly," he says, "what was the use of overcoming by argument men who undertook to carry all things through by sheer force of arms?"²⁸ It was a case of might against right. The apostate friar had the arms of the Reformers to rely upon, and it was quite impossible for Fr. John Black, at least on this occasion, to do anything more for the Catholic cause.

²⁵ Leslie, "History of Scotland," ed. Cody, O. S. B., 1889-1890, Part III., p. 455.

²⁶ "De Scot. Fort.," p. 202.

²⁷ "De duplici statu religionis apud Scotos," Rome, 1628, Lib. II., p. 133.

²⁸ "Verum quid profuit ratione vicisse eos, qui omnia aperta armorum vi peragenda susceperant?"

A shameful episode must now be chronicled. In the spring of the year 1562 the Town Council of Edinburgh arrested and imprisoned Friar Black on the charge, though false (as will be shown in Part II.), of "manifest adultery." But the Queen herself soon came to his assistance. On April 11 she wrote to the Provost, Baillies, and Council of the city and commanded them to deliver Friar John Black to the keeper of the Castle of Edinburgh, to be kept there till he should be brought to trial.²⁹ This was no trivial favor, and in all probability saved the friar, innocent though he was, from a public disgrace and the ignominious chastisement of a ducking in the North Lock.³⁰ Whether the trial ever came off or not does not seem certain. The records of the criminal proceedings are silent, but from the fact that Black is next found in England, and on the authority of Randolph's statement that he was banished from Scotland, "being apprehended in advouterie,"³¹ it might be inferred that the trial did indeed take place. The value of the ambassador's evidence, however, will be considered in Part II., where, also, it will be shown that, even on the supposition that he *was* banished, not the slightest suspicion of guilt can fall upon the zealous Dominican.

And so, in the following November, whether as a banished subject or as a voluntary exile, Black was staying in the north of England. This appears from the following letter, which, being of some interest, I shall give in full as printed in the State Papers. It is from the Earl of Rutland and Sir Henry Percy to Cecil:

"Percy being in familiar talk with him [Rutland], he said that he heard it reported that Sir James Crofts, Mr. Pawlet, and Mr. Stocks should go to serve at Newhaven.³² Sir Henry said that if what he heard lately was true, one of them was very unmeet to serve. He chanced to be at a gentleman's house where there was a priest, whose name he asked, who answered John Noyre; by which feigned French word and other marking he understood plainly what he was; for indeed he was Friar Black, confessor to the Scottish Queen Dowager. Talking of the journey of Leith,³³ Black told him that the Scottish Queen had from time to time true and perfect intelligence of all the proceedings and devices in the English camp, by one chief of the council there, named Sir James Crofts, who gave intelligence by the Laird of Blanern.—York, 2nd December, 1562; signed H. Rutland; Henry Percy."³⁴

²⁹ Laing, *op. et loc. cit.*

³⁰ Cf. Maitland, "History of Edinburgh," p. 25, referred to by Laing.

³¹ "Cal. State Papers, Relat. to Scot. and Mary Queen of," ed. Bain, Vol. II., No. 9.

³² *I. e.*, Havre-de-Grace, which had fallen into the hands of the English some two months previously.

³³ *I. e.*, the siege in the spring of 1560.

³⁴ "Cal. State Papers, Foreign, 1562," No. 1,170.

It may be interesting to note in passing that this Sir Henry Percy's father, Sir Thomas Percy, was executed in 1537 for his share in the Pilgrimage of Grace; that his mother, Lady Percy, whose name will appear again below, was a very staunch Catholic; that his elder brother, Blessed Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was martyred for the faith in 1572, and yet that *he* was an occasionalist.

Friar Black must have returned to Scotland shortly after the letter just quoted was written; for he is supposed to have been stoned to death by a Protestant mob in Edinburgh on January 7, 1562-63. The statement to that effect, which has been generally accepted and believed, comes from Dempster and Chalmers.³⁵ But that these historians were, beyond any possible doubt, misinformed, is obvious, seeing that other records of the friar's life after this, and the real date of his death three years later, have been unerringly chronicled by contemporary writers. To show, however, for certain whence their mistake arose is no easy task. On the authority of Chalmers, it has been supposed that this violent assault upon Friar Black was connected with his disputation with Willock. Leslie, it is true, who gives by far the most complete account of that disputation, has left no record of any attack having been made upon the friar after its close, and Balfour, in his "Annals of Scotland"³⁶ (written under Charles II.), is likewise silent on that point. But this is easily explained by the fact that there was an interval of almost a year and a half between the conference and the assault. Besides, neither of these historians was writing a biography of Friar Black; indeed, the account of the disputation is the only piece of information that they give concerning him, and they do not record his death at all. And, of course, Leslie's history only goes down to the year 1562. Therefore, in my opinion, the most obvious conclusion to be arrived at is that, either as a later result of the disputation—possible on Black's publication of his "Acta colloquii cum Willoxio symmista"—or for some other similar reason, the friar was at this date set upon by his enemies, the Protestant Reformers, and nearly killed. He would not be the first man to have been stoned and taken for dead.

³⁵ Dempster, "Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scot." (1627), Lib. II., n. 146, p. 85, who has been followed by Quetif and Echard, "Scriptores Ord. Praed.," ed. 1721, Vol. II., p. 182; Tanner, "Bibl. Brit.," p. 104; Hurter, S. J., "Nomenclator Literatus Theologiae Catholicae," ed. 3a, 1906, Tom. II., No. 671; Chalmers, "De Scot. Fort." (1631), p. 202 (who gives an alternate date for the Friar's death, viz., 15th December, 1562), who has been followed by "Collections for the Shire of Aberdeen and Banff" (Spalding Club, 1843), Vol. I., p. 202, and, together with Dempster, by James Grant, "Old and New Edinburgh" (1880-1882), Vol. II., p. 286; a writer in the *Rosary Magazine*, January, 1886; Mr. T. F. Henderson in the "Dictionary of National Biography" (New edition), Blak.; Mr. P. J. Anderson in his "Aberdeen Friars" (1909), p. 99. The last named writer has acknowledged his oversight and kindly corrected a mistake in my chronology.

³⁶ Vol. I., *ad ann.*, 1561.

A few months later, May 19, 1563, Archbishop Hamilton and many other priests were tried at Edinburgh on the charge of hearing confessions and celebrating Mass. The performance of these actions was contrary to the law, and many of the accused, therefore, were thrown into prison. The Queen, it is true, obtained their liberation after a few months, but so hostile to Catholicism were the feelings of the party then in power that even this gentle interference gave the greatest offense to the Protestants. Randolph, writing to Cecil, says: "Many other priests summoned to a day to underly the law; seeing the good treatment of their marrows, take the nearest way over the water of Tweed, minding I am sure, to do no less mischief in England than they have done in Scotland. I am sorry so many Scots are received in our country: it will be the common refuge of papist offenders that cannot live here and are unworthy to live anywhere. One in special of whom your honour has heard, Friar Black, . . . is now with the Lady Percy, the old lady I mean [who was then living at her Ellingham estate in Northumberland²⁷], where he said Mass at Easter and ministered to as many as came. To verify this, I being at St. Andrews, my servant espied a fellow that said he came from England, and coming to 'my speache,' like a trusty servant for such a master, told me he served Friar Blacke and had letters from him to the bishops of St. Andrews, Dunblane, Murraye, Lords Seton and Somervell, and divers others. I got such credit as to see the letters, and for a piece of money won the favour that he should return by me with the answers; as he did, and though there was little 'effecte' in one or other, I took copies of them, and delivered them to Murray 'as presentes sent unto me from the Borders.' I write this for the sure knowledge I have, by a servant of the friar's own, named, as his master is, John Blacke, at this time with him within 4 miles of Newcastle; and within a mile of him there is another 'as honeste as he' that serveth a cure name [. . .]. There is also a notable famous friar 'the greatteste lyer that ever was' (saving Friar Maltman alias Heborne, as he now calls himself); he dwells and sometimes preaches beside Hull. 'Yt muste neades be holesome doctrine that commethe owte of these mens mouthes! Savinge my charitie, I wolde theie were all hanged that gyve me occasion at thys tyme to troble your honour with so maynie wordes!' If it pleased you to warn the bishop of Durham, he would spy them out and cause them to return to their 'olde kynde a begging' rather than 'welthylie' lie lurking in corners working mischief. . . . With your leave I will shortly write to the Bishop, and warn the wardens that such gallants be looked to, and convoyed

²⁷ Philippe, "Life of Blessed Thomas Percy," Catholic Truth Society, 1898, p. 8.

through the 'dayngers' of the Borders, if more come that way . . . Edinburgh. (*Signed*) Tho. Randolph."³⁸

Nothing seems to have been preserved concerning Fr. Black's career in the year 1564. Towards the end of 1565 friars were appointed to preach at Holyrood—an office they had not apparently fulfilled in public for seven years. It is not surprising to find that Black, once more in his own country, "was admitted for one of the Queen's chief preachers;" and at this time he "gave in a supplication for himself and his brethren to have a place erected for them."³⁹ Here again we see that there were still left in Scotland a few faithful friars. Another honor that our Dominican received (when, precisely, cannot be told), was his appointment by the Archbishop to the position of second master of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, a position that he retained until his death.⁴⁰

The last year of Fr. Black's life opened with an assault upon his person. On January 5, 1565-66, between eight and nine o'clock at night, in the "Cowgait" at Edinburgh, between "Nevyderis Wynd" and "Friar Wynd," the Dominican was suddenly set upon. He was given two or three blows with a cudgel, and was stabbed with a dagger between the shoulders "to the effusioone of his blude." His chief assailants (most probably there were others as well) were four in number—namely, Andrew Armstrong, James Young, a cutler; William Johnston, a bow-maker, who also secured Black's cloak, and Thomas Brown, a shoemaker, all burgesses of Edinburgh; and their object was undoubtedly to kill him. Indeed, the wound in his back very nearly cost the poor friar his life, and Johnston's face was bespattered with his blood. Armstrong had been among the Reformers who forcibly objected to the celebration of Mass at Holyrood towards the close of the summer of 1563;⁴¹ and in this attack upon the friar he was probably the leader, and the other three men his hired ruffians. They were, of course, arrested and imprisoned.⁴²

Scarcely had the friar recovered from this shameful assault before he was again marked out, and this time slain. The tragic death of the famous David Riccio, Queen Mary's secretary, on the night of the 9th of March, 1565-66, was followed by a tumult at Holyrood, during which Fr. John Black was murdered in his bed. Bishop Parkhurst, of Norwich, one of those who record this dastardly deed,

³⁸ "Cal. State Papers Relat. to Scot.," etc., ed. Bain, Vol. II., No. 9.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 358.

⁴⁰ "Register of Presentations and Benefices," Vol. I., fol. 25, quoted by Laing.

⁴¹ Calderwood, "History of the Kirk of Scotland," ed. 1842, Vol. I., p. 230.

⁴² Pitcairn, "Criminal Trials," Vol. I., pp. 475, 476, and "Cal. State Papers Relat. to Scot.," etc., ed. Bain, Vol. II., Nos. 358 and 359.

is unable, even at this juncture, to refrain from playing upon the friar's name. He says: "*Fraterculus quidam, nomine Blacke (niger, swartz), Papistarum antesignanus, eodem tempore in Aula occiditur.*"

"*Sic Niger hic Nebulo, nigra quoque morte permptus, Invitus Nigrum subito descendit in Orcum.*"⁴³

Bedford and Randolph, in their letters to England a few days later, both record the murder of Black.⁴⁴ Bedford says he was slain at the same time as Riccio and "by like order." Randolph suggests that the perpetrators of the crime were some of the men who had endeavored to kill him two months before; but the proof that the friar died for the faith must be reserved for Part II. Lastly, Guzman de Silva, the Spanish ambassador in London, reports to King Philip II. the affair of the double murder of Queen Mary's secretary and of Friar Black, her "confessor." He also tells us that Queen Elizabeth had received a letter "saying they were killed at night."⁴⁵ So there can be no doubt whatever that March 9, 1565-66, is the correct date of Fr. Black's death.⁴⁶ As to his having been Queen Mary's confessor, this evidence is perhaps hardly sufficient to render the fact absolutely certain. At the same time, if the friar had been confessor to the Queen's mother, was afterwards one of Mary's "chief preachers," and was called in mockery, in the next century, the Queen's "Black Chaplane," it seems very probable—apart from the statement of Guzman de Silva—that he was also actually confessor to the Queen of Scots. And if critics would urge the absence of other authorities, it is easy to reply that all the other writers who might have recorded the fact were Protestants, and therefore not nearly so likely to advert to it as the Catholic Spanish ambassador.

⁴³ "Zurich Letters," Parker Society, 1842, p. 99.

⁴⁴ "Cal. State Papers Relat. to Scot.," etc., ed. Bain, Vol. II, Nos. 358, 359.

⁴⁵ "Spanish State Papers, Cal. of Letters, etc., Relating to English Affairs, Preserved at Simancas, 1558-1567," ed. Hume. Cf. 23d March, 1566. On reference to this letter it will be seen that a man from Scotland said "that the confessor died the same night from natural causes." But as there are four or five first-hand authorities against him, this man must have been mistaken.

⁴⁶ Among modern writers, G. Chalmers ("Life of Mary Queen of Scots") and Bellesheim ("History of the Catholic Church in Scotland," translated by Hunter-Blair, O. S. B., Vol. III, p. 97) give this, without question, as the date of the Friar's death. Laing also (*op. cit.*), on the authority of Parkhurst's letter, shows that Dempster was mistaken in placing it in January, 1562-1563. But Laing himself falls into error when he says that Dempster quotes Leslie as his authority for that assertion, for Dempster (*op. cit.*) simply said: "*Orthodoxae veritatis propugnator strenuissimus, intima eruditione praeditus, inquit Leslaeus;*" and "*De ejus constante professione Jo. Leslaeus lib. X., p. DLXXVII.*" Finally, M. Lecarpentier ("*Le Catholicisme en Ecosse*," Paris, 1905, p. 36) mentions as a single fact the assassination of Riccio and "*d'un dominicain confident de Marie Stuart.*"

Thus did this courageous son of St. Dominic seal with his very lifeblood his constant profession of the faith. And so does he deserve a high place on the long list of the illustrious men of the Order of Preachers.

II.

HIS MORAL CHARACTER AND HIS CLAIM TO THE TITLE OF MARTYR.

He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
Who dares not put it to the touch,
To win or lose it all.
—The Marquis of Montrose.

Those who have had the patience to read the foregoing sketch of Fr. Black's life will now be prepared to face the slanderous accusations that have been made against him. His moral character has, indeed, suffered considerably at the hands of Randolph, Bedford, Knox and others. For the friar's enemies were very numerous, and whilst some of these more than once attacked his person and finally killed him, others as well did their best to sully his name with accusations of gross immorality. The present writer is now convinced that these scurrilous charges are entirely false. But let the reader, when he has considered both sides of the question, judge for himself.

What, then, are the evil deeds imputed to Fr. John Black? Sir Thomas Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador in Scotland at the time of which I write, appears as the first witness against him. In a letter dated June 3, 1563, after reminding Cecil of how Black had disputed with the Protestants at the time when that English minister was in Edinburgh, he says that this friar was "the selfsame man that had hys lemman taken with hym in the chapell of the Castle of Edinboure, not longe before your comyng,"⁴⁷ that is, about the end of April or the beginning of May, 1560.⁴⁸ Nearly three years later, on March 13, 1565-66, reporting to Cecil the friar's death, Randolph again says of him: "This is he that was taken in the Castle Chapel with his woman; your honour knows the time."⁴⁹ John Knox, the illustrious Reformer, writing in the May of that same year (1566), likewise tells this story. For, after relating how Black said Mass for the Queen Regent on May 7, 1560, he goes on to say that this friar was the man whom the Regent "herself a little before had deprehended with his harlot in the chapel; but," he adds characteristically, "whoredom and idolatry"⁵⁰ agree well together,

⁴⁷ "Cal. State Papers Relat. to Scot.," etc., ed. Bain, Vol. II., No. 9.

⁴⁸ *Of* Knox, "History of the Reformation of Scotland," ed. 1831, p. 198.

⁴⁹ "Cal. State Papers," etc., ed. Bain, Vol. II., No. 359.

⁵⁰ *I. e.*, Catholicism.

and that our court can witness this day, the 16th of May, 1566."⁵¹ Thomas Wood enlarges upon this narrative in verse,⁵² as also does the MS. volume of Calderwood's "History."⁵³

Secondly, in 1562, the Town Council of Edinburgh arrested and imprisoned Friar Black on the charge of "manifest adultery."⁵⁴ Randolph again reports this episode to Cecil twice,⁵⁵ and he tells him also that for this crime the Dominican was banished. In his second account (written four years after the event) he declares that the friar suffered this punishment for "*two* several advouteries," and this allusion to a second offense does not refer to the affair in the chapel in 1560, for of that also he has just before reminded his correspondent. In his first account, dated June 3, 1563—that is, one year after Black's arrest—he says: "I desire 'no nother' to Sir Henry Percy my good friend, but that his mother [with whom Black was then staying] might be warned to 'tayke heede to her maydes, for I assure your honour that frier is sycher knave; I desyre not that he leave in my countrie anye of the race.'"

Thirdly, Randolph testifies concerning Black that some time after Easter, 1563, "by his own confession made to my lord of Bedforde and to me, in this town [Berwick], he begotte a ladies woman with chylde, whear he served, not farre from Newecastle."⁵⁶ If the reader would obtain a true estimate of the tone of Randolph's correspondence, he should read the ambassador's letters in full. All that actually relates to Black, however, has been given above.

Fourthly and finally, the Earl of Bedford generalizes; for when reporting the friar's death he says that Black was "a ranke papiste and a man of evill lief."⁵⁷

These, then, are the accusations against Fr. Black. At first sight, indeed, they seem very grave and almost overwhelming. But remove the veil of prejudice through which every friar of bygone ages can but appear as a profligate and licentious man, view the charges in the clear light of twentieth century criticism, and one by one they will quickly disappear. The chief difficulty, of course, in refuting them lies in the fact that, though very definite, the accusations are extremely bare. I have given literally the sum total of all that is to be found against the friar, and really the matter hardly seems to lay itself open to direct disproof. The accusations are simply blunt assertions unaccompanied by any sort of explanation,

⁵¹ Knox, *op. et loc. cit.*

⁵² Kirkton, "History of the Church," Edinburgh, 1817, p. 10, n.

⁵³ Laing, "Works of John Knox," Wodrow Society, 1848, Vol. II., p. 592.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ "Cal. State Papers," etc., ed. Bain, Vol. II., Nos. 9, 359.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 359.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 358.

unsupported by any fair witnesses, unsubstantiated by any real or circumstantial evidence, proved by nothing. This fact, though perhaps going some way to show that they are groundless, has not facilitated their refutation. Nevertheless, it will now be my endeavor to prove that, taken as a whole or singly, the charges are utterly unworthy of belief.

Let us first of all consider them in general. It must be noted at the outset that all the accusations—even that of the Town Council (as will be shown in its proper place)—emanate from Black's adversaries. Now, assertions of opponents and enemies, uncorroborated elsewhere, can be of no weight. They would not obtain a hearing in a court of justice. Moreover, those who bring these charges against him display, as will be seen in each case, such personal hatred of the man, or such manifest prejudice against the religion of which he was a member, that they cannot on their own evidence be credited. They are utterly untrustworthy witnesses.

Again, in their "Report" to Clement VIII., the Jesuits expressly declare that the principal incentive to apostasy among the Scottish monks—and so among the religious in general—was "carnal liberty (one of the chief considerations of Calvin's gospel)."⁵⁸ If, therefore, Friar Black had really wanted to set at defiance the laws of the Church, and to ignore his religious vows, he, too, would have quickly "cast off the yoke of religion," and would not have suffered his priestly and monastic character to be the occasion of so much personal inconvenience, injury and peril. As Father Thurston has well said: "No sensual-minded ecclesiastic of the type depicted by Buchanan, that is to say, no man whose religious profession was a mere mask, would face opprobrium, exile and hardship when the way of apostasy was easy and provision secure."⁵⁹ Yet we know that Black suffered all these things and a great deal more. Surely, then, it is the plain calumny of his opponents to state that the friar was guilty of gross and even public immorality.

Moreover, all the Catholic historians who have written of him, as will be shown later, and also his accusers (except the Town Council, which, as will be seen, had its reasons for not doing so) assert or imply that the friar was a staunch Catholic. It is not as though he was simply styled or supposed to be a Catholic. On the contrary, his activity in religious matters is most pronounced, and really seems to give the lie to the accusations of immorality, seeing that the law

⁵⁸ "Report Upon the State of Scotland During the Reign of Queen Mary" (written not later than 1594, and sent to Pope Clement VIII.), by the Jesuit Priests of Scotland, translated from the early Latin copy in the Barberini MS. XXXIII., 210 (1197), quoted in "Memoirs of Mary Queen of Scots" (by Claude Nau), edited by Joseph Stevenson, S. J., 1883. App. I.

⁵⁹ *The Month*, December, 1909, pp. 611, 612.

of celibacy for the clergy is such a marked characteristic of the Catholic Church. A profligate priest is certainly not an example of a good Catholic.

And there is another point to which attention must be called. John Law,⁶⁰ sub-prior of the Dominicans of Glasgow, recanted and received the usual pension; John Douglas left the Carmelites, and became one of Knox's most valued coöperators; John Willock, another apostate friar whom we have met before, was advanced to positions of the highest trust; John Black, on the other hand, who remained firm in his allegiance to and very strenuous in his defense of the Catholic Church, was made the object of the gravest accusations. "As in England, this last mentioned circumstance," says the well-known critic already quoted, "throws a flood of light upon the sincerity of Reformers' denunciation of the friars. As long as these religious remained true to the faith in which they had been born and in which they had bound themselves by solemn vow, they were continually satirized by their opponents as both dissolute and ignorant. The moment that they yielded to pressure and were content to renounce their allegiance to Rome, they suddenly became men worthy of all respect for their learning and probity, while not the slightest scruple was manifested about advancing them to responsible cures in the religious system to which they conformed."⁶¹ Fr. Black was always a staunch Catholic priest and a whole-hearted Dominican, and he displayed the most remarkable zeal and energy in the cause of the ancient faith. This was the reason why he was attacked and stoned, cudgeled and stabbed; why he was twice driven into exile; why he was finally murdered, and this also, we may be sure, was the reason why he was so shamefully and so falsely calumniated by his opponents.

Further, if Fr. John Black was publicly known to be a man of evil life, would he have been confessor to Mary of Lorraine? Would she have had him to say Mass for her if, as John Knox asserts, she had herself found out but a few days before that he was really a profligate man? The Queen Dowager was not, perhaps, a saint, but no one who has read the history of her life could honestly answer these questions in the affirmative. Again, when in 1562 the friar was thrown into prison on the charge of adultery, Mary Queen of Scots came to his aid and ordered his removal to the Castle, as though to show that she at least knew that he was innocent. But

⁶⁰ The case of John Law is not so clear as either of the other two I have chosen, for it raises the difficult question: Does a pension mean apostasy? Law himself, together with his prior, had under Queen Mary's seal (April, 1567) an annual rent from their own gardens and priory in Glasgow, and several others obtained annuities from their own property.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 612.

further, is it conceivable that this Queen would have chosen for her very confessor, or even for one of her special preachers, a religious really guilty of this and other crimes and therefore so utterly unworthy of her confidence? Would such a man have been tolerated, much less allowed to say Mass and administer the sacraments, in the house of such a loyal and dauntless Catholic as Lady Percy? Is it possible that Fr. Black, with these stains upon his name, would have been promoted to, or even have continued to hold the position of second master of St. Mary's College? Archbishop Hamilton, though not faultless, would never, I think, have allowed that. He himself had endowed the college, as the foundation charter tells us, "for defending and confirming the Catholic faith, that the Christian religion might flourish, the Word of God be more abundantly sown in the hearts of the faithful, and to oppose the heresies and schisms of the pestiferous heresiarchs who, alas! have sprung up and flourished in these times, in this as well as in other parts of the world."⁶² It is not likely, then, that he would have let Black retain his master's office if the friar had been a worthless character. Finally, it must be noted that Guzman de Silva, the Spanish ambassador in London, does not mention anything about the scandal of Black's private life, not even as reported. And this is remarkable in that the ambassador was a Catholic, the one Catholic who records Black's death. It looks as though he had never heard anything about it; or, if he had, did not consider the information worthy of repetition, much less of belief. But what is yet more surprising is that Parkhurst, the Protestant Bishop of Norwich, is likewise silent on this subject. Now, if the friar, whom the Bishop scornfully styles *Fraterculus*, had been really a notoriously bad man, as Randolph and Bedford assert, Parkhurst, who knew all about Black's murder, would surely have been aware of this fact also, and have made the most of such a salient point; but, as has been seen, he simply makes a joke about the friar's name.

Let us now proceed to consider the accusations in particular, that is, individually. The first, then, comes from Thomas Randolph, who says that the friar "was taken in the Castle Chapel with his woman." Now, this charge, as has been already noticed, was reiterated by Knox. Moreover, Thomas Wood and another writer found the theme to be sufficiently exalted for poetry. Of these last rather unnecessary additions to English verse no refutation is needed; they are simply the amplifications of a later age, and may be compared to fungi sprouting from some rotten roots. But concerning Knox a word or two must be said. Although his account of this affair did not appear in black and white till 1566, when his

⁶² *Of. C. J. Lyon, "History of St. Andrews,"* ed. 1843, Vol. I, pp. 316, 317.

"History" was published, he surely made the accusation orally long before that date. It is possible that he was even first in the field. Now the Sacrament of Penance has frequently been the subject of foul, but false insinuations. Is it not likely, then, that this malevolent Reformer should have seized just some such opportunity as this would have afforded to spread about the report of the heinous crime of his hated opponent, Friar Black—hated for his loyalty to the Catholic faith? This suggestion is, of course, pure conjecture, but it is offered in the light of what is quite certain—namely, that Knox's animosity made him relate many a ridiculous falsehood concerning his enemies, and that his anecdotes about them, as historians are agreed, are utterly unworthy of belief. "Nothing is more objectionable in Knox's behavior," says a fair-minded writer, "than his practice of speaking evil of [even] the highest dignities both of Church and State, simply because they were of a different creed from his own." And again: "He seemed to try how much he could outdo others in vulgar wit and coarse invective. All who have read his writings will at once admit this."⁸³ There was no love lost between him and the friars; so what he has said detrimental to Black's good name can count for nothing. It has been dismissed by Mr. James Grant, who says on the other hand that the Dominican "was a learned and subtle doctor, a man of deep theological research."⁸⁴ So much then for Knox. As to Randolph, the best refutation of the charge as coming from him is to be derived from evidence with which he himself supplies us. For he states that two, or at most three, months after the affair in the chapel Black had a disputation with the Protestants in Holyrood Abbey. Now, it is quite ridiculous to suppose that, in the case of his guilt, the friar would have been so audacious, so brazen as to defend the Catholic cause against men who would at once have thrown in his face the taunt of his flagrant immorality. Indeed, the courage displayed by Fr. Black in publicly disputing with the Protestants at that time, and on a subsequent occasion with Willock in particular, can only be explained on the supposition of his complete innocence as to this first accusation.

The next charge is that of the Town Council, who arrested Fr. Black for adultery. To those unacquainted with the history of the time, this fact, at first sight at least, will seem to weigh heavily against the friar. And yet, what was easier for his enemies than to accuse him falsely? Moreover, it must be borne in mind that all,

⁸³ C. J. Lyon, "History of St. Andrews," Vol. I, p. 348.

⁸⁴ "Old and New Edinburgh," 1880-1882, Vol. II, p. 286. Cf. also his "Memorials of the Castle of Edinburgh," 1850, pp. 91-93. On p. 92 of the "Memorials" the date 1560, in the quotation from Knox, is a misprint for 1566.

or nearly all, official positions in Edinburgh were at that date (1562) in the hands of the violent and bigoted Reformers. And so, if it was easy to accuse the friar, it was likewise not difficult to procure, either by help of accomplices among the already prejudiced jury or else by means of actual perjury, his condemnation. And lest the reader should think that I make too light of this charge or that I have not truly represented the state of things in those troubled times, let me give a sample of this same Council's work in the year preceding Black's arrest. In 1561 the provost and two bailies of Edinburgh made "a proclamation 'that no *adulterer, fornicator, druncard, massemonger or obstinat papist*' should be found within the walls, after forty-eight hours, under penalty of being branded on the cheek and carted through the streets."⁶⁵ This offensive classification clearly shows how Catholics and adulterers were ranked together, and how in the eyes of the Reformers and of the law these words were all but synonymous. It also shows that, as was said above, even the Town Council is to be placed on the list of Black's adversaries. The friar was certainly a "massemonger" and an "obstinat papist." Will it not then be reasonable to infer that the accusation of adultery was brought against him simply because it was judged to be, specially in his case as he was a particular friend of the Queen, the one best calculated to secure his condemnation? At all events, I trust sufficient has been said to show that, even if he was condemned, not the slightest proof can be adduced therefrom that he was really guilty of the crime alleged. But it is not at all certain that he *was* condemned. Indeed, we do not even know whether the trial was ever held or not. Randolph is the only authority who says that Black was literally banished. This the ambassador tells us on two different occasions, just as he did in the case of the affair in the chapel in 1560; but, with due respect to him, I am of opinion that the chief merit of these repetitions is that they establish beyond doubt the identity of Fr. John Black. For in this case he states, on the first occasion, that the friar was banished for "advouterie" simply; on the second, apparently forgetting this, that Black received this punishment for "*two severall advouteries*," of which double crime, or rather accusation, there is not the slightest intimation elsewhere. However, of Randolph's character and of the value of his evidence I shall speak in the next paragraph. But the fact that he clearly exaggerates the number of the charges made against the friar is in itself more than suspicious, and throws considerable doubt upon the sincerity of his accusations taken as a whole, and upon the veracity of his particular statement about the banishment. To

⁶⁵ James Grant, "Memorials," etc., notes, p. 289, quoting Calderwood's "Hystorie." The italics are mine.

explain the fact of Black's being in England not long after his arrest and the time when the ambassador said he was expelled from the kingdom, is easy. It is quite within the bounds of reason to suppose that the Queen (after having rescued him from the Town Council) advised him, in order to appease his enemies, perhaps even for his safety's sake, helped him to quit the land. It is also worthy of notice that only eight or nine months after his arrest Fr. Black was again north of the Tweed.

The third accusation against the friar comes, like the first, from Thomas Randolph. In a despatch to Cecil dated March 13, 1565-66, he says of Black that some time after Easter, 1563, "by his own confession made to my lord of Bedforde and to me in this towne [Berwick], he begotte a ladies woman with chylde, whear he served not farre from Newcastle."⁶⁶ To form some idea of the value of this information, let us first of all go to another of the ambassador's letters. Writing in 1563 he relates that Black was staying with Lady Percy, "wheare he saide masse at Easter, and ministerde to as maynie as came."⁶⁷ Now, Lady Percy was at that time living on her Ellingham estate in Northumberland.⁶⁸ So when Randolph states, in the other despatch, that not long after this the friar sinned with a lady's maid "whear he served not farre from Newcastle," he obviously means Ellingham. Now, in his first letter, that of 1563, after expressing a wish that such men as Black "were all hanged," (!) he says: "I desire 'no nother' to Sir Henry Percy my good friend, but that his mother might be warned to tayke heede to her maydes, for I assure your honour [Cecil] that frier is sycher knave: I desyer not that he leave in my countrie anye of the race."⁶⁹ Then, in his second letter, that of 1566, he tells us that Black did precisely as he had foreseen and seduced a lady's maid. Now, all this is very odd. The ambassador seems to have had an exceedingly accurate foreknowledge of all the evil that Friar Black would do. Or was it that he knew what, when occasion offered, he would say Friar Black had done? On the face of things it is absurd to suppose that Lady Percy would have had such a despicable man in her house, and still more ridiculous to allow that Fr. Black, if guilty of this crime, would have been at pains to say Mass and administer the sacraments, yes, and have been in exile at that very time for having said Mass and given the sacraments in Scotland,⁷⁰ when he had only to give up these things and the practice and belief of his religion to be left alone and permitted to act as he liked. And

⁶⁶ "Cal. State Papers," etc., ed. Bain, Vol. II., No. 359.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 9.

⁶⁸ Phillpotts, "Life of Blessed Thomas Percy," Cath. Truth Soc., 1898, p. 8.

⁶⁹ "Cal. State Papers," etc., ed. Bain, Vol. II., No. 9.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

then as to Randolph's statement of the friar's confession at Berwick of his own guilt—the whole thing is utterly preposterous. Why, that would have been hardly less extraordinary than voluntarily signing his own death warrant. Besides, we must remember what sort of man was this ambassador. Tytler,⁷¹ that rigid Calvinist, says of him that he sent the most false and distorted accounts of the state of Scotland to Cecil and Elizabeth; that, to gain the end he had in view, he not only concealed the truth, but did not scruple to employ calumny and falsehood. With political and religious changes, the tone of his correspondence undergoes a proportionate alteration. For instance, as Lingard has remarked, it is quite amusing to notice that as long as the Queen acted under the guidance of Murray, Randolph's letters are full of Mary's praise, but that the moment Murray became opposed to her, that is in 1565, the ambassador is teeming with dark insinuations and even open charges to the prejudice of the Queen. Moreover, he sometimes wrote for the benefit of other readers besides Sir William Cecil or his royal mistress. Thus not seldom his letters were composed to tickle the ears of the ladies at the English court. It is apparent that he delights in relating and repeating any savory bit of gossip, and that he is quite capable of amplifying and even inventing an account of some edifying scandal. At the very time he composed the last story about Black, whom he hated for being a Catholic and a Dominican, Sir Thomas Randolph was in banishment from Scotland. For in February, 1565-66, Queen Mary had ordered him to quit the court, as a person convicted of abusing the privileges and violating the duties of his office as an ambassador.⁷² This man, then, is Fr. Black's chief accuser—may we not rather call him the friar's worst calumniator?

Lastly, the Earl of Bedford, that great supporter of the Protestant cause and faithful servant of Elizabeth, accuses Black of having been "a ranke papiste and a man of evill lief." But *quod gratis asseritur gratis negatur*. Bedford was a man of such a very different stamp from Fr. John Black, that one almost unconsciously shrinks from accepting his unqualified condemnation of the friar. Perhaps he derived his information on this point from Randolph; they were together in Berwick at the time, and their letters to Cecil, in which they speak of Black, were both written on the same day, March 13, 1565-66.⁷³ Moreover, in the same breath in which he says that the friar was a man of evil life, he also declares that he was a rank Papist. Now this almost amounts to a contradiction in terms. If he had simply said Papist, the assertion that Black was a bad

⁷¹ "History of Scotland," ed. 1873, Vol. III., pp. 205, 206.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 215, 216.

⁷³ "Cal. State Papers," etc., ed. Bain, Vol. II., Nos. 353, 359.

man might at least have been credible. But the epithet rank, superlative in meaning if not in grammar, demonstrates clearly that the friar was a Papist among the Papists, that he was ultra-Catholic. Surely, then, there is not room here for immorality.

As coming from his enemies, none of these accusations can affect the reputation of Friar Black. It seems to have been a common resource in those days to cast aspersions and scandalous charges at one's opponent; to drag his name in the mire. Witness the examples of Cardinal Beaton a few years earlier, and of Mary Queen of Scots a little later, both grossly slandered by their enemies, and both by their friends as strenuously defended.

Up to this point I have endeavored to refute the calumnies directly. But there is also an indirect proof of Friar Black's innocence. If we can show that Black was a man of exemplary life, it will be quite obvious that his morals must have been absolutely unimpeachable. Now, fortunately for the friar's reputation, this has been asserted, or at least implied, by all the Catholic historians who mention his name. Dempster (1628) styles him *praeclarus Christi miles, ac invictus religionis Catholicae pancratiasta*, and the like;⁷⁴ George Con (1628) simply *ex D. Dominici familia*,⁷⁵ as though Black's having remained a Dominican in those trying times was quite sufficient recommendation; Chalmers (1631) actually calls him *Beatus Joannes Blak*.⁷⁶ It is true that the first and last, the most emphatic of these writers, made a mistake as to the date of the friar's death, but surely this does not mean that they are to be considered untrustworthy on every other point. But even if this were so, it would hardly matter, because, happily, Black's character is independent of the eulogies of these historians. Leslie, the famous Bishop of Ross, who wrote his history only three or four years⁷⁷ after the friar's death, says he was a most strenuous champion of the orthodox faith and also a man of the deepest learning.⁷⁸ Moreover, the Jesuits in their "Report" referred to above, record (not

⁷⁴ "Hist. ecclesiast. Gent. Scot. Bononiae," Lib. II., N. 146, p. 85.

⁷⁵ "De duplici statu religionis apud Scotos," Romae, Lib. II., p. 133.

⁷⁶ "De Scot. Fort.," Parisiis, p. 202.

⁷⁷ Leslie's "History of Scotland" from 1436 to 1562 was written between 1568 and 1570, in part in the Scottish language. It remained unpublished till 1830, when it was printed by the Bannatyne Club. The Latin edition of the history, entitled "De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum," extending from 1562 to 1571, an English translation of which is published in 1578. A Scottish translation of this edition was made by Father James Dalrymple, O. S. B., in 1596, which in 1889-1890 found an able editor in Father E. G. Cody, O. S. B. Leslie left in manuscript a meagre narrative of events from 1562 to 1571, an English translation of which is published in "Forbes-Leith's Narrative of Scottish Catholics" (1885), but it contains no information concerning Friar Black.

⁷⁸ "De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum," Romae, 1578, p. 577.

later than 1594) that Sir John Black, as they call him, and certain other "Catholic preachers came forward who not only refuted the errors of the heretics with great spirit from the pulpit, *but also kept the people to their duty when they were dropping away*; and this they did by the publication of many works in the Scottish language." A little further on the account continues: "At this time there was in Scotland a considerable number of scholars, well versed not only in scholastic theology, but in the works of the fathers, and indeed, in every department of antiquity. These men held frequent public disputations with the heretical ministers, especially in the celebrated University of Aberdeen and in Edinburgh, which is the abode of royalty. *By this means many persons were kept safe in the Catholic faith*; for, even in the opinion of persons who were only moderately versed in such matters, the heretics were always defeated in discussions of this nature. It was impossible that a better mode of proceeding could be followed at a time when everything was done by violence and arms."⁷⁹ The reader will allow that not many persons would have been "kept safe in the Catholic faith," nor have been saved from "dropping away" by a priest who was a public sinner.

This brings us to the last argument. Had John Black been a man of evil life, he could never have preserved intact, as he did, his great and good reputation among the Catholics of Scotland. At the time of his death he was styled by a Protestant Bishop *Papistarum antesignanus*,⁸⁰ that is, held in great estimation among the Papists. Now, considering that at this period the Catholics had shrunk to a feeble minority, that the wheat and the chaff had been separated, that it was in fact a case no longer of degenerated quantity, but of surviving quality, it will be allowed that this argument of the opinion of Black's Catholic contemporaries is of considerable value.

The testimony of the old Catholic writers has been given, and I think that they are far more worthy of credence on such a subject as the morals of Friar Black than Randolph, Bedford and the infamous Knox, and that the statements of the former much more than neutralize those of the latter. Not only Catholics, but all recent writers, have followed in their steps and carried on the tradition of the integrity of Black's character. Let me sum up with the words of one who was fully acquainted⁸¹ with the slanderous accusations made against the Dominican. Friar Black, says Bellesheim, was "an exemplary priest and a staunch upholder of the ancient faith."⁸²

⁷⁹ "Report," etc., App. I. The Italics are mine.

⁸⁰ "Zurich Letters," Parker Society, 1842, p. 99.

⁸¹ He constantly refers to the "State Papers," among which are the letters containing the calumnies against Black.

⁸² "History of the Catholic Church in Scotland," trans. by Hunter-Blair, O. S. B., Vol. III., p. 97.

The question of Black's claim to the title of martyr now remains to be dealt with. Dempster, Chalmers, Quetif and Echard and Hurter, in fact, speaking generally, all those who, on the authority of the first two named, place the friar's death in 1563, state that he suffered martyrdom. But seeing that the friar was not killed at all in that year, the testimony of these writers on this particular point may perhaps be considered of little value. Nevertheless, a conclusion almost identical with theirs may be drawn from other and contemporary records. I use the word *almost* because it cannot, indeed, be held as absolutely certain that Black was a martyr, for the simple reason that the fact cannot be absolutely demonstrated. But that this may be safely and legitimately inferred, and so be considered as morally certain, I shall now endeavor to show.

As has been said, two old historians, Dempster and Chalmers, who have been generally followed by more recent writers, state that Friar Black was attacked and killed by the Reformers in January, 1562-63. Black, however, as we have seen, was not actually killed then. But we know that he strenuously opposed the Protestants; he had been doing so all his life, both by word of mouth and by his pen. Moreover, his moral victory over Willock and the publication of his controversy with that apostate must have deeply offended the Reformers. I have therefore come to the conclusion that Black was indeed attacked by the Reformers at the time when Dempster and Chalmers say he was killed, and that he was so severely injured that he was taken for dead.⁸³ Secondly, three years after this assault almost to a day—namely, January 6, 1565-66—the friar was again set upon and all but slain, and once more his assailants were the Reformers.⁸⁴ Finally, on March 9 of this same year (1565-66), in the tumult that followed Riccio's murder, Friar Black was attacked for the third time and at last killed.⁸⁵ But by whom, and why? Randolph, after recording the friar's death, refers to the assault made upon him by the Reformers in the previous January and to the number of persons imprisoned on that account, and then adds the significant clause: "Perchance some of them [were] the authors of his end."⁸⁶ This suggestion is all the more noticeable in that the names of "John Knox and John Craig, preachers,"⁸⁷ are on the first official list of those implicated in the murder of Riccio.⁸⁸ And when, lastly, it is remembered that the tumult at Holyrood, during which

⁸³ Cf. Part I.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ "Cal. State Papers," etc., ed. Bain, Vol. II., No. 359.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 363.

⁸⁸ Tytler maintains ("History of Scotland," Vol. III., pp. 403-409) that this is unquestionably the true and correct list, because intended for Cecil's eye alone.

the friar was slain, was created by the Reformers,⁸⁹ the conclusion is irresistible that it was the Reformers who killed him. They had tried to kill him before, and had failed. But catching him now quite defenseless, they succeeded.

And now, why was he murdered? Bedford says that Black was killed at the same time as Riccio and "by like order."⁹⁰ This may be true. But whereas there may be found in the letters printed in the State Papers manifest hints of the intended murder of Riccio, there are none with regard to the friar. Nor is there any more information to be found in the letters (or Knox's "History") written after his death. The Reformers, it seems, who could not speak of Fr. Black without abusing and maligning him, were not generous enough to supply us with details concerning his untimely end. But we know that Knox and Craig and their party were endeavoring to extirpate the Romish idolatry, and that they held that idolatry was punishable by death.⁹¹ We know that they had a special grudge against this Dominican for having dared to oppose their champion, Willock, and that he was a constant stumbling-block in their way. His inexhaustible zeal and energy on behalf of the ancient faith was his one offense. This it was that had made the Reformers his enemies, and—the conclusion is natural—this it was that occasioned his violent death. Therefore, I think, it may be considered as morally certain that Friar Black was a martyr.

Fr. John Black was rightly called *praeclarus Christi miles*; for in an age of bitter religious warfare, he died, as he had lived, an invincible champion of Catholicism.

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⁸⁹ Tytler, "History of Scotland," Vol. III., pp. 216-220.

⁹⁰ "Cal. State Papers," etc., ed. Bain, Vol. II., No. 358.

⁹¹ Cf. Tytler, III., pp. 216 and 407.

IRISH CATHOLICS UNDER CHARLES II.¹—II.

ON the 1st of July, 1666, Ormond wrote again to Arlington,² giving him further information concerning the proceedings of the Catholic Convention. His letter was sent from Dublin Castle, and was in part as follows:

"Since mine of the 27th, in which I sent an extract of my letter to the Lord Chancellor, I have received yours of the 26th with the copy of a letter from Vlissingen. I thank you for both, and pray the continuance of such intelligence as you think it proper for me to have at this conjuncture. I have put the remonstrances of the Romish clergy into the hands of those who will know how far they fall short of those which have already been presented to the King of England. They have not, however, yet brought me their observations. I took this way so that the King, when he receives an advice on the whole matter from the Council here, with suggestions as to how the Roman Catholics here should be proceeded with, may be more ready to declare his pleasure therein. I have given those to whom I have referred it plenty of time, so that as this document is to be the test of favor to the signers or of prosecution of the refusers, it may be so carefully and clearly considered and exposed to the world as to justify both; yet I hope before I leave this place, I shall be able to transmit the state of the matter and our humble advice upon it."

On the 12th of the same month Robert Leigh, who was agent for Arlington in Ireland and looked after his estates and other concerns, wrote a letter to one Joseph Williamson, another subordinate of the Secretary of State, which shows pretty plainly how justice could be bought and sold at the time when the missive was penned. This, as epitomized by Mr. Mahaffy, ran thus:

"A person of honest reputation here and in daily use in the King's service fell some time since into a piece of unlucky trouble, and, not

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, edited by Robert Pentland Mahaffy, London, His Majesty's Stationery Office.

² Henry Bennett, Earl of Arlington, born in 1618, had a distinguished career as a student of Christ Church College, Oxford. During the Civil War he proved himself not only a brave soldier, but an extremely capable statesman. When the royal cause seemed lost, he sought refuge in France, when he returned to England at the Restoration, where he proved himself the wisest of the advisers of Charles II., and his counsels were highly approved by the Duke of York, afterwards James II. For a considerable time he held the post of Ambassador to the Spanish Court, where he was in high repute. When James ascended the throne he strongly disapproved his efforts to impose Catholicism by force on England. He died July 28, 1685, aged sixty-seven, and is asserted to have been received into the Catholic Church on his deathbed. He brought up his only daughter a Protestant, and she remained one.

being yet freed from it, engaged me to recommend the enclosed papers to your favor. Therein he asks the King's pardon for his misdemeanors. He thinks this pardon will cost something, and proposes therefore to put £50 into my hands for your fee, £10 for my Lord and £40 for yourself. He wishes Lord Orrery and Lord Anglesey to intercede for him. His friend, Mr. Scardewill, will attend you about it. The other enclosed paper is not in proper form of a warrant, but will inform you of the fact and what the person desires. He does not want it to pass the seal here, but in England; for if it pass here people will hear of his misfortune. Even in England he prays for secrecy."³

If allowance is made for the higher value of money then than now, it will be recognized that the bribe paid for the pardon sought was a fairly considerable one.

On the 6th of August, 1666, Leigh sent an interesting communication to the aforesaid Williamson, in which he described the ceremonial observed at the prorogation of the nearly entirely Protestant Parliament of Ireland, which Ormond was heartily glad to see sent about its business because of its uncompromising disposition. This letter has a special interest nowadays because of its reference to the antagonisms which had manifested themselves between the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Many members of the latter assembly had been faithful adherents of the King in his days of exile, and the satisfaction of their demands for the restitution of their confiscated estates did not at all tally with the interests of the Cromwellian planters or settlers, whose representatives constituted the majority of the lower house. Leigh wrote in part as follows:

"To-day the Lord Lieutenant went in his coach of state to Parliament 'attended by his Guard of Battleaxes and servants of state, the streets being all along lined with the Regiment of Guards from the Castle to the Parliament Houses; where His Grace, meeting the Lords in their own house all in their robes, sent for the House of Commons to come up to him, and then, hearing a long speech that the Speaker made, which contained the summing of all the services which this Parliament have since this meeting rendered to His Majesty, what subsidies and other sums of money they have given to His Majesty (accounting into the bargain the £300,000 which they gave by the Explanatory Act with condition the same should be distributed amongst themselves again) justifying their punctillos about their privileges, giving some reason why they did not think fit to pass the Act of Indemnity and lastly submitting themselves to His Majesty's pleasure either in continuing, proroguing or dissolving them,' my Lord Lieutenant gave the assent to several bills.

³ *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669*, p. 153.

"The Lord Chancellor then made a speech thanking them for their loyalty, reminding them that whatever they gave to the King returned to them again, and giving them several good reasons why they should not remain sitting any longer. He then, in the King's name, bid them be dissolved, to the great satisfaction of thousands of subjects whom the protections and privileges of Parliament had almost destroyed in their fortunes, besides that they began to be extreme troublesome among themselves 'upon the punctillo of privilege with the Lords.'"⁴

The Battleaxe Guards of the Viceroy of Ireland were maintained until long after the passage of the Act of Union. Like the ancient Corps of Gentlemen at Arms connected with the Royal Court of England, it was latterly composed of distinguished officers whose valor in war was considerably in excess of their personal wealth. Its abolition was merely one of the many developments of the policy of the British Treasury in consistently endeavoring to diminish the few refunds Ireland receives from it out of the exorbitant burthen of taxation she is compelled to bear.

The difficulties which the Catholic and other loyalists experienced in securing restitution of their ancestral estates, which had been parcelled out amongst the Cromwellian adventurers, are well exemplified in a letter which the King himself found it necessary to address to the Lord Lieutenant. This missive was sent from Whitehall on the 7th of August, 1666, and was in the following terms:

"We have considered the order of 21 November, 1660, grounded on our late Lord Chancellor of Ireland's report, whereby it appears that Robert Harpole, being in command of a troop of horse, was slain at their head at the storm of Drogheda, and that his son William also served us in Ireland as captain of a troop of horse until he was captured by the party serving the late usurper and put to death by Colonel Axtell. You recommended that William's son, Robert, be restored to the estate of his father and grandfather. We required by our said order that this should be done and by our letters of 3 December, 1660, required the Lords Justices of Ireland to forthwith put our order of 21 November, 1660, into execution. By letters of 12 March, 1661, we repeated that direction. He was nevertheless not restored until, after hearing of his case before the Commissioners of Settlement on 17 August, 1663, he was adjudged innocent and decreed to be put in possession of his estate. The Attorney-General and all others were made parties to the proceedings on which this decree [was made] and those who claimed an interest in any part of the estate by reason of a disposition of the late usurped powers were

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669*, p. 175.

left to take such proceedings in law and equity as they might be advised; though the usual rule in such cases is that adventurers or soldiers are to have no other satisfaction than reprisals. We are informed that the Attorney-General for Ireland is now prosecuting Harpole for the estate, not taking notice of the late Lord Chancellor's report, which stated that we were bound *ex debito justitiæ* to restore him. We therefore declare our pleasure to be that you direct the Attorney-General to forbear such prosecution and to enter an *ulterius non vult prosequi* on the information. Those who had any claim to any part of the estate and have been evicted in consequence of the said decree shall be reprimed according to the rules of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. You shall communicate this order to the Commissioners of Settlement, that they may take speedy order for repriming the evicted persons."⁵

The "reprising" thus commanded unfortunately almost necessarily involved injustice to some other loyalists less able to secure the intervention of the King than was Robert Harpole. The case in question, however, makes abundantly clear how difficult was the situation with which Ormond had to deal, and the almost overwhelming impossibility of satisfying the claims of the loyalists without arousing the violent antagonism of the Cromwellian planters who had acquired their lands by the expenditure of much blood and money. Ormond was almost inevitably compelled to adopt a temporizing policy, and, as might have been expected, followed this on lines generally more favorable to the Protestants than to the Catholics, unless in cases where the intervention of the sovereign was successfully involved. Naturally enough, the King was little inclined to provoke an English Protestant rebellion in Ireland—even for sake of his own impoverished adherents—with full knowledge that any such uprising would make much sympathy in England and not improbably result in the overturning of his recently acquired throne, if he acquiesced in its forcible suppression.

A typical example of the hard cases with which both Ormond and the King had constantly to deal was that of Colonel Fitzsimons, who although a Catholic had preferred to stand by the policy of Charles I. as enjoined on the Lord Lieutenant, rather than support that of Rinuccinni and the majority of the Catholic Confederation in persisting in armed opposition to the Parliament. As will be seen by the documents we are about to quote, the Colonel gained little by his stubborn display of loyalty to the imprisoned sovereign. There is first set out a summary of a petition from Colonel "Fitzsymons"—as the name was then spelled—which the Lord Lieutenant duly transmitted to the Earl of Chesterfield for submission to the

⁵ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, p. 177.

King. This abbreviated document reads as follows in Mr. Mahaffy's Calendar:

"Petitioner came to Ireland having the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland's encouragement and letters of favor and recommendation (the copy whereof is hereunto annexed) for getting employment in the King's army here. He has attended here for months and presented several petitions setting forth his loyalty and sufferings, and the loss of his estate of £400 a year, and that there is £4,084 due to him for his service done to the King, Charles I. He expected 'comfortable consideration' from your Majesty in respect of these losses, but is reduced to extremity by the delay in answering, and the receiving no satisfactory answer to, his several addresses.

"He prays (if he be not employed) for such consideration for the said £4,084 or the means of a reformed officer towards his present maintenance here, or to allow him competency for his journey back to the place whence he came."⁶

Ormond appears to have given Fitzsimons a letter of introduction to Arlington, which is thus epitomized:

"This bearer, Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzsymons, was an officer in 'the only Irish regiment which, under the command of Sir James Dillon, adhered to the King against all excommunications and intentions of the Nuncio and Irish clergy, when by their instigation the peace made by the Confederate Irish was as foolishly as infamously broken on their side; and yet his religion is such an obstacle to his preferment here as I cannot overcome.' He is a good officer and may safely be trusted in any employment. Pray give this description of him to the King whenever an opportunity shall be offered for his preferment."⁷

There is nothing in the volume before us to show that Colonel Fitzsimons received any recompense for his excessive loyalty to Charles I. and for his desertion of the cause of his co-religionists in accordance with the requirements of the miserable opportunism which more than anything else rendered possible the murderous campaign of conquest waged by Cromwell.

Meantime Ormond, by means of a host of agents, spies and informers, was keeping a close watch on the Catholics and their chief representatives, both at home and abroad. On the 24th of November, 1666,⁸ he forwarded from Kilkenny to Arlington, in London, communications from three of his creatures. One of these was a letter written from Paris in Irish by a Sir James Dillon, who told the Lord Lieutenant, according to the translation which the latter

⁶ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, p. 190.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

⁸ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, p. 247.

supplied to Arlington, that he "should not be an upright man" if he "were not still mindful and careful of all you gave me in charge when I came out of Ireland." This Sir James Dillon was actually colonel of a regiment in the French army at the time when he was thus corresponding with Ormond. He went on to say that "there are doubtless ill-affected Irishmen in Paris" who "make it their work to recover their rights in Ireland by French power." He added, however:

"My friends in the French Court tell me that the French will not hazard themselves or their goods. But you must be very wary and have a care of the coasts of Ulster and Connaught. I have more to tell your lordship, but thought that this was enough to put you 'on your keeping.' I hope you will shortly see there a special friend of your own, who will inform you of all the news. In the meantime, if you think I should stay here, command me."

The second document forwarded by Ormond to Arlington was one received by him from a Colonel J. Atkins, resident in Germany, telling of the presence in that island of Dr. Lynch, Bishop of Galway and Kilpenora, who "endeavors to make a party," but in whose side he hoped to be "a bad thorn." The third missive is the most interesting of all because of the fact that it casts some light on the conditions under which the Irish priesthood were living in their native land at this time. This was a report from the Lord Lieutenant's chief secretary, Sir Paul Davys, setting out the substance of a report received by him from Sir Oliver St. George, then in Connaught. As epitomized by Mr. Mahaffy this reads as follows:

"Sir Kenelm Digby's son stayed but a short time after his arrival here (as Sir Oliver St. George tells me), but went to Connaught, and within two or three miles of Athlone lodged in the house of a Popish priest by Ballemullen. Sir Oliver does not know the priest's name, 'and that Mr. Digby should stay so long at the house of that priest, which, I am told, is a very mean cottage, unfit for the reception of such a person . . . is that which may seem strange, unless he were there upon some affair which he has worthy his so long attendance on it, notwithstanding the badness of his accommodation.'

"He has, I think, no estate in this kingdom, which might draw him hither, nor are there any great matters of curiosity to be here observed by him, nor any advantage to be gained. For him thus to come and travel so speedily into the remote parts of the kingdom is what may induce a 'jealousie' what he comes about.

"P. S.—Sir Arthur Forbes told me yesterday that the French King has, he is informed, prepared several thousands of saddles and pistols which are in readiness at a town in France by the seaside next

Ireland. I desired him to write to your Grace about it, as it tallies with other information which you have received."⁹

Sad as the picture is of the poor priest dwelling in his "very mean cottage," it stands to the credit of Ormond and of Charles II. that at this time, not only in Connaught, but in Dublin itself as well as in other parts of the country, there was virtually a suspension of active persecution and the pastors were gradually returning to their flocks. No doubt formidably worded proclamations were periodically issued in pursuance of the enactments of Parliament, but occult influence exercised most probably by the King's Catholic mother and Catholic wife prevented any very rigorous application of their provisions. The simple truth is that Ormond and his royal master stood very much more in dread of the Cromwellian Nonconformists of Ulster than of the Papists, whose loyalty to the throne had been well attested in the days of Charles I. and was yet to be confirmed in blood in those of James II. Proof of the correctness of this assertion is afforded by a letter written from Kilkenny by the Lord Lieutenant to Arlington on the 8th of December, 1666. In this we read:

"I shall be as watchful as I can over the north of this kingdom when there certainly are many as ill inclined as those in rebellion in Scotland; and lately I hear of two pernicious fellows, who call themselves ministers, come out of Scotland, who have a great concourse of people that follow them and hear them preach all manner of sedition. I have sent orders to apprehend them, and when I shall have spoken with my Lord of Dungannon, who is Governor of a great part of that province, all other needful orders shall be given. In the meantime I have ordered any of His Majesty's frigates now at Dublin to lie between the north of Ireland and Scotland, and to take a strict account of all that shall pass those seas. This is all I can do at present to prevent contagion from Scotland. I shall soon be nearer those parts and ready, if need be, to visit them in a few hours' warning."¹⁰

According to a "Memorandum on the Religion, State and Revenue of Ireland," which Ormond appears to have had prepared and which Mr. Mahaffy has reproduced, there would seem to have actually been more priests in Ireland in 1666 than there are to-day. Of course, the estimate must have been an exaggerated one, but at any rate it reads thus:

"The Papists in Ireland are 800,000, and, to the Protestants, in the proportion of 8 to 3. Their priests and friars are about 4,000 in number and, to the Protestant preachers, in the proportion of 8 to 1.

⁹ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, p. 248.

¹⁰ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, p. 251.

The sub-sheriffs, sheriffs, bailiffs, head and petty constables, are about 3,000 persons, and about one-tenth of those are Protestants. The barristers-at-law are near two-thirds Papists, and the pretended Protestants officiating about the Four Courts are very numerous and busy. Of Justices of the Peace there have been of late nearly 100 Papists. The holy days observed more by Papists than by Protestants are a tenth part of the whole year, whereby, and by the superfluous priests (if any at all were necessary), Ireland is dammed £300,000 per annum, or one-third of its revenue.

"The government of the common Papists is by their priests, they by their Bishops and superiors, and then again by foreign ministers, especially French. The Papists maintain agents in every court. In brief, their power and interest is such as His Majesty's late orders for disarming them and removing of regulars had little or no effect. The Protestant bishoprics are near equal to those in England, and their revenue about two-thirds of the English. There be many Deans and Chapters in Ireland, but few cathedrals in repair, and scarce three quires. Preaching ministers [are] about 500. The parishes in Ireland are twice or thrice as large as in England, and three, four or five of them are united to make up a living for a minister. The impropriate tithes are many."¹¹

The general tone of this memorandum would seem to indicate that its true purpose was to create fears in England as to a possible revival of Catholic dominance in Ireland. It seems practically impossible that there can have been in the country anything at all approaching the number of clergy set down in it. If there were, the fact affords remarkable proof of the leniency with which the penal laws were being applied. That Ormond detested the idea of anything in the nature of general persecution of the Catholics or their priests at this time, while he was furiously earnest in seeking to cajole or coerce the latter into accepting the supremacy of the King rather than that of the Pope in matters ecclesiastical, is convincingly attested by a long letter which he wrote from Dublin Castle on the 4th of January, 1667, to Arlington. In the course of this he told the Secretary of State that:

"The connivance afforded to several of the Romish clergy to meet here last summer having not had the effect of a general subscription to the Remonstrance proposed to them, and yet having succeeded as far as comes to the creating of a division amongst them, that connivance is now called to mind, and aspersed by some out of their inclination to scandalize the government and perhaps taking occasion so to do upon the proceedings had in England against all of the Romish persuasion, not considering or not willing to take notice of

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

the different constitution of both kingdoms, the Romish recusants in England not being the hundredth part of the people, but, in Ireland, four parts of five."¹²

It will be observed that in these words the Lord Lieutenant bears testimony to the magnificent determination with which the people generally were standing fast by the faith of their fathers. In face of this circumstance and of the other that the majority of the clergy absolutely refused to even look at the schismatical Remonstrance drafted by Walsh, he proposed to issue a proclamation banishing from the country all who might still decline to sign it after a certain date. As to the wisdom of doing even as much as this, Ormond had his doubts and quite frankly expressed them to Arlington. He had before his eyes, however, the rising tide of Protestant intolerance, and—like his royal master—dreaded the effect in England if this broke into stormy demonstrations. He went on to say:

"The principal difficulty of wording the Proclamation will consist in avoiding the misconstruction of the distinction that will be made between subscribers and refusers and leaving it liable to the interpretation of a pretended banishment of some and a real toleration to others to exercise their functions; and in our care to avoid this objection we may fall into a declaration which may involve the best and most conformable part of that clergy which would give the others opportunity to triumph over them. I am not sure that this is a fit time to expose such an instrument to the world, for it may perhaps produce an address to extend the banishment to all, which would be highly inconvenient and dangerous now to do and perhaps not very convenient or safe to refuse."¹³

Ormond added that meantime, while the proclamation was being drafted, he was taking steps to "cause divers of the worse affected of the clergy who have refused to subscribe the Remonstrance to be arrested." This, however, he had done because he had "found it absolutely necessary in order to satisfy the expectations of all the Protestants here," and which would thereby be in some degree "complied with" and "satisfied." Not improbably for the satisfaction of the King and his Catholic wife and mother the Lord Lieutenant went on to assure Arlington that:

"The worst affected only will be punished, and this will be good for the country, which is not in greater danger from our enemies abroad than from these at home. These have refused to give assurance of their loyalty, and are industrious to persuade to rebellion those whom they take upon themselves to teach. I hear it has been suggested to the King that this prosecution of the non-sub-

¹² Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, pp. 264, 265.

¹³ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, p. 265.

scribers would leave the Popish part of the people without any pastors. That is a 'frivolous' objection, since members of the Popish clergy continued here under a persecution of another kind than ever I shall advise to be brought upon them or willingly become an actor in. But it is said that the King has been told this, and that it weighs with him so as to make him disapprove of the further tender of the Remonstrance."¹⁴

Of course, no one knew better than did Charles II. that the document in question was utterly un-Catholic and schismatical. The idea of defending the new persecution on the ground that the clergy had remained steadfastly by their flocks in the days of persecution even worse than "ever I shall advise to be brought upon them or willingly become an actor in" was distinctly Ormondesque. On the 8th of April His Excellency had alarming intelligence to send Arlington, indicating as it did that Franco-Irish spies were being landed in Ireland and conveying munitions of war. He wrote as follows:

"I have intelligence which I think is well grounded that one Byrne (that fellow that attempted the murdering of my Lord Newburgh in Flanders and took sanctuary at Fontenaie [Fontenoy], when he was there apprehended for it) was set on shore the first of this month on the shore of Wicklow. My intelligencer had it from a friar, who also spoke of some few arms and a small proportion of powder landed with him and hid in a sandbank. The friar said he was to return to the French fleet at Brest to give an account of the kingdom in general and particularly of that fitness of that shore for landing men. I have laid the best I could for his apprehension. If I catch him it shall go hard, but I will have the truth out of him. If the French have any design upon this kingdom there is no doubt but that, if they will venture into these channels, the first place for them to attempt would be Dublin, which neither is nor can be made strong but by numbers of men. What to think of it your Lordship will know by your intelligence and by the progress of the Treaty."¹⁵

Eventually the aforesaid Byrne was arrested and proved to be a miserable kind of creature enough, being quite ready to turn informer and to betray to Ormond all who according to him had given him shelter or succor on his arrival in Ireland. His full name was Robert Byrne, and he described himself as having served in Colonel Dillon's regiment in the army employed in Flanders in 1653. Thence, according to his narrative, he went to France, afterward visiting Amsterdam and Cleves. How he found money for these wanderings he did not explain, but he asserted that while at Cleves he held

¹⁴ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, p. 265.

¹⁵ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, p. 342.

the rank of lieutenant colonel of his old regiment. Altogether there seems to be no doubt that life in Ireland in 1667 was apt to prove productive of adventures of various kinds, all more or less risky for the participants. For instance, on the 12th of April of that year Robert Leigh wrote to Joseph Williamson from Charlestown, telling the latter that:

"Since my being here, in the country there hath appeared a new tribe of Scotch Tories, three of which, excellent well horsed and armed with iron Scotch pistols at their girdles besides two in their holsters, met the Sheriff of the next county (who having left the judge at Philipstown, hard by here, was coming back this way with very few in his company) at a place Portnehinch, about a mile off, upon this estate of my Lord Arlington's, too, and, the Sheriff examining what they were, answered him with their pistols so that the Sheriff was fain to betake himself, his, and the rest to swords. The Tories held it out stubbornly, but at last one of them was left for dead and the other two, having their horses killed, got into the bog and escaped us."¹⁸

It was probably as well for the Sheriff's health that he made no attempt to follow the Tories into the bog, through the morasses of which the latter knew the few solid paths, knowledge of which alone made safe passage possible. Living burial would have been the shrieval fate had he been less prudent. On the whole, however, he seems to have borne himself manfully so long as conflict was confined to dry land and to have rendered a good account of his assailants. During the existence of the Cromwellian usurpation Catholics, no matter what their social position or wealth, had been ruthlessly banished from the walled towns or cities, being, however, graciously accorded "liberty" to dispose of their possessions therein to Protestant purchasers if they could find such within a strictly limited period. This, of course, was really equivalent to forfeiture, because the number of possible purchasers was necessarily extremely limited, and those to be found naturally knew that the Catholic proprietors had no choice save to sell at whatever price they thought fit to offer. When, however, certain of the more favored or more lucky adherents of the royal cause were restored to their estates they promptly recognized that by bringing pressure to bear on the Puritan purchasers of Catholic properties they might easily add to their own wealth. Many of these lately enriched cavaliers were Protestants, but whatever their creed the process was the same. How it was worked is exemplified in a letter from the King to the Lord Lieutenant written on behalf of the Earl of Arran and dated 20th of April, 1667. This, as set out by Mr. Mahaffy, ran as follows:

¹⁸ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, pp. 344, 345.

"The Earl of Arran gives us to understand that the late powers, by their public order, gave liberty to the former ancient proprietors of houses in the city and liberties of Galway to sell their interest there to any English Protestant, and that, pursuant thereto, Robert Clarke, and others from whom he derives his title, purchased several houses and lands in Galway, that is to say, one house with its appurtenances standing in Littlegate street (except a cellar) formerly the property of James Darcy, one house with the appurtenances standing in Flood street, formerly the property of Stephen Browne and Julian Blake, one house, &c., standing in the corner between Littlegate street and Flood street with one cellar under the house of John Boy Linch in Upper Broagmaker's lane, and one waste 'platt' of ground in Bodkin's lane, formerly the property of Oliver Browne and Julian his wife, one house, &c., standing between Middle street and High street, formerly the property of Dominick Bodkin Fitzjohn, one house, &c., standing in Flood street, formerly the property of James Martin Fitzjeofery, one house, &c., standing in Lumbarb street (the parlour and one cellar excepted), formerly the property of Oliver French, one house formerly the property of Patrick Kerevan in the High street, one shop formerly the property of Pierce Lynch in the same, one house and waste plot of ground in Flood street, formerly the property of John Linch Fitz Richard, one house, &c., and two-third parts of a field or close called Gortnelickie [Gortnalecka], formerly the property of Edmund Kerewan and purchased by Robert Clarke as aforesaid. All these houses are in the town and liberties aforesaid.

"The Commissioners of Settlement found that all these houses were purchased for good consideration and not seized or sequestered, and therefore ordered that they should not be included in the certificate given to the '49 officers and that the title of the purchasers thereof should be preserved to them. The Earl has bought them from Robert Clarke and has asked us, for securing his title thereto, to accept a surrender of them and regrant them to him. On receipt of these letters and of a surrender by the Earl of the premises, you shall cause patents to pass, &c., in Ireland in accordance with his request. Reserve a rent of E 10s. a year and insert beneficial clauses in the grant."¹⁷

This is a lengthy document, but it is of importance as exemplifying what was going on in all the cities and towns of the country at this time. It is also of value as indicating how largely Catholic was Galway in the days of Charles I. and how ready its Catholic citizens were to sacrifice their properties rather than save them by making pretence of profession of Protestantism.

¹⁷ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, pp. 348, 349.

On the 15th of June, 1667, Ormond wrote to Arlington communicating a decision of the Irish Privy Council, which illustrates in convincing fashion the difficulties with which he had to contend. He said in this missive:

"The case of Alderman Barker and others his partners went against him by vote of the Council on Wednesday last. The consequence is that all the land he pretended to is in the King, where I desire it may remain till I am able to dispose of it to the most meriting and indigent perons, who are like to be disappointed of the grace intended for them by the Act of Settlement. All confiscations are due to them until they have land of at least the value proposed for them. The Alderman made many friends for himself here in a case as void of right I think as ever I judged in my life; and no doubt will be as industrious on the other side. Pray have him looked to lest the King be surprized into favouring him before he knows what obligations are upon him."¹⁸

The Lord Lieutenant's surmise as to the probable action of Barker and partners proved to be correct, for two days later, on the 17th of June, these worthies entered the following caveat against ratification of the decision of the Privy Council:

"The several lands undermentioned are such that were set out to your supplicants for an adventure of £7,000 subscribed and paid upon the Acts of 17 and 18 Charles I., of which lands they were actually possessed, the 7th May, 1659, as other adventures were of forfeited lands in Ireland. Your supplicants are informed that some evil disposed persons, coveting their vineyards, have informed His Majesty that these lands were not given out to adventurers and are now in the King's dispose, and are trying to get His Majesty to dispose these lands to them. That His Majesty may not be deceived in his grant nor your honour in letting the same pass His Majesty's signature to the prejudice of His Majesty's good subjects, your supplicants pray that this their humble request may be received and accepted as *caveat* from them that the said lands may not be passed by His Majesty to your supplicant's prejudice until they by their counsel be first heard."¹⁹

The lands in question totalled 12,254 acres, and when they came to be distributed only two Catholics received portion thereof—namely, Lord Iveagh, 1,500 acres, and one Maximilian Dempsey, another 1,500. The rest were handed over to Protestants. A few years later Lord Iveagh adhered to the cause of James II., fought for him at the Boyne, Aughrim and elsewhere, followed him to France, was attainted and all his property bestowed on the Pro-

¹⁸ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, p. 376.

¹⁹ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, p. 377.

testant supporters of William III. It may be said that if he had adopted another political course this would not have occurred, but the penal statutes enacted by the Irish Parliament in contravention of the provisions of the Treaty of Limerick would have made their retention by him impossible unless he abandoned his religion.

Reference has already been made to the case of Robert Byrne, who seems to have been busily engaged in endeavoring to make up evidence to connect the clergy with political plots. All the time, of course—previous to his arrest—the rascal was posing as an earnest patriot and a devout Catholic. The mere fact that he appears to have been eventually released and allowed to go scot free indicates that he had been throughout a spy in the pay of the English Government. Moreover, it is quite clear that there were others domiciled in Ireland, and judging by their names Catholics also, who were quite willing to assist him in his nefarious work of endeavoring to implicate the priesthood, and especially the members of the religious orders, in the supposed treasonable schemes he described. We find Ormond, for example, transmitting to London the following document:

Copy of Examination of Patrick Keghoe, or Keogho, of Marshaltown, in the barony of Skerriwalsh [Scarawalsh], in the co. Wexford, gent.

He says that about the third or fourth day of April last David Lenan, a Dominican friar, met the examinee at Coolesagard, within a mile of Lymbrick, in the county of Wexford, at which time Lenan told the examinee that one Robert Byrne (who had been in the French fleet) landed about 1 April last at Cloncarraig, co. Wexford, and that he brought with him one hundred arms, and nine barrels of powder; that the said arms and powder were brought on shore and hidden under some banks of sand, and that if the examinee wished to speak with Byrne, or join him in an armed rising, he could meet Byrne at Ballyloghlan [Loughlinstown], between Dublin and Bray, about seven miles from Dublin; that Derby Doyle, a Popish priest, who lives at Ballyloughlin, and thereabouts, is a person with whom Byrne might be found, or who could tell about him, and that Byrne passes by the name of Alfonso Besery. The examinee now hears that he calls himself John de France.

Furthermore, Ormond sent on a long deposition by Byrne, in which he placed the whole responsibility for his landing in Ireland and the supposed importation of warlike stores on the Irish exiles in Paris, and especially on the "Popish priests" there. Even the papers forwarded by the Lord Lieutenant to London showed in the clearest manner possible that the arrest of this scoundrel was brought about by information supplied by a Catholic clergyman. One of these was in part as follows:

Copy of Deposition of Thomas Harney, of Knockloe, co. Wicklow, gentleman. Being duly sworn, he says that:

He heard from James Nolan, a Popish priest from Talloe [Tullow], co. Carlow, of the arrival of Byrne. Byrne was, he heard, sent to dissuade the Irish from flying when the French landed, and to signify to them that the French would oppress no man, but would pay money for what they should take from any man. The next day (about Wednesday last) George Cullen, of Clonmore, co. Carlow, told the examinee of the arrival of one "Toby Birne" [Byrne], who had been a captain of horse in the Irish army in Ireland, and afterwards a lieutenant-colonel in France, and now in pay there,

and that he was sent to tell all the Irish who could be trusted "that there was an intention of the landing of a French army in Ireland within five weeks; and that although there seemed to be something towards concluding peace between the King of England and the French King, yet that it was resolved by the French King not to conclude any peace unless the King of England would relinquish his title to France, and recall all the plantations that had been made in Ireland since the time of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, and restore to the Irish all the lands they had since that time sold." Cullen told the examinee that Byrne had told him, Cullen, that he, the said Byrne, had fully informed himself of all the seaports in Leinster, and of the strength of every garrison, and that there were some landed in every province to gain the like information; and particularly that one Bryan Roe O'Neale was landed in the north of Ireland. Byrne had, the examinee was told, received letters from this O'Neale. The examinee thought that Byrne was a dangerous person, and that he should do the King a service by apprehending him. He found out from Cullen where Byrne could be found, and that he was on his keeping and feared that the Duke of Ormond, who had word of his coming, would arrest him. He, Reeves, and others went to Cullen's house on the night of May 7, apprehended Byrne, and brought him to Hacketstown.

Now, Father Darby Doyle, whom such determined effort was made to implicate in the supposed plot, when brought before the Privy Council was not even put to the oath, and told what was palpably a perfectly honest story. It was thus recorded:

Copy of Examination of Darby Doyle, Popish Priest, of Donabrooke [Donnybrook], in the County of the City of Dublin.

Being examined, he says that:

He first knew Byrne at Anwarp [Antwerp] about twelve years ago. On the week before Easter Day last, when the examinee was at Bullock, co. Dublin, one Dorothy Byrne, who is the wife of Peirs Gowe, a smith, who dwells at Munckstown [Monkstown], came to him, the examinee, and brought him a paper written in Latin. The examinee could not read it, it was so ill-written, and he laid it aside. It was signed by a name which he did not know. He does not know what became of it. On the same day as he was going from Bullock towards Merrion, the Earl of Tyrconnell's house, he met Byrne, who asked him if he knew him. The examinee, "earnestly viewing him," remembered having seen him in the Low Countries, and asked if he was Robert Byrne whom he so remembered. Byrne assented, and when told that the examinee was on his way to Merrion, where the Earl of Tyrconnell was dying, asked the examinee to appoint a time and place where he could meet the examinee. The examinee said they might meet the same night at Byrne's lodgings at Munckstown [Monkstown], but they did not meet; nor has the examinee since communicated with him. Byrne told the examinee nothing about his having brought arms, etc., to Ireland, or about the intention of the French to invade Ireland, or anything to the like effect.

Postscript.—Byrne asked the examinee for one Morgan Cullen, a chyrurgeon, who lives in St. Francis Street in the Combe. The examinee told him Cullen was dangerously ill; but Cullen is since recovered.²⁰

It is eminently worthy of note that even while the Castle scribes were transcribing these documents, Ormond does not appear to have thought it worth his while to cause any search to be made for the store of arms alleged by Byrne to have been landed and hidden on the coast of Wexford. The courteous treatment accorded Father Doyle indicates pretty clearly that neither His Excellency nor his colleagues of the Privy Council believed a word of Byrne's tale.

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²⁰ Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1666-1669, pp. 620, 622, 623.

CONTRACT AS THE ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT.

I.

IT is given as a token of advanced liberty in the course of ages that whereas of old, man's position in life was fixed for him by his status, now it is left to his own free contract. Status is regarded by H. Spencer as marking the *régime* specially proper to the militant type of society, which is characterized by graduated ranks in its fighting body.¹ Doomsday book is a work which furnishes an example of the way in which a man's position in society was settled by the condition to which he was born. Of the population at the time about nine per cent. were slaves, about thirty-two per cent. cotters bound to the soil and subject to a lord, while about thirty-eight per cent. were villeins, whose position was better indeed than that of the cotters, but who could not, unless they became free tenants, break away from the tie of *ascriptio glebæ*. Such was the rule, though upon it certain strong individuals managed to force exceptions in their own favor. For a long time afterwards those closed corporations, the industrial or the commercial guilds,² prevented entrance into their business at the choice of applicants, and he who could make his way into no guild was generally in a poor condition. To the man that had it was given, to him that had not it was refused; blessed were the possessors. This was at least one form of what Brennus called "the oldest of all laws, which reaches from God to the beasts—that the stronger should rule over the weaker."³

Though some sort of an idea of contract appeared sporadically in old speculations about the origin of government, and notably was mentioned by St. Thomas,⁴ it was not till the time of Hobbes that this notion took the prominence which it has maintained in modern times. Among the Greeks his ideas had some foreshadowing in the words of Glaucon (Repub. 358, 359): "They say that to do injustice

¹ "Political Institutions," Chap. XVIII., p. 567. Sir H. Maine says: "Authority, custom or chance are the great sources of law in primitive communities as we know them, not contract. In the minds of men at this stage of thought the acknowledged sources of law are not clearly discriminated."

² An act of Parliament in 1363 ordained that "two of every craft should be chosen to survey that none use other craft than the same which he has chosen," without much liberty of choice.

³ Plutarch's "Life of Camillus," Chap. XVII.

⁴ De Regimine Principis, Lib. I., Cap. VI. Nec putanda est multitudo infideliter agere tyrannum destituens, etiamsi eidem in perpetuo se ante subjecerat: quia hoc ipse meruit in multitudinis regimine se non fideliter gerens ut exigit regio officium quod ei pactum a subditis non reservetur.

is by nature good, but that consequent evil exceeds the good. So that after men had gone through both experiences—that of doing and that of suffering evil—then having found themselves unable to be inflictors without being also inflicted upon, they thought they had better agree together against each alternative, and therefore arose laws and governments, and that which was ordained by law they called the just. Such, it is affirmed, was the origin and nature of justice, which comes to a compromise between the best of all, which is to do and not to suffer injury, and the worst of all, which is to suffer without the means of retaliation.” So justice is accepted, not as good, but as the lesser evil. No man who is worthy to be called a man submits to such an evil if he can help it; he would not be man if he did. In another place Plato expresses a view so depreciatory of mere human sociability that he supposes a divine instinct to have been needed for the formation of States, and to have been given so extensively that the political art was communicated even to the working classes. Aristotle is more wholly humanistic. The State, according to him, was not merely by nature, but also by appointment. From the expression *συμὺν τίθενται* to the term *συνθήκη* or *contract*, the passage is inevitable.⁵

The Romans, with their sense of law, naturally took a more juridical view of the State. Cicero mentions an opinion that it originated in compact: *Quia nemo sibi confidit, quasi pactio fit inter populum et potentes ex quâ existit conjunctum civitatis genus.* (De Repub. iii., 13.) The lawyers in the time of the empire took great care to assert the whole of the imperial power to be a delegation from the people by the *lex regia: lege antiqua quae regia nuncupatur omne jus omnisque potestas populi Romani in imperatoriam translata sunt potestatem.* (Codex i., 17; ii., 7.) Such a theory was meant to take all sting out of the apparently despotic maxim that the imperial edict was law.⁶ (Gaius Instit. i., 2, 7.) So spoke the Romans from a legalist point of view; from the literary aspect they recounted rather the legendary origin of State power. Seneca⁷ gives an individualistic view, quoting the example of the strong bull that leads the herd: *Non praecedat armenta degener taurus*; but he adds that as corruption spoilt the golden age of born leaders, the wisdom of laws had to take the place of personal guidance.

Among Christian writers Eusebius tells how Adam's proximate descendants deteriorated and the race fell into a disorderly, brutal condition of life, without city, without State, without arts or phil-

⁵ Pol. I., 2, 8. Cf. Plato Rep. 359 B. Laws III., 684, where there is mention of an agreement between governors and governed.

⁶ Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem—often satirized in the actual futility of imperial decrees.

⁷ Ep. xc. Edit Elsevir.

osophy, without laws of justice; they wandered as savages in the desert, lost to reason and to discipline. It was God's covenant with the Jews that lifted men from this depth.⁸ Abelard quotes a story that the human herd was raised up to rational life in society by a *vir Magnus et sapiens*.⁹ Rabanus Maurus attributes civil organization to the gradual evolution of the race, so that there appeared in progressive series huts, houses and towns. In the last named was the great source of protection against barbarians and of power to make advances in social condition. *Haec et oppidorum origo, quae ex eo quod opem darent, idcirco oppida nominata dixerant*. Others reverse the procedure and would show some sympathy with Shakespeare's Prince in "The Tempest," Act II., scene 1:

"If the commonwealth I would by contraries execute all things; for no kind of traffic would I admit; no name of magistrate; letters should not be none; riches, poverty and use of service, none; contract, succession, bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none; no use of metal, corn, or oil, or wine; no occupation; all men idle—all; no sovereignty.

"All things in common nature should produce, without sweat or endeavor; treason, felony, sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any, I would not have; but nature should bring forth of its own kind all foison, all abundance to feed my innocent people. I would with such perfection govern, sir, to excel the golden age."

The Christian writers of the Middle Ages offered abundant suggestion for Hobbes whence to derive, if not his absolutism, yet his theory that governmental power originates in contract. Thus from the documents collected in the *Monumenta Germanica* Mr. H. Fisher concludes that the "act of deposing Henry IV. asserted that sovereignty was based on contract, and that if the King broke his oath to his people, they were absolved from their oath to him. Against the other view that the King was the irresponsible vicegerent of God upon earth, it asserted the view that he was a responsible agent, who could be deposed for ignoring his responsibilities." When at the end of the Middle Ages Italy was in the throes of reconstitution after utter disruption, Machiavelli taught that a people radically corrupt can be kept in control only by law strongly enforced; that after the brave and muscular had first brought about some order, then the wise and just had been able to rule for a time; but that in the Italy of his own day morality in public affairs could no longer be effective and must give way to the laws of State necessities. Villari, if not wholly a safe guide, may furnish some idea of what was

⁸ H. E., 1, 2. Lactantius gives a similar sketch of the decline. Div. Instit. III., 21 and 22.

⁹ De Rhetorica et Virtutibus.

then going on. Out of a previous commune at Milan the Visconti and Sforza formed a tyranny. About 1378 two of the Visconti entered into mutual conflict, both being equal in vice and ambition. The nephew succeeded in throwing the uncle, with his children, into prison, whence they never issued. Himself, without military skill, without even courage, from the safe shelter of his castle of Pavia, employed captains, and diplomatists, and intriguers to form for him an extended duchy of Milan, in which were contained Genoa, Bologna and Tuscany. His son succeeded to the possessions, a troublesome brother being got rid of by assassination. The son, like his father, had the skill to use in his service the most efficient agents and to control them by setting one against another. "Surrounded by spies, shut up in the castle of Milan, he duped everybody, always finding fresh opportunities to deceive. By force of diabolical cunning he held his paternal estate up to the day of his death, 1447." Next came the Sforza dynasty, from a family of adventurers. "Francesco was a great captain, an acute politician, who knew how to play with the lion and the fox; when bloodshed was necessary he did not shrink from it, but at other times he sought to distribute impartial justice. He was succeeded by his dissolute son, Galeazzo Maria, who perished by assassination." Such were the vicissitudes of Milan, while Florence, Machiavelli's own city, had similar disturbances as it passed from the Medici to the republicans and then back again for a short time to the Medici. Rude facts like these, exemplifying that abuse of power which Bishop Creighton calls one of the blackest blots on history, make positivist writers very impatient with theoretic, legal, ethical theories concerning the origin of civil power. Nevertheless, it will be worth while to examine the theory of contract taught by some of its chief representatives, though the exemplification of it in history seldom appears with all the clearness, formality and legitimacy which we find in the signing of the American Confederation. We may take in order the views expressed about civil contract by Hobbes, Locke, Spinoza and Rousseau, all typical names in the matter under examination. Hobbes we will consider simply in his works aside from the charge which he had to meet in his own day that parts of his writings were no parts of his doctrine, but the exigences of his fears.

The theory of Hobbes is not easily statable with precision, because in spite of his reputation for clear, manly exposition there is very much in detail to be said against his claim. Some of his arguments and definitions are so insufficient that they hardly seem serious, while at times the difficulties of his course make him to be devious or evasive. The instance specially to the point at present is that he has two uses of the phrase "natural law." Nor does he really help

the matter by pretending to distinguish between *lex* and *jus* (Leviathan xiv.). Rarely if ever is he at pains clearly to conciliate or discriminate two conditions by any such distinction as St. Paul makes between the "law of the flesh" and the "law of the spirit." Not exactly as an historic fact,¹⁰ ever verified universally, but as an artifice of exposition, Hobbes first assumes a "state of nature," in which the "law of nature" was that which was adapted to the wholly selfish, passion-led man who had a right to all things and to the services of all persons, a right limited in exercise only by the limit of his power to obtain what he demanded. "Nature had given to every man a right to all—that is, it was lawful for every man in that state of nature, or before such times as men had engaged themselves in any covenant, to do what he would and against whom he thought fit, and to possess use and enjoy all that he could get." (De Cive., chap i., n. 10.)¹¹

In that condition of no bargain entered into among men, there could be no injustice to man, though there could be offense of God, which would be no violation of human justice: "What any man does in a bare state of nature is an injustice to no man; not that in such a state he cannot offend God or break the laws of nature,¹² for injustice against men presupposeth human laws, such as in the state of nature there are none." (De Cive, ch. i., n. 10, note.) Hence there is no private property at that stage, "for propriety receives its beginning when cities receive theirs, and that only is proper to each man which he can keep by the laws and the power of the whole city," to enforce observance. (Ch. vi., n. 15.) The result is a war of all against the rest, in which struggle no individual can hope to be long prosperous; for in such a conflict powers are practically equalized and the comparatively weak may kill the comparatively strong. Life, while it can then be maintained, is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutal and short." (Leviathan, ch. xiii.) Under such evil

¹⁰ Leviathan, Chap. XIII. Several of the classical writers describe a feral condition of man as they describe also a golden age for the beginning, but they are not writing historically—e. g., Lucretius, V., 925 sqq.; Horace Satires, I., 3, 101 sqq.

¹¹ If there had been any man of power irresistible, there had been no reason why he should not have ruled the rest by that power, as God's right to reign over men is not derived from creation, but from irresistible power.—Leviathan, XXXI. Lactantius asks: "If each individual had strength enough to ward off all dangers, with no need of an assistant, what society would there be in the world? What mutual respect, what order, what more fierce and cruel than man?" De Opific Del., Cap. IV.

¹² Hobbes is quite perplexing unless we remember that he has two, or even three, laws of nature—pre-social, post-social and God-ordained as distinguished from man-ordained. When it suits him, instead of man the strong animal, ruled by brute power, he talks of man, "the rational and most excellent work of nature." (Introduction to Leviathan.)

circumstances, especially out of fear for life and limb, men seek compromise in the formation of a society, not because of social disposition in the good sense. The pre-social man is not *zwov tioyitjckov* by nature;¹³ what drives him to society is, on the positive side, love of gain in trade, love of glorifying self and humiliating others in conversation, with desire also among the learned to wrangle in philosophy; on the negative side it is fear of evil to himself from others. In a better mood Hobbes adds: "It is a precept of reason that every man endeavor peace." (*Leviathan*, chap. xiii.) In infancy human nature is not fit for society; even after education many persons remain unfit. "All society is either for gain or glory," which are "all the mind's pleasure."

Nor was the estimate limited to the small families which we might call savage. "As small families did then, so now do cities and kingdoms." (*Chap. xiii.*) He repeatedly quotes our every-day experience of anti-social nature, thus confusing together the condition before and the condition after the contract. Here, then, we have had described for us one "state of nature" with its "natural law" or "natural right," assigning to each man according to his power the *just* to take and keep possession. Hobbes offers no such explanation of precontractual men as Rousseau does of his state of nature, which he calls a condition of animal contentment that does not rise to the level of moral perception, and is something like Plato's "swine city." Spinoza also is careful to say that before revelation, which bears for him quite a sense of his own, man was below the condition of having that knowledge of God which Hobbes seems generally to assume in his "state of nature," though he does make the remark: "Actions proceeding from passion are not sins till men know that the law forbids them, which till the laws be made they cannot know." (*Leviathan*, chap. xiii.) The latter writer might have given some plausibility to his view if he had said consistently throughout that what he was trying to describe was a hypothetical condition, the state in which mankind would have been if they had refused to follow their better impulse to restrain their individual appetites by agreeing for the common good to unite in a social compact of mutual forbearance. But he makes no attempt at exactitude.

We come next to his second "state of nature," which is that of rational and God-imposed order, in which there is introduced the reign of law, "the immutable and eternal laws of nature." "God declareth laws in three ways: by the dictates of natural reason; by

¹³ By contrast, Aristotle *Polit.*, III., 4, shows forth very well. He says: "Man by nature is a social being." Therefore, even when men are not in need of help from one another, they seek life in society. They gather together not for mere utility, but for the positive purpose of a noble life.

revelation, and by the voice of some man to whom, through the operation of miracles, he procureth credit with the rest." (Leviathan, ch. xxxi.) We now get quite a different condition among men. "Reason is no less of the nature of man than passion, and there can be no other law of nature than reason," though Hobbes manages to say much of another "law of nature," which is antirational. "There can be no other precepts of the natural law than those which declare unto us the ways of peace or of defense." (De Corpore Politico, Part I., ch. i., n. 1.) One such precept is "that every man divest himself of the right he had to all things by nature" (n. 2)—by means of a "contract" (n. 8), the force of which is binding, for "every man is obliged to perform his contracts" (Chap. iii., n. 1). Elsewhere the obligation of contracts is made to depend on the contract, which here it is supposed to validate:¹⁴ "The validity of contracts *begins* not but with the condition of a civil power sufficient to compel men to keep them." Otherwise "convents being but breath, bare no power to oblige." Hobbes has herein an imperfectly made distinction between the *forum externum* and the *forum internum*; for even with regard to the latter he requires reciprocity, so that a good man fallen among scoundrels is absolved from conscientious duties towards them. Under the compact men, as far as their legitimate interests allow, "should endeavor to accommodate others" (De Corpore Publico, ch. i., n. 7), and "abstain from revenge, reproach, derisions, hatred, contempt (n. 10, 11); they should try to keep the golden rule of doing as they would be done by (Chap. iv., n. 9). This second law of nature," truly a law, is very different from the former "law of nature," which was lawlessness, or the law of cupidity and brute force.

When Hobbes came to enunciate his theory of the social compact he showed what he was practically aiming at under the political condition of England at the time. He had suffered from the rebellion, and he wanted a restoration that should be permanent. At most the government for the future could on his theory—though he does not exactly apply it—come to an end by its own collapse. For with him right was might; therefore a King fallen into utter powerlessness would thereby cease to be King, but no people could of set purpose depose him for his iniquities; they could only plead that he had allowed them to sink back again into their primitive state of nature, from which they must again raise themselves by a

¹⁴ The penal sanction makes contract binding. De Cive, Chap. VI., n. 4. See Leviathan, Chap. XIV. "The force of nature being too weak to hold men to their contracts, there are in man but two imaginable helps, fear of consequences and pride in not appearing to need to break contracts, a generosity too rarely found." (Chap. XX.)

new compact. But upon such a question of possibility Hobbes does not find it convenient to animadvert. He is content with his principles that not even a majority can depose the once established sovereignty, whether of a single man or of a plurality; only God can punish the unjust ruler of a State, for absolutism is a necessary price to pay for deliverance from anarchy or the original state of nature. "A commonwealth is said to be instituted when a multitude¹⁵ of men covenant, every one with every one"—not "every one with the sovereign"—"that to whatsoever man or assembly of men shall be given the major part, the right to present the person of them all, every one as well he that voted for it, as he that voted against it, shall authorize all the actions and judgments of that man or assembly of men, in the same manner as if they were his own, to the end of living peaceably among themselves, and be protected against other men." (Leviathan, chap. xviii.) Afterwards "they cannot without his leave cast off the monarch;" for as long as he votes against his own deposition, no majority can deprive him; "there can happen no breach of covenant on the part of the sovereign," who "maketh no covenant with his subjects." The arguments on this point that the sovereign cannot be bound by limitations in the compact are specimens of the author's weakness and are quite trivial. They illustrate the grounds on which we previously said that his logic has been overrated. "Whatever the sovereign doth can be no injury to his subjects." He is judge of peace and war; also of religious doctrine so far as outward profession is concerned; he settles the rules for proprietorship; he decides as judge of all causes, and can be disobeyed only in the most antinatural extravagances; he chooses his ministers, magistrates and other officials. "These rights which make the name of sovereignty are incommunicable and inseparable." (Chap. xviii. *passim*. Cf. De Cive, chap. xii.) Such is the absolutism of government by the great Leviathan, "that mortal God to whom we owe under the immortal God our peace and defense." Hobbes regarded the people as so anarchical that to keep them under some control even a tyranny might be allowed to endure. Better any despotism than a reversion to "the state of bare nature."¹⁶

One concession may be made to Hobbes, that in many stages of

¹⁵ The mere "multitude" is not a social body. To form a society it must first agree that the vote of the majority shall be decisive in establishing a political rule. (De Cive, Chap. VI., nn. 1 and 2.)

¹⁶ Hobbes three times states his theory: Leviathan, Chap. XIII. and XIV.; De Cive, Chap. I.; De Corpore Polit., Part I., Chaps. I. and II. His "fundamental laws of nature" are (1) "to seek peace and follow it, and by all means we can to defend ourselves;" (2) to renounce by mutual agreement the right of each to all, and to be content with equally shared liberties; (3) to keep covenants. (Leviathan, Chs. XIV. and XV.) Promises made where there is no civil power to enforce them are not covenants.

society physical force has been largely the determinant of what have been called rights; and this is a point which we to-day might easily let drop out of our calculation, with a disturbing result to our conclusions. "People are not aware how entirely in former ages the law of superior strength was the rule of life, how publicly and generally it was approved. I do not say cynically and shamelessly, for no such notion could then have found a place in the faculties of any person except of a philosopher or a saint. Resistance to the tyranny was regarded as a crime and the worst of all crimes, deserving the most cruel chastisement as such human being could inflict."¹⁷ Mill adds the remark that great as was the power of the Church to inspire renunciation of the world for the cloister, renunciation of wives who are canonically declared to be not legitimate wives, renunciation of home comforts for the hardships of a crusade, yet it could not stop the abuse of power in the hands of the rulers by whom it was held. In all these matters we may say that the Church sometimes succeeded, sometimes failed.

According to Warburton, the answers to the Leviathan would form a library. "The press sweats with controversy, and every young churchman militant would needs try his arms in thundering upon Hobbes' steel. The objection made by Shaftesbury, who detested Hobbes, against the clerical assailants of his selfishness was that for his universal principle of self-love they substituted fear of hell and hope of heaven, whereas the virtue which needs rewarding can be no virtue. Self-love in its prudential form, according to the Leviathan, drove men naturally to put themselves under a sovereign control. According to Shaftesbury, that end was brought about by a naturally good impulse in man towards harmonious balance between self-regarding interests and social welfare. The more beautiful prospect was the more persuasive.

Bentham, who reached some of the conclusions found in Hobbes,¹⁸ traveled by a different road to them, scorning all abstract speculation over liberty and right in order to insist simply on a utilitarian pragmatism. The individual living under a government which has some sort of practical absolutism should have just that amount of liberty which he could employ usefully for the public good, and the amount was far from being equal for all men. The cry for all-round equality he despised. Leslie Stephen says that Bentham simply omitted those ultimates that Hobbes boasted to have laid bare in the "De Cive," in which was given what the author claimed to be the first produced

¹⁷ Mill on the Subjection of Women, Chap. I.

¹⁸ See the "Fragment on Government," Ch. I.: "The only true and natural foundations of society are the wants and the fears of individuals, though we cannot believe that there was a time when there was no such thing as society."

theory of the State genuinely deduced from principles. Besides the origin of sovereignty from compact, Hobbes admitted another origin by conquest, but into this it does not concern us now to enter. We are content to point out in his contractual theory how, beginning with a wholly inadequate conception of human nature, he vainly seeks to rescue it from the wretched anarchy in which his principles would involve it by a surrender to an absolutism which is almost without limit. He almost wholly ignores the better conception of Aristotle, that nature is describable by its end, not by its most "beggarly elements;" that as it is etymologically a principle of growth or development, rising upwards to its entelechy or consummation in the most reasonable, ethereal, spiritual life, wherein the highest powers are blissfully exercised on their highest objects.

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Book Reviews

THE PRINCIPLES OF PRAGMATISM. A Philosophical Interpretation of Experience. By *H. Heath Bawden*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company. The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1910.

This book calls our attention at once to a new volume of the Stonyhurst Philosophical Series which recently appeared, entitled "Theories of Knowledge: Absolutism, Pragmatism and Realism," by Leslie J. Walker, S. J., M. A. Published by Longmans, Green & Co. Of that book Rev. Michael Maher, S. J., says in the preface:

"It is therefore with great pleasure that I welcome the present volume, as, in my view, both a valuable addition to modern Catholic philosophical literature and also peculiarly suitable to present needs. It deals with the problem which lies at the root of so many other philosophical questions—the great problem of epistemology. The author in the course of his work undertakes primarily the examination of the two most keenly discussed theories of knowledge of the present day, absolutism and pragmatism. But in his study he is naturally led back to their sources in criticism and empiricism. He puts each system before us as expounded by its best representatives; he keeps constantly in view their mutual relations and their connections with Kant and Hume, and he contrasts the most important features of each theory with the realism of Aristotle and Aquinas. It is this method of intelligent and judicious consideration of current philosophical opinion from the standpoint of scholasticism that appears to me to be specially profitable to-day."

We have made this quotation in full because it expresses so well the necessity for Catholics of studying these subjects under Catholic direction and also the necessity for all earnest students to get the Catholic point of view. We shall now quote at length from the declaration of the author of the book before us in order to show the difference in treatment as well as in the point of view, and then we shall let our readers choose which book they will, or perhaps both. Mr. Bawden says:

"Pragmatism is a recent movement of thought which is seeking to do justice to the neglected claims of common sense, of religious faith, and of science, in determining a true philosophy of life. It is not the aim to construct a system, but to show how in pragmatism we may establish the basal conceptions of a new philosophy of experience. The significant fact in recent philosophy is the conscious demand for reconstruction of its method—a reconstruction of its whole purpose and procedure, not merely a patching-up of the existing machinery of reflective thought.

"This demand implies the breaking down of the customary division

of philosophy into theory of knowledge and theory of reality, and the treatment of these as phases of a general theory of experience. The course of discussion in the past few years between the leading schools of thought has made evident the need of a new statement of the issues involved. No one of the proposed systems has been generally accepted. The truth must lie somewhere in their uncriticized postulates. The present work is an attempt to set forth the necessary assumptions of a philosophy in which experience becomes self-conscious as method.

"This demand for reconstruction implies also a synthesizing of the fundamental underlying ideas in a form which the man of average intelligence and education may understand. In these days, when the different branches of philosophy have become professions, and their language as unintelligible to the layman as the technicalities of the special sciences, the need of simplification is obvious. Pragmatism is an attempt to meet this need. There have arisen, however, many apparently contradictory interpretations of this movement, even in the minds of its professed exponents. It is the hope of the author that these pages will aid in clarifying the meaning of this word 'pragmatism.'"

THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA. An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church. In fifteen volumes, with maps and illustrations. Volume VIII.: *Infam*—Lapp. Royal 8vo., pp. 800. New York: Robert Appleton Company.

As the subscriber to the Catholic Encyclopedia places each new volume on his book-shelf, he must derive special satisfaction from the thought that his confidence in the editors of the work was not misplaced. Now that the book is more than half completed, and is fully up to the highest standard of books of the kind in any language, the original subscriber has reason to congratulate himself on his good judgment which prompted him to lend his assistance in the beginning and to get possession of the precious volumes at the earliest possible moment. There is much pleasure also for such a one to see his storehouse grow and to realize that soon it will be complete and that he can draw from it an answer to practically every question concerning things Catholic.

The matter is being distributed very evenly, for the present volume brings it down to about the middle of the alphabet. As the work progresses one begins to understand better that it will furnish complete courses of study in various fields. For instance, it will contain a complete history of the Popes, a complete collection of lives of the saints, a full history of the Church by dioceses and countries, as well as by biographies, and in each of these fields a corps of writers is

employed, each chosen because of his special fitness for a certain phase of the subject. An illustration of the thoroughness with which each subject is treated is found under the heading "John," which calls for eighty-eight articles, not to mention many references.

Three very full and interesting papers are presented on Ireland, Italy and Japan. The first is divided into "Ireland" proper, in seventeen pages, by the latest Irish historian, E. A. D'Alton; "Irish Literature," in fifteen pages, by the distinguished and zealous Celtic scholar, Dr. Douglass Hyde, and the "Irish in Other Countries," in twelve pages, by Peter Condon. "Italy" is divided into "Italy" proper, in thirty-seven pages, by Commandatore Luigi Tacchi Venturi, and "Italian Literature," in seven pages, by Edmund G. Gardner, of Cambridge. The former is one of the most satisfactory papers of the kind we have seen. It is especially strong in its description of the formation of United Italy and the "Law of Guarantees." The illustrations are also noteworthy, being more numerous than usual and very artistic. The contribution on Japan, in twenty-five pages, by Justin Balette, Missionary Apostolic at Tokio, gives a splendid account of the Japanese missions, besides bringing out clearly the general history and geography of the country.

Among the specially timely subjects we find "Joan of Arc," by Father Thurston, S. J. In this case also the illustrations are noteworthy. A good example of the special fitness of the writer to the subject may be seen in Father Maas, S. J., and "Jesus." Probably no one could be found better fitted for the subject than this learned Jesuit and Scriptural scholar.

But where there is so much of excellence and interest it is difficult to dwell upon special contributions without unduly extending this notice and without the appearance of unfairness to other contributors. If we have dwelt for a moment on some few of the papers, it is only to call attention to the work as a whole and to urge again all who have not subscribed for it to do so at the earliest possible moment, so as to make accessible as soon as possible the fund of information already created in these volumes.

HISTOIRE GENERALE DE L'EGLISE par *Fernand Mourret*, Professeur au Séminaire de Saint Sulpice; La Renaissance et la Réforme. Pp. 604.

In these days of specialization "General Histories" are no longer in favor. To compass in any way adequately the history of the Church, not to say of mankind or any considerable section thereof, is usually regarded as practically impossible. General histories are now produced by the coöperative method, sections of the whole being assigned to individual specialists. The well-known Cambridge

Modern History, for instance, is being produced on this plan. Though all this is true, nevertheless there is room for and there is possibility of a satisfactory general history of the Church being produced by a single hand. Of this fact the work here introduced is evidence—*abesse ad posse valet illatio*. The general undertaking, whereof the volume at hand forms one segment, contemplates a general history of the Church that shall take an intermediate place between the voluminous histories by Rohrbacher, Darras, etc., and the class-book compendia. The programme includes eight large octavos, of which the third, "l'Eglise et le Monde Barbare" (from the fifth to the tenth century) and the volume in title above (fourteenth to the sixteenth century) have thus far been published. The sixth volume is in press and the remainder in preparation.

The volume at hand is divided into three parts. The first part, devoted to the Renaissance, describes the decline of the mediæval institutions, the work of "the Legists," the religious, social and intellectual crisis that sprang from the sojourn of the Papacy at Avignon, was hastened and heightened by the great Western schism and the humanistic movement. Colossal figures loom up along the march of events—Boniface VIII., Alexander VI., Leo X., Wiclef, Hus, Savonarola, Petrarch, Dante, Michal Angelo, Raphael, da Vinci and the rest—leaders some of them, products others, of their secular and religious environment.

The second part embraces the Protestant Reformation, Luther, Calvin, Henry VIII. and the other dominant Reformers being here the central figures.

The third part, dealing with the Catholic Reformation, describes the efforts of the Papacy and the Council of Trent to institute a reformation "in the head and members" of the sixteenth century Church, and the splendid religious renewal effected by the columnar saints—Pius V., Charles Borromeo, Ignatius and Teresa.

The volume, it will thus be seen, describes one of the great crises in the life of the Church. It calls no less for great discernment in distinguishing the causes and the results of the tremendous agitation in the whole civilized organism than for judicious balance in estimating the relative responsibility of the leading moral agencies at work. Evidences of both these qualities are abundant in these pages. The broad collation of historical sources testifies to the author's care in laying the basis of critical discernment, while the spirit of candor and impartiality evince throughout the exercise of the judicial temper. The erudition patent in every chapter substantiates his claim upon the serious attention of the professional student of history. The graceful and vivid style which clothes the narrative makes the book one which the average educated reader will profit by and enjoy.

We might here add that the individual volumes of the general course may be purchased separately (7½ francs).

JULIENNE DE NORWICH: REVELATIONS DE L'AMOUR DE DIEU. Traduite par un Benedictin de Farnborough (*Dom Gabriel Meunier*). Paris: Oudin, 1910. Pp. xxxv. + 399.

It is seldom that we have any occasion to introduce through the REVIEW a book translated from the English into a foreign language. Usually the experience is the reverse. Moreover, as regards the volume before us, to do so may seem indeed *actum agere*—carrying coals to Newcastle; for readers who are liking to be interested in the *Revelations* of Mother Juliana will probably prefer making their acquaintance through the original rather than through any translated medium. There is a freshness, a simplicity, a charm in the quaint English of the fourteenth century which no foreign language—even translucent French—can hope to convey. On the other hand, it may well be that some of our readers—many, let us hope—being drawn to the marvels of divine love of which the saintly anchoress of Norwich was a favored subject, desire to have access to the fullest sources of information on the matter. To them we would strongly recommend the present translation—not so much because of the merits of the version itself, which are considerable, the rendering being at once faithful and smooth—but because of the editorial apparatus. The critical introduction is valuable for its bibliographical information and collations, while the appendix supplies a number of interesting notes which throw additional light on the settings and bearings of the Revelations. There is also a map representing the city of Norwich as it was in the time of Mother Juliana.

It is hardly necessary to add that these Revelations form no part of the deposit of faith. They are private and individual; not public and communal. At the same time they are so closely in harmony with the truths of faith that the devout Catholic will find no difficulty in according to them a human faith and using them to nurture piety and devotion—seeing especially that they centre on the Passion of our Divine Lord. What draws one spontaneously to the revelations of Mother Juliana is their immediate verisimilitude. They appeal to one as objective, as communications to the recipient, not as projections of her mind. Her own additions or interpretations stand out distinct from the illuminations which she received. This gives the devout reader the confidence that she was indeed a vehicle through which God manifested the excesses of His love. “Will it well: Love was His meaning. Who showed it thee? Love.

Wherefore showed He it thee? For love." All these "showings" centre here.

SAINT IGNATIUS. By *Francis Thompson*. Edited by John Hungerford Pollen, S. J. With ninety superb illustrations by H. W. Brewer and others. 8vo., cloth, net, \$3.25. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

"Francis Thompson accepted the commission for this 'Life of St. Ignatius' some years before his death—accepted it with an alacrity not always attending the set task. Since it has been often said of him that he was a seventeenth century poet born into the nineteenth, he had almost a contemporary's affinity with the age in which the Society of Jesus set forth. He brought to his biography the sympathy of genius with genius. Original research was beside his plan; he purposed to tell—if he could, to tell better—a story thrice told by others. A familiar figure in the library of the British Museum he accordingly became, and Oxford street was meditatively paced by him many a night with some Ignatian volume—the 'Life' by Stewart Rose for choice—tucked tight beneath his arm.

"When Francis Thompson died, in November, 1907, he had meanwhile become famous, and it was a question whether the master mind of many a creation in poetry could be fairly gauged by a biography in prose. A perusal of the manuscript, which, after many pauses, he had finally completed, put all doubt at rest. An appointed labor it might have been; it had proved a labor of love. Its pages betray none of the dullness of a duty painfully performed. This story of a great revival, of fruitful conversions, carries an invitation to our own languishing day. Many shall surely discover in it their own Manresa—a cradle of all sorts of vocations, a nursery of neophytes. When John Henry Newman was asked what he thought of Wellington's 'Dispatches,' he said they made him 'burn to be a soldier;' and many a soldier reading this book may yet burn to be a saint.

"At any rate, what the writing of the 'Life' did for its author, the close study of it may do for his reader. It helped him to become a lover of the saint, and of that sanctity which he commonly spoke of as 'genius in religion.' It brought him near to Ignatius and his companions, the buffeted and the crossed; and, let it be added, if the relation is not too personal, it moved him to ask spiritual alms from the London sons of the saint during the last stages of his arid journey through life.

"The publishers have greatly added to the adornment of the volume by placing at its disposal the drawings which that master draughtsman, the late H. W. Brewer, assisted by his son, Mr. H. C. Brewer, originally made to illustrate the text of 'Stewart Rose's'

large biography. These artists sought in the main to reproduce the scenes of the saint's life as they appeared to his own eyes; a restoration in which they had the assistance of the Bollandists and of other experts. Finally the proofs have had the advantage of careful revision from a high Ignatian authority—none higher—Father John Hungerford Pollen, S. J. Mr. Percival Lucas has been the indexer."

This account of the making of Francis Thompson's *Life of St. Ignatius* is so happy and so true that a better notice of the book could not be written. It is really a charming work and easily holds first place in its field this year. We shall never have anything quite like it again, because Francis Thompson is dead.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION. A Study in Anthropology and Social Psychology. By *Irving King, Ph. D.*, State University of Iowa. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910. All rights reserved.

The author sets forth his purpose and plan so plainly that we feel we can please him and our readers best by making room for his declaration:

"As the sub-title indicates, this volume is a study in the social psychology of primitive religion. It is, however, far from complete as first planned. It was the original intention to include a number of topics which are of great interest to the student of primitive religion, such as the development of sacrifice and the origin and development of birth, marriage, death and burial ceremonies. Not only have some topics been omitted; those which are here offered to the public are far from completely worked out. They have been written at irregular intervals during the past eight years, in the midst of many duties which tended inevitably to destroy the continuity of thought as well as to render a thorough working out of individual problems well-nigh impossible. Under these circumstances it is but natural that, as the work has proceeded, there should have been a change in interest and, to some extent, in point of view.

"In treating the various phases of the problem the author has attempted to offer sufficient illustrations to lend weight to the positions he has taken. It has not seemed best to try to make these illustrations exhaustive. In almost every instance those offered are only a tithe of the ones which might have been given.

"Nothing set forth in these pages is presented in a dogmatic spirit. In every detail, whether of fact or of interpretation, the author holds himself subject to correction and criticism. While it is scarcely possible but that some errors have been incurred, it is hoped that the general point of view may appeal to students of anthropology, sociology and psychology as suggestive and pertinent.

"As regards the view-point it is, in a word, that the religious attitude has been built up through the overt activities which appear in primitive social groups, activities which were either spontaneous and playful or which appeared with reference to meeting various practical needs of the life-process; and that the development of emotional values has been mediated through the fact that these activities were in the main social."

The readers of the *QUARTERLY* will understand, of course, that this is not a Catholic book. Our theory of the development of religion is quite different from that of the author, but his is interesting and worthy of respect and consideration.

HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1789-1908. By *Rev. James MacCaffrey*, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Two volumes, 8vo., pp. 510 and 590. St. Louis: B. Herder & Co.

Another splendid example of that best of all forms of history, the story of an epoch written while the actors and witnesses, or those who were in actual touch with them, are still living; penned before the documents and monuments on which true history must be based have crumbled away or have been destroyed.

It is sometimes said that the history of recent events should not be written because it must lack historical perspective. But it is surely a mistake. Let us have the history now—the recording of events and the perspective—the philosophy of history afterwards. Is it not better to view a beautiful landscape near at hand without perfect perspective, but with all the parts in correct relation to one another, than to wait until we can ascend a hill from which we hope to enjoy a better perspective, only to find that we are so far away from the scene and objects have become so blurred that we cannot get a correct conception of the picture? Those who are writing contemporary history—and the number is increasing each year—think so, and we agree with them.

The period covered by these two volumes is a very important one, beginning as it does with a chapter on the French Revolution and ending with 1903. This century has meant much for the Church, with the vast emigration of Catholic peoples from the old countries to North and South America, Canada and Australia, and with the pregnant changes which have taken place and are taking place in the Catholic countries of Europe, where infidelity, anarchy and socialism with all their agencies are striving to crush out not only Catholicity, but Christianity. Such a period offers a rich field to the historian, and Dr. MacCaffrey has done well to take advantage of it. He deals with the period in successive chapters according to coun-

tries. This method necessarily causes some repetition, but that is inevitable, more or less, under any system. In the first volume we have France, the German States, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Northern Europe and Italy. England and Ireland occupy large space, and America and Australia loom up important.

We do not attempt to give a full review of the book, our purpose being to draw attention to the importance of a work of this kind and to assure our readers that Dr. MacCaffrey has done that work admirably.

L'ÉGLISE GEORGIENNE DES ORIGÈNES JUSQU'À NOS JOURS par *Michael Tamarati*. Rome: M. Bretschneider, 1910. Pp. xv.

The history of the Church in Georgia (European) is written in tears and blood—an unending crusade it has been, a continuous martyrology, as M. Tamarati calls it. For centuries she has struggled with heresy to preserve the heritage of faith, while she has borne the reiterated onslaughts of the fiercest enemies both of civilization and of Christianity. Few histories are so inspiring, because few are made up of so many and such prolonged deeds of heroism. And yet, strange to say, the history of Georgia, political no less than religious, is comparatively unknown. Why this should be the case it is not easy to say. Certainly it cannot be through dearth of sources of material. The various Roman archives and the great European libraries afford a great wealth of manuscript documents, to say nothing of the large number of easily obtainable printed works more or less directly tributary to the subject. Probably the reason lies in the fact that thus far the historian has been wanting—the scholar equipped with patience and critical ability to sift the immense material and endowed with imagination and feeling to tell the story true to the real life of the people as well as to the chronicles of their political and religious doings. If we may take the splendid work before us as evidence, such a historian has at length arisen. The immense bibliography with which he introduces the volume and the indications on every page of the minute research upon which he has based his narrative, inspires the reader with confidence, while the graphic style sustains the reader's interest throughout.

The work, as the title indicates, is principally a history of the Church in Georgia; but since the religious life of the people is intermingled with their political and civil development, their secular history receives a due share of the narrative. This in turn has necessitated the introduction of geographical and ethnographical information, which so far from detracting from the unity of the work completes and humanizes it. Besides this, a considerable

wealth of illustrations, portraits and maps, together with the truly splendid make-up of the quarto volume and the detailed indexes, etc., contributes very much both to the value and the attractiveness of the work. The book is one of which the author and the publisher and the Catholic reader may equally be proud.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS. By *S. E. Forman*, author of "Advanced Physics," etc. 12mo., pp. 500, with illustrations and maps. The Century Company, New York.

Though necessarily brief, this book is complete and comprehensive. It is very attractive in style and form. The maps and illustrations are new and up-to-date, and it is hard to see room for improvement. The distinctive features are: The method of unfolding the story of the country's growth step by step from small beginnings to its present great proportions; the special prominence given to the progress of the Western movement, which is told with greater fullness than in any previous school history, and which shows that the greatness of our history is due as much to the Western States as to those on the Atlantic seaboard; the treatment of the biographical element, which makes the great leaders of our country stand out as real and interesting personalities; the account given of the commercial, industrial and social development, which teaches how we have passed from the simple life of the seventeenth century to the complex life of to-day; the material provided for the teachers' assistance consisting of questions on the text at the end of each chapter, with review of questions, topics for special reading and special references, and comprehensive outlines and analytical reviews in the appendix; the fullness and richness of its maps and illustrations, the former being entirely new and the latter having been selected from authentic sources, illustrating in many cases Western life in the early days; the clearness and interest of its style, which is simple, something almost colloquial, but never undignified. Altogether a very attractive book.

MISSALE ROMANUM. Ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini Restitutum S. Pii V., Pontificis Maximi Iussu Editum. Clementis VIII., Urbani VIII. et Leonis XIII. Auctoritate Recognitum. Editio Decima septima Post Alteram Typicam. Neo Eboraci: Sumptibus et Typis Frederici Pustet. MDCCCCX.

This new large folio edition of the Missal is a thing of joy, with its large clear-cut type on heavy tinted paper and its broad leaves with ample margin. It is most inviting as it lies open on the altar, and it strikes the eye at once as a becoming piece of altar furnishing and worthy of its high office as a necessary adjunct of the proper celebration of the Holy Sacrifice. As we turn over its leaves we see

that it has many noteworthy features, in addition to being complete and strictly up-to-date. At the beginning of the seasons and the principal feasts there is a picture in black and white suitable to the occasion surrounded by smaller pictures illustrating texts from the prophets bearing on the main event. There are several full-page pictures in colors with beautiful illuminated borders and decorations and accompanied by smaller pictures showing the figures of the realities of the New Testament. The initial letters throughout are large red caps in ornamental background, but the initials of the prayers of the canon are highly illuminated in gold and colors.

Altogether the book is an aid to devotion, because it brings to the hand and the eye of the priest all that he must find in the Missal in the most convenient and most attractive form and with least distraction.

DENYS D'ALEXANDRIE. SA VIE, SON TEMPS, SES OEUVRES, par J. Buret.
One vol. in 16. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

Tillemont, in beginning his article on Denis of Alexandria,

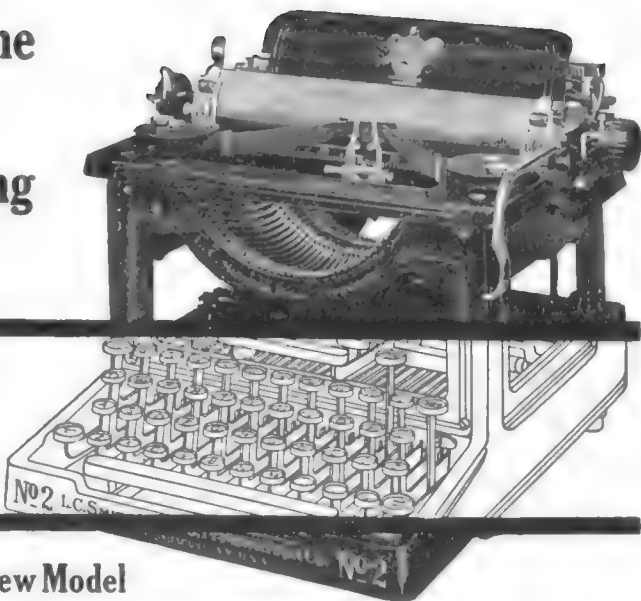
says that he was the greatest ornament of that second church of the world from the days of St. Mark to those of St. Athanasius. This eulogy is in nowise exaggerated. In fact, Denis of Alexandria was concerned in all the important events occupying the attention of the Church from 247 to 264; the persecution of Denis and Valerian, the reconciliation of the lapsi; the controversies on baptism, on the Trinity. Everywhere he fulfilled the role of a peacemaker. His character seems to bear the two-fold stamp of power and sweetness, admirably combined, so as to win the sympathy of men of every age and clime. Students will undoubtedly welcome this new work of M. Buret.

LA MISSION LE SAINT BENOIT. Par le Cardinal Newman. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

In the opinion of Newman, the life of the saints is a convincing proof of the divinity of the Christian religion. For this reason the magnificent essay of the master of Oxford entitled "The Mission of St. Benedict" was made part of the collection of publications given to the world under the name "Science et Religion." This writing is not a biography properly so-called, nevertheless, of all that has been published on the work of the monks in the Middle Ages, nothing comes near this essay as regards depth and literary excellence. We find in it all the charm of style, the richness of thought and the superabundance of illustration so characteristic of the writings of Newman.

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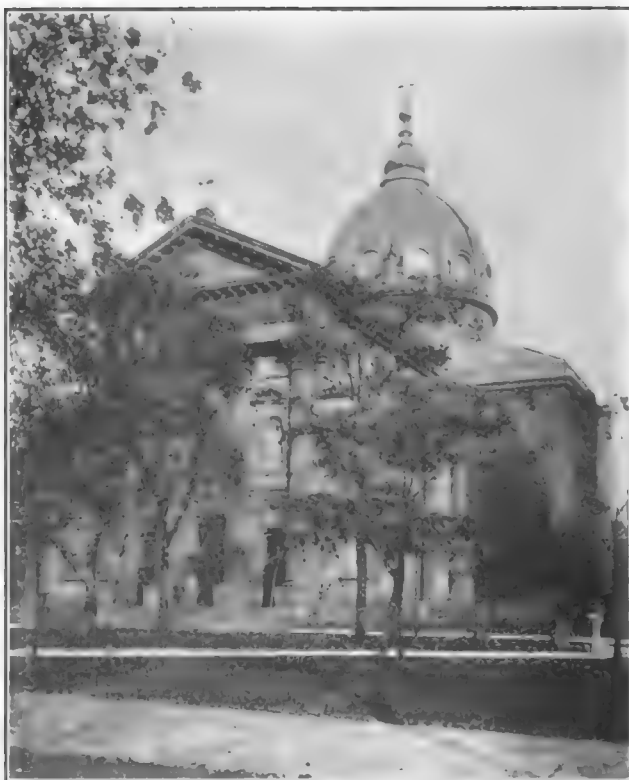
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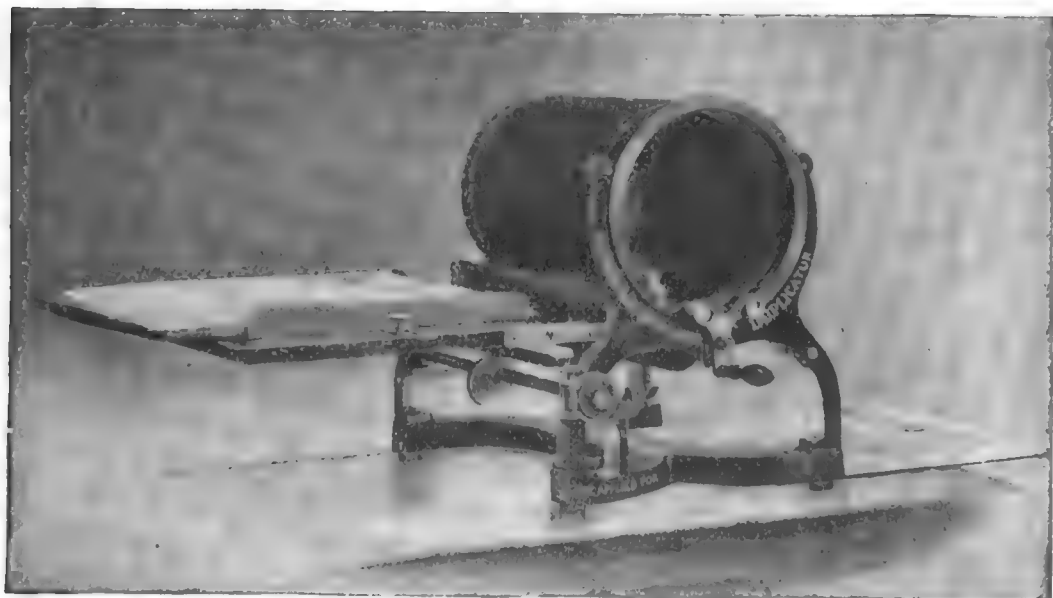
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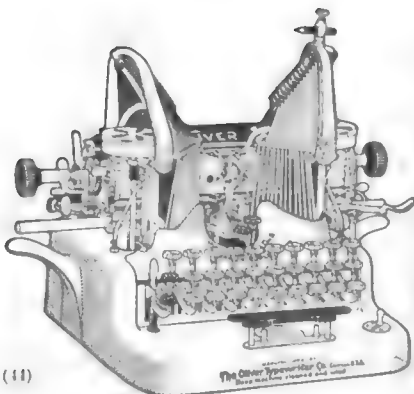
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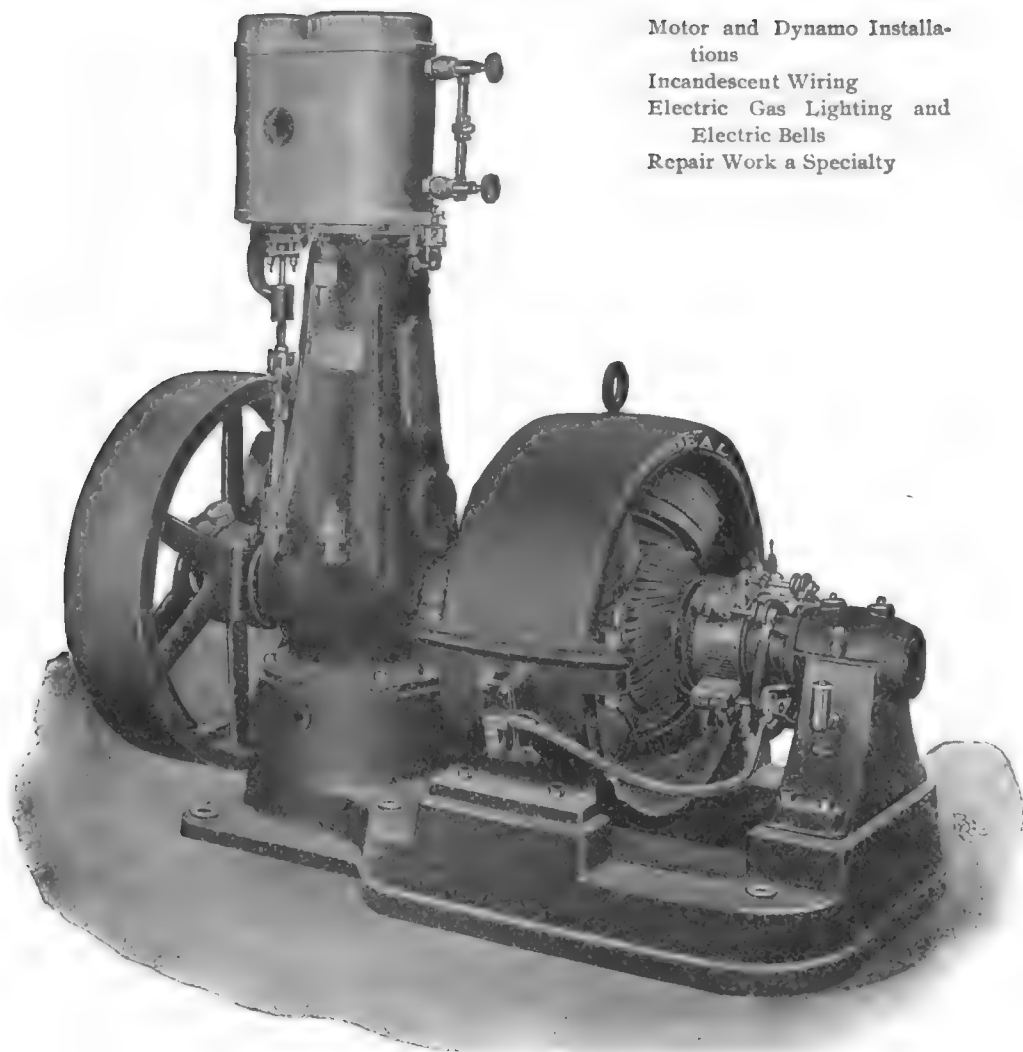
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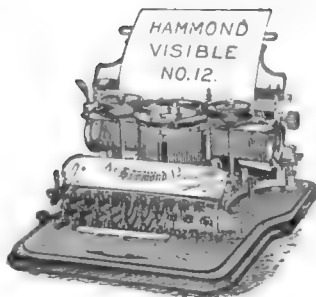
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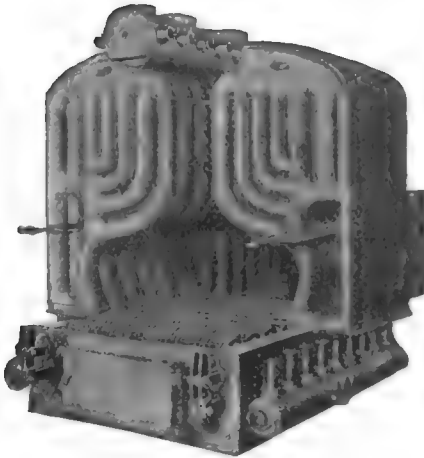
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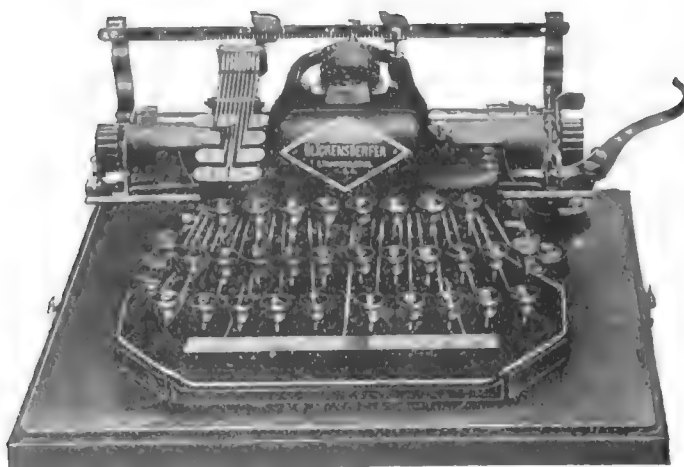
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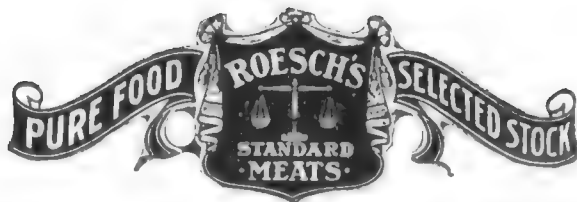
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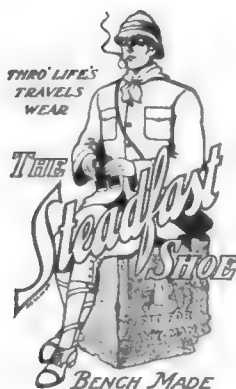
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A BLESSING FROM HIS HOLINESS LEO XIII.

DIE 3 JANUARI, A. D. 1884.

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Leo XIII.



(Translation.)

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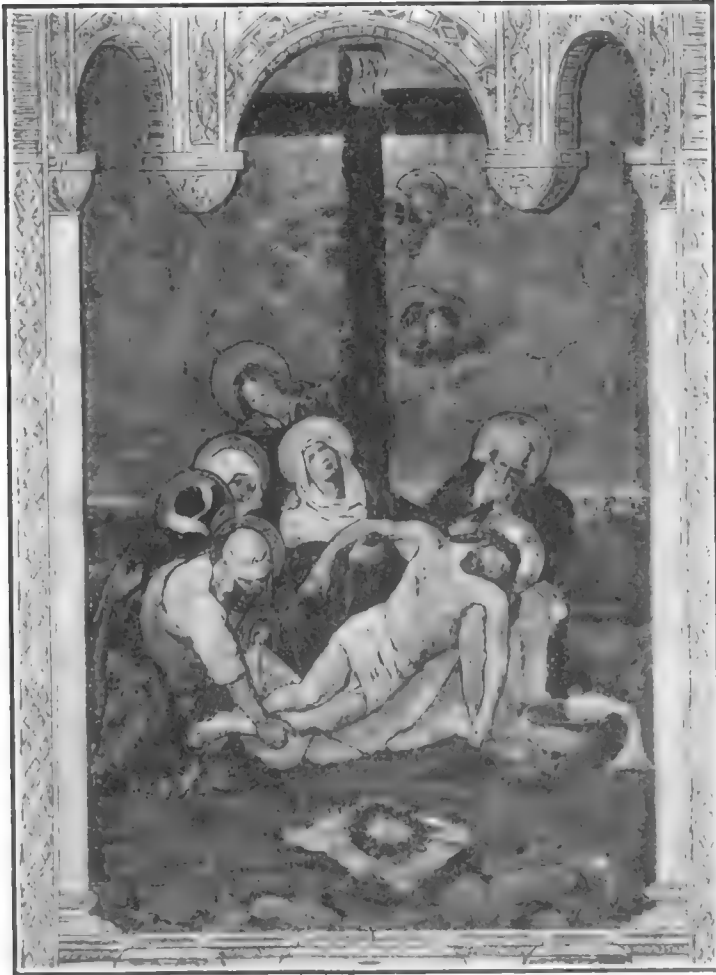
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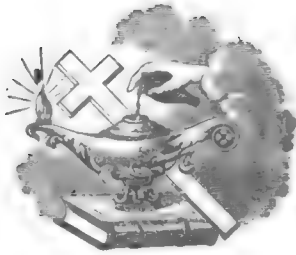
Vol. XXXV.

OCTOBER, 1916

No. 140

THE
AMERICAN
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat
invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.
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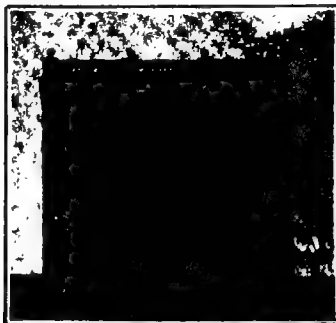
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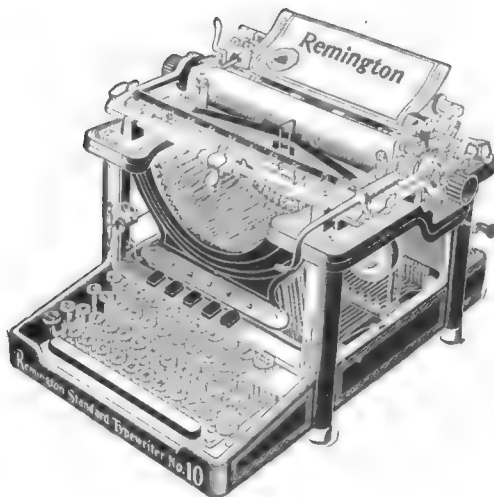
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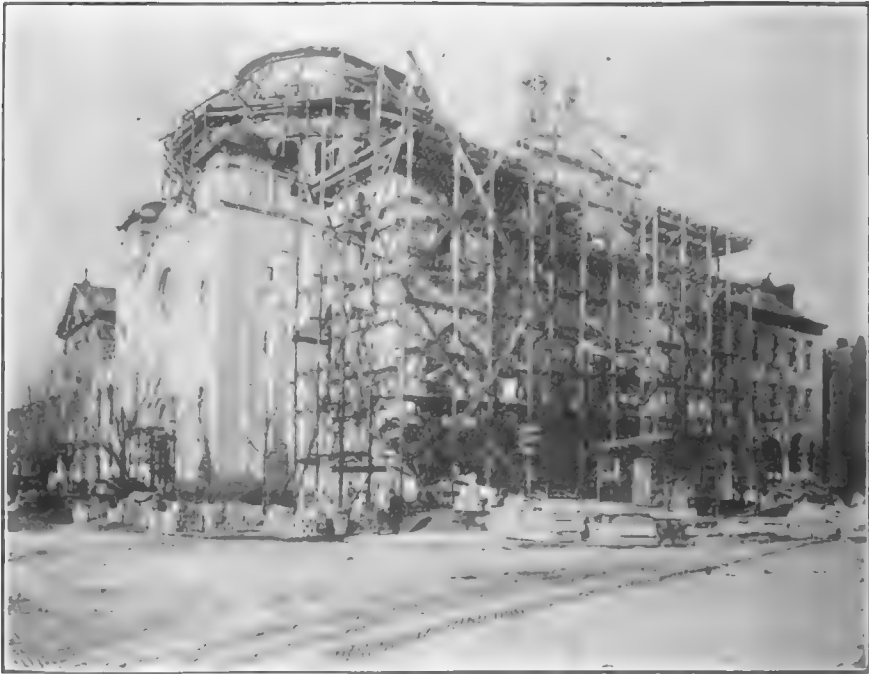
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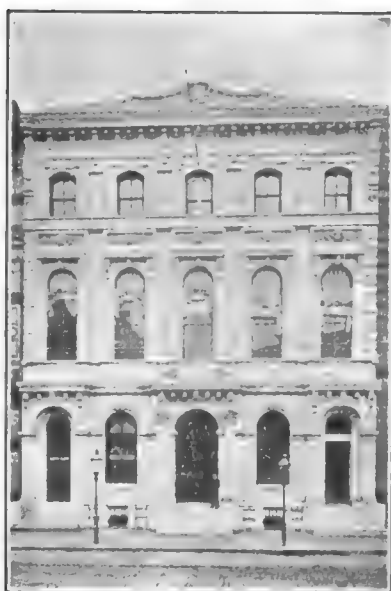
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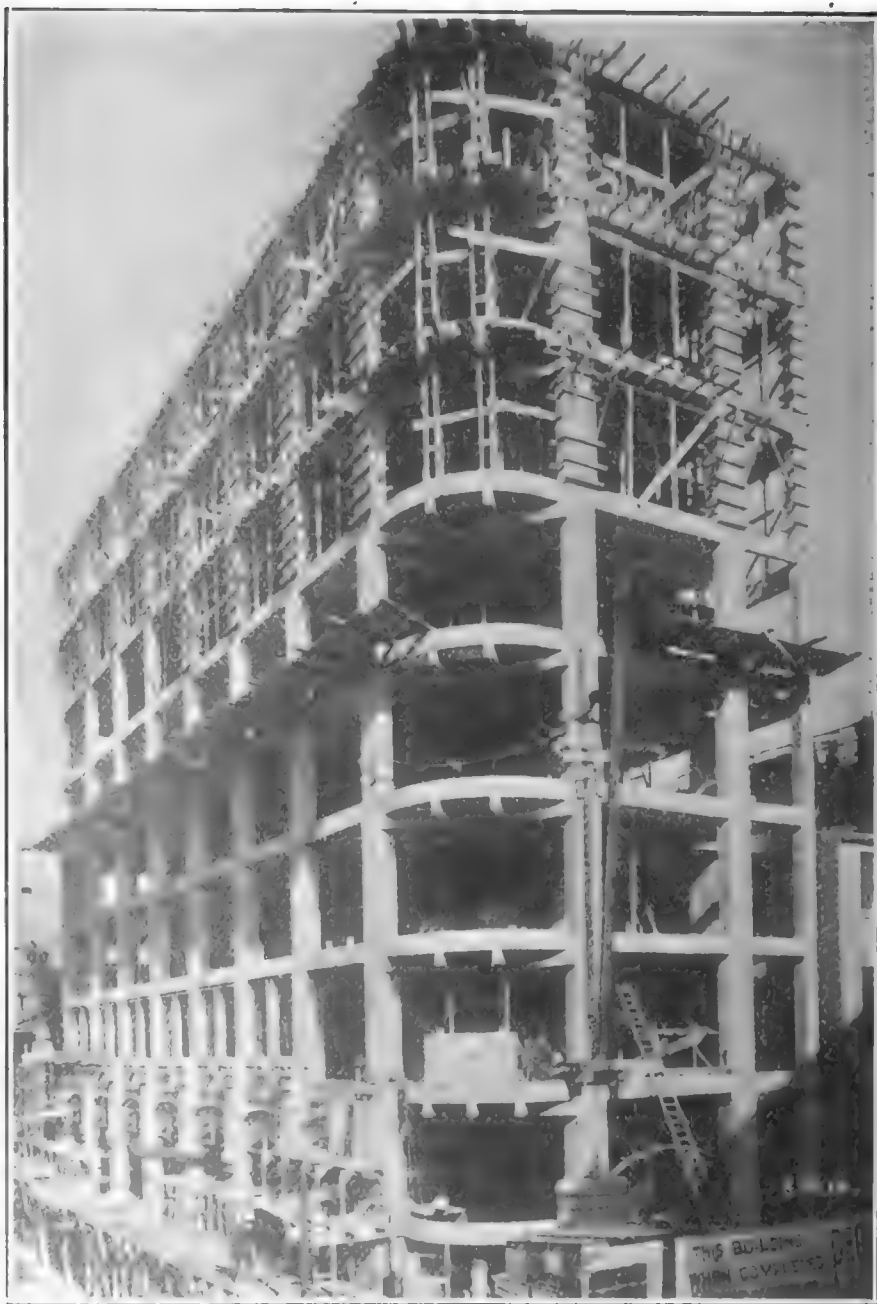
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Cash in Bank and Bankers' hands	1,184,635.88
Notes Receivable, and Unsettled Marine Premiums.....	347,440.69
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(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

VOL. XXXV.—OCTOBER, 1910—No. 140.

SENOR FERRER AND THE ANARCHISTS AGAIN.

JUST as the sympathizers in this country were issuing their manifesto to the disciples of Ferrer that a great celebration in his honor was in preparation to be held on the 13th of October, "in all the important countries of the world and some of the unimportant ones," an attempt was being made at Barcelona to assassinate Senor Maura, the late Prime Minister of Spain. The views expressed in this article receive an ominous confirmation from that event.

The assassin is a young man eighteen years of age.¹ Ferrer started "The Modern School" in Barcelona in 1901. The manifesto spoken of above, published on the 31st of July in the *New York Times*, speaks of Ferrer as the founder of "The Modern School" as a "challenge" to the Church and State schools supported by "a supine and superstitious government," and again quoting from an English journal, "a bull-fighting and bigoted government." The manifesto purporting to be the encyclical of "the Philosophical Anarchists," of "the Scientific Socialists," hardly restrained by their leaders and of the Grand Orient of France, of which Ferrer was a member in the highest place, employs the term, "The Modern School," as the title of a system of education covering each and all of the fabrics, big and little, in which certain principles are taught to the boys and girls attending them. "The Modern School" is a curriculum, a system in opposition to the "mediaevalism" of Catholic education. It does

¹ I assume he was taught in one of "the series called the Modern School."

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not seem to be in antagonism with Protestant schools; though its fundamental dogma is materialistic atheism, it claims to be a secular system like the Board Schools or Council Schools in England, I suppose previous to the last Education Act. At any rate, through its exponents of a less menacing anarchism and socialism than the boy Roco, who fired three shots the other day at Senor Maura, or the man Matro Morral, who threw the bomb at the carriage of the King and Queen, and the incendiaries and revolutionaries who burned the churches and religious houses and plundered the great libraries of Barcelona on the 26th, 27th and 28th of July, 1909, we are informed that the system is only economic and secular.

In taking up this Ferrer case, I am prompted specially by the disruption of diplomatic relations with the Vatican by Canalejas and the exceptionally rude manner in which he has done it. I see in this the working of the terrible secret society which aims at universal rule and which, I will maintain, was behind Morral's bomb-throwing, the petroleum fires of Barcelona and Roco's attempt a few days ago. I attribute to it all the assassinations of Kings, Queens and Ministers, or attempts at assassination which have taken place since the Illuminati and Rosicrucians, its old original members, all varieties of a revolutionary brotherhood triumphed at the Constituent Assembly's Decree of the civil constitution of the Church in France.

The inexplicable commotion excited through France, England and America by the Dreyfus affair is traceable to this pernicious influence. Its effect was in all directions. An English Catholic science man² and an English Catholic journalist³ were the harshest critics of that court-martial. Some Catholic acquaintances of my own in this country were of the same way of thinking. I wrote an article for the *Catholic World* expressing my poor opinions in opposition to those of the English science man just alluded to. I would have withdrawn it in deference to the advice of a friend, but was spared the necessity. What is the explanation of this portentous interest in an obscure French officer, one practically on the level of a subaltern or a quartermaster raised from the ranks in an English regiment, a person not connected with any of the historic houses, such as Rohan, Montmorenci or the like; an artilleryman not known as having invented any improvements in the sighting of guns or shaping of projectiles. Like the interest in Ferrer, it is abnormal.

This point I think too important not to be pressed. We are so dependent for information on what seems to be a controlled, and unlawfully controlled, press that I desire to know the source of this power. Let it be remembered that the character of the insurrection.

² The late St. George Mivart.

³ Mr. Dell.

in Barcelona was not known for weeks, though the execution of Ferrer came at the first moment as a hideous travesty of justice. I was written to about it by a friend; I was spoken to about it. To the friend, after some time, I sent Henry Labouchere's judicious article in *Truth*. Things, too, began to come out, but the impression was lasting, even among Catholics, that some wrong had been done to Ferrer. In the mass of non-Catholic life what must be the impression then? We have the answer in the statues to be erected, the addresses to be delivered, the new endowment of "The Modern School" all over the world in honor of this man whose real history is an unredeemed baseness. We have also the latest counter-blast to this hero-worship in the three shots fired by Roco.

I complain of the exceptional devotion to persons entitled to no homage and the refusal of it, or the reluctant concession of it to men eminently deserving of admiration. Let the reader contrast the eclat surrounding the life of Dreyfus from the moment of his sentence to that when he returned to the society of his family and relatives with the history of O'Reilles de Paladine with his Catholic recruits standing between France and the Germans on their march to Paris. For a moment he checked the tide, but it hung for a moment only and then swept on with irresistible force. Does any one to-day know about him or his recruits? Is any one ignorant of the story of the bordereau and the dossier which the Court of Cassation though condemning did not think necessary to the conviction of Dreyfus? That is the finding of the court-martial was upheld.

But the great city was invested; and the Catholics to whom their mother France was a stepmother lined the walls day by day and night by night. Among them conspicuously the De Munns, on one of whom an English Catholic, Mr. Dell, spumed his progressive and emancipated scorn because he had dared to complain of the attack of the French Government on the Church.⁴ I say it was the courage and conduct of these Catholics behind the ramparts that saved France from dismemberment; surely it was not the capitalists of the Second Empire who returned from their hiding places to establish the third Republic by the aid of the clever men who escaped the fate of their fellow-Communists. France has forgotten the Catholics and surrendered herself to the Communists and obeys them and their sons in all the departments of State. All this is unnatural. Did Bismarck know of any power behind the Communists when he rejected a proposal to help the Government against

⁴ Mr. Bodley, an English Protestant, possessing very accurate knowledge of the relations of the Church to the State before the violation of the Concordat, takes the same view as the Count de Munn. It does not touch the matter that M. Brunetiere and other Catholics thought they saw a way to an accommodation.

them by the rejoinder: "Let them stew in their own juice." There may come a day when Protestants and emancipated Catholics may find that an alliance with philosophical anarchism, scientific socialism, even in the veiled violence of Marx and Engel, Communism represented by the unsexed monster called the petroleuse, Young Italy, in the name of the Carbonari and of the Mafia, Young Spain as "The People's Club" and "Modern School," will not save the institutions on which they rest. We have had experiences of such disappointments, we have heard of revolutions devouring their own children.

I have spoken of Canalejas' outrage to the Holy See. It is a crumpled leaf from M. Combes' and from the seizing of the Nuncio's papers. "I am master in my own house," declared Napoleon on a somewhat similar occasion. Where are the Napoleonidæ to-day? There is an excellent gentleman in Washington, but he disclaims their royalty.⁵ I refer to the outrage because it synchronizes with the manifesto of the Ferrerites in the *New York Times*. These remarkable occurrences in the high political life are part of the inspiration in the assassin propaganda of the subterranean political life. I am going to prove it.

First, I assert that the conviction of Ferrer was right on the evidence and right according to the forms. The forms are impeached by the manifesto. It admits there was evidence, but so tainted by the conditions as to be of no value. This has been the impression ever since the press abandoned the formula that he was tried because he was suspected and executed on the suspicion. The Holy Father interceded for him. I am not aware that His Holiness was praised by the anti-Catholic press, and this is practically the press which is controlled by the secret society of which Ferrer was a dignitary; and which is the press possessed by capital, though at times it is permitted to urge insurrection on a labor shibboleth and to preach Prudhomism and Nihilism.

If the court-martial found him guilty of guiding a rebellion it was bound to sentence him to death. Executing him might not, in the opinion of judicious men, be expedient. There are some who would not permit capital punishment at all. At the same time there is a tendency to hysterical sentiment in well-bred women and among men who are amateurs in philosophy, politics and criminology. These women and men remind one of the philosophers of the eighteenth century and the fair precisians of the Hotel Rambouillet, nice people, without a grain of common sense; but these are the persons to whom, when an assassin is to be executed, the scientific socialists,

⁵ If there were among the Napoleonidæ one able man now, he would save France. Though Henri Cinq spoke of the late Count de Paris as the Dauphin, the Legitimists would not accept him.

the philosophical anarchists, the patriotic nihilists appeal to use their influence in high quarters. For my own part, I think the worst thing you can do with a criminal is to put him to death; but before I could accept the total abolition of capital punishment as the law of the land I should wish the assassin to begin as the Frenchman said. If they would set the example of not inflicting death sentences, other rulers might follow suit.

We are informed in the manifesto that the American end of the movement is in the hands of the Francesco Ferrer Association, which was organized on June 3. "A world-wide movement has been begun and is assuming vast proportions" and "the campaign" is "to be formally opened" on "October 13, the anniversary of Professor Ferrer's death."

One, I suppose, need not quarrel with the dignity professor; it is conferred by usage on a man who teaches the manly art of self-defense; it is conspicuous in advertisements of quack medicine; it is assumed by the learned man who frames the horoscope of servant girls; but when you find him glorified as "The Founder of the Modern School" you wish to know what the modern school is and what sort of man its head professor is. It does not quite appear the modern school is confined to Spain. The Parisians patronize a series, if not more than one. As I understand, it is to be set up in the United States, in the South American Republics, in the British Colonies, but, above all, in Italy. It is to be part of the homage to be paid to Ferrer on the 13th of October and an enduring monument to his fame. We shall say something about the subject-matter of the instruction by-and-by. It is necessary, for the teaching is the seed of a lawlessness spreading through the world in the shape of riot, murder, incendiary fires as a propaganda; in murder, theft, embezzlement, breach of trust, company promoting of a fraudulent character, as exercises of individual or, at least, of private energy or skill. I do not say that these practices were unknown until Ferrer opened his schools in Barcelona—there is a claimant in France for precedence in this pedagogy, and unquestionably the enormous increase of crime in that country seems to bear witness to his success; but I see in this teaching some confirmation of the charge for which the court-martial at Barcelona sentenced him.

This manifesto of the *New York Times* is itself an instance of the complaint I made of the unfairness of the press in matters supposed to affect Catholic interests and institutions. I should be happy, indeed, if I could get people to believe that the political world in its administrative, legislative or executive sphere is not particularly complacent to the Vatican authorities; it never has been, in fact. But there has been for centuries a readiness to cry priest-ridden if

the external relations between the Vatican authorities and a particular Power appeared cordial. Whenever, therefore, there is some conflict between Rome and a particular Power, the world judges the former to be in the wrong, just as in the matters of education, marriage, divorce, public worship and the like, the judgment of the Holy See is regarded as an invasion of the State's dominion. If there be abuses in a Catholic State, Rome has no more to do with them than the chief city in the moon, the Holy Father has no more to do with them than the Angel Gabriel.

The manifesto in opening its attack on the Spanish Government makes a statement no one could defend who possesses a particle of honesty. The whole document, for that matter, teems with dishonest suggestions, implications from warped presentations of fact and here and there falsehoods bold as brass. "The contemplation of this picture [the number of illiterates] fixed in Ferrer's mind the resolve to implant the modern school as a challenge to a supine and superstitious Government. The Government took up the challenge and shot him."

He was not shot for founding the schools; he was not shot for nine years after they were founded, and he was not shot for challenging the monopoly of "the Church and State system of education," as the document expressly charges.

As a matter of fact, the schools were not interfered with; but I say—I care not how what I say is taken—tolerating them for a day was the abdication of authority in a moral and religious community. I believe there are people now who condemn the law officers, or whoever was responsible for the prosecution of Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant for the publication of a book which they deemed immoral. I know nothing about the lady, but Mr. Bradlaugh was, I believe, a man with strongly developed sympathies with the cause of civil and political justice. At any rate, the Lord Chief Justice, Colburne, was a strong, clear-headed man, with no mawkish sentimentality; and the sentence he imposed was severe. The justification offered by the accused was that the work was published in the interest of large classes, the poorest part of the population. Sir Alexander charged dead and charged rightly against such a plea; now this kind of doctrine would be simply a venial fault in comparison to the infamous doctrines concerning the relations of the sexes inculcated on boys and girls in Ferrer's schools.

After his acquittal of the charge of complicity with Morral in the bomb-throwing which killed some and wounded others in the cortege of Alfonso and the Queen, he might have been put upon his trial for his part in the rebellion of 1885 in the same province. There is no Statute of Limitations in treason. Ordinarily I do not say

that a person should be tried for an old treason because he was acquitted of a recent one. This would be like the old vindictiveness when the Star Chamber's arbitrary proceedings were helping to sow the seeds of the great Civil War and the Revolution of 1688, or the abominable *lettres de cachet*, which, at length, caused the attack on the Bastille to be the opening chapter of the Revolution, which, alas, appears to vindicate all the class tyrannies of the past.⁶

But the principles of a political and social character taught in the schools to the young people who were to be in a few years the parents of the next generation and the grandparents of the one succeeding it and of the future of Spain, were an attack root and branch on government and all the institutions by which it is exercised. On account of such principles the schools should have been shut up in 1906, when they had not been closed at the beginning, five years before; and as they were still the unrepented of principles of the rebel of 1885, in part at least, I submit that the public safety required him to be made an example of on that occasion.

Think for a moment of the sympathies of France and Italy for this man; and say can it be explained on any theory save that the press of both countries and the reading population are in favor of the subversion of society, as it stands, and the substitution of another order? No one can suppose, I hope, that the favorable judgment of the English-speaking world proceeds from knowledge, but then it is the fruit of false information. At the best, how is he any more than Dreyfus a commanding a figure, either in his exile from 1885 to 1901 or his character since as a schoolmaster in Barcelona? He had deserted his wife and abandoned his children, and, I suppose, to adjust fact to the principle, he took one of his teachers as a mistress.

When one thinks of the exiles of many lands through many centuries he cannot help contrasting them with Ferrer making a fortune by the will of "Mademoiselle" Meunier, of Paris. Exile for the haut politique and for a man's very love of the soil and scenes of the native land began early. Nearly thirty centuries ago the Jew wept when he remembered Zion. The great statesman of Athens, driven out by an ungrateful country, died rather than lead the hosts of "the Great King"⁷ against her. One's patience is tried when he hears of this Spanish peasant spoken of by his admirers as "teaching his native language in hard circumstances in the French capital and after years of exile returning to the chief city of his native State to open schools for the young in a country so neglected by

⁶ I don't mind the early years of the Revolution so much as the public robbery and oppression now.

⁷ The description of historian and orator of the King of Persia.

the Church and State that ten millions of the people are unable to read and write, that fifty thousand conscripts are enrolled every year also unable to read and write, that twenty-four thousand schools are so insanitary that fifty thousand pupils die yearly, or if any of them survive they grow up unhealthy and deformed."⁸ I must take issue with the manifesto's charge of neglect on the part of those having the control of education. War in Spain in one shape or another has been incessant since the campaigns of 1793 and 1794 against the French Republic for putting, as all Spain, high and low, cried out, "an anointed sovereign to death." At the same time education is free to the poor, and what is more, compulsory on children between the ages of six and nine. There are ten universities, and these are open to promising sons of the poor. Notwithstanding the wars of succession, of invasion, the insurrections of ambitious statesmen in support of one pretender or another, every town has a library, and some of the towns possess libraries famous among the scholars of Europe. Even Barcelona had libraries of continental reputation before Ferrer's Philosophical Anarchists were nearly successful in destroying them. The statements on education, therefore, are not only in the highest degree misleading, but they are irrelevant as a justification for Ferrer's system called "The Modern School." The attempt to murder the King and Queen, and thus to prevent the establishment of a period of settled government, must necessarily postpone the day when the local authorities shall have it in their power to enforce the attendance of the children. But surely the postponement is not to be attributed to what the manifesto describes as "a supine and superstitious Government;" but to the Anarchists who have made Spain, and particularly the vast extent of territory called "Catalan," constituting a third of the country, the scene of their activities.

We referred to the sympathy poured out on this man for his years of exile in Paris supporting himself in the hard life of a tutor. He was so well known when he arrived in Paris that he was the friend and associate of the wealthy Jew Wacquet and the friend and a leader of the anarchists, extreme socialists and nihilists of that city.⁹ How he obtained such an ascendancy over an unmarried woman of middle age named Meunier, who appears to have been a devout

⁸ It may be admitted that the system of education for the poorer classes is not successful, but there were difficulties. It was only a year ago that the most intellectual people in the United Kingdom obtained a university to which poor men's sons could go without danger to their faith, but without this the system was needless.

⁹ What London used to be Paris now is, the centre of the conspirators of the world. The espionage is undoubtedly a fraudulent pretense when directed against these outlaws.

Catholic, I don't know. But she certainly did not let him starve, for she bequeathed him £32,000, and besides a large sum in trust for Masses. This fact of real life reads like a religious harmony in Eugene Sue's "Wandering Jew" when sentimental piety like distant music relieves the appalled mind as the Jesuit's "Prophet" has just accomplished another villainy.

When we read of the hardships of Senor Ferrer's exile the mind turns to those who have suffered in the cause of liberty and reason against injustice and oppression from the earliest records that are not dedicated to conquerors, such as we have in the Old Testament, such as we have glimpses of in the story of Greece and the story of Rome. For eight hundred years in Ferrer's own country men died, and dying left the immortal legacy of hatred of the invader, until he was driven from the land which he had made a desolation in the days of his fierce strength.

Ferrer returned to Barcelona a few years after his rebellion with the large fortune spoken of; that in trust, added to what was left him by this lady for himself, who, it is only right to assume, would have not left him a farthing of the money for Masses for her soul if she thought it would be dedicated to the Modern School.

In the year 1906 came what the *New York Times'* manifesto describes as "the trumped-up charge of being concerned in a plot to assassinate King Alfonso." The schools were not even then shut up. The horrible instructions went on while he was waiting the result of the prosecution. In the United Kingdom a seditious paper would be suppressed before the trial of its owners and editors for treason. The like justice would be dealt to a seditious club; I take it that "The People's Club" is still rampant in Barcelona, despite Roco's attempt.

I ask why was there not a search for pamphlets and codes of instruction made in the schools? Why were not the male and female teachers examined by what they call judges of instruction in France and police magistrates in Dublin?¹⁰ There seems to have been a paralysis of authority which can only be explained by the dread of the secret society which rules the Latin States by the hands of assassins. I mean to offer a few suggestions with regard to the "trumped-up charge." It will be remembered that the whole English-speaking world was shocked, or at least its newspapers pretended to be shocked, when the attempt by Morral was telegraphed.

In Barcelona, a great commercial centre, the extremes of wealth

¹⁰ A private inquiry can be held in Ireland when there is an accused person. For a time this could be done even when there was no one accused. At any rate, it was lawful in Spain as in France.

and poverty as represented by capital and labor are in contact. It is no exaggeration to say that Marx's scientific socialism is the undeveloped war against capital there. There is a blood-hunger in that city, easily acted upon from inside. The secret society which is the inspiring spirit of the trained disorder, the disciplined lawlessness of Europe and, I fear, of America can in forty-eight hours decree an insurrection in Barcelona, a murder in Madrid or Lisbon, Paris or Rome—possibly in London and New York. That this is not a secret kept from the authorities in Spain, France and Italy must be the conclusion of every one acquainted with the underground politics of Europe since the Illuminati began the wire-pulling which electrified the world when the French Revolution raged through France and the Continent. One word more. Italy as well as every one of the three hundred States in Germany welcomed the French invaders, and, notwithstanding their excesses, a memory survived through Germany till Bismarck's rise, as though the time of French occupation was that of reason and justice, and through Italy as though the greatness of imperial Rome, coupled with the liberty of Republican Rome, had cast upon the land another hour of the Saturnian age. The secret society which has replaced the cults of the seventeenth century, though in the form of a benevolent association in the English-speaking world, is a different thing in its Belgian focus and among the revolutionists and secularists of France, Spain and Italy. The morbid activity of the Latin mind seems susceptible to the logic of the dagger and the bomb.

It is impossible to suppose that those who put Ferrer on his trial in 1906 for complicity in Morral's attempt to kill the King and Queen, could be ignorant that in his adhesion to the rebellion of 1885, he was under the guidance of the anarchical socialists of Rome and Paris and their agents in Barcelona. When he went to Paris in 1901 he was the friend of Nacquet, the writer of that rather vague and pointless vindication in a number of the *Nineteenth Century* rather ostentatiously referred to in the manifesto of the *New York Times*.¹¹ Nacquet belonged to the Grand Orient of Paris, of which Ferrer became a member and in which in due course he rose to high rank. If one-tenth of the charges made against the Grand Orient of Brussels be true—and what is true of this section of the secret society would be true of the French and Italian, judged by political results—

¹¹ W. Wray Shillbeck wrote, as editor of the *Nineteenth Century*, to the man in New York who is apparently the promoter of the Ferrer cult that the "well-known Roman Catholic" writer gave up the idea of replying to Nacquet, because he found there was no case to justify the execution of Ferrer. "The well-known Catholic" writer may be a myth. Only a short time ago the *Nineteenth Century* admitted that an atrocious libel on some nuns was destitute of all foundation, and paid damages and costs by consent.

there would be nothing new in Ferrer's being an accomplice of Moral before the fact, if not the inspirer of his deed.

From a Grand Orient and anarchical point of view much was to be gained by the assassination of the prince whose marriage was so likely to change him from the *roi faineant* existence he was expected to live to that of a King possessing the most kindly and earnest sympathies of the British Empire and with its influence at his back, together with such weight in the two German Empires as his relationship to a sovereign of so beloved a character as Francis Joseph would indubitably confer. He was no longer the helpless head of a discredited branch of the Bourbons; he was likely through his connections to become, and if he had commensurate ability he would become, a ruler strong enough to deal with the propaganda of the Grand Orient in the only effectual manner. With the Philosophical Anarchists, with the Nihilists, with the Socialists, who differ from the others only in name,¹² to think that the marriage of Alfonso would be an obstacle to the accomplishment of their purpose, the dechristianizing of the world and the substitution for existing states of some kind of universal, economic, materialistic commonwealth would be to decree the murder of the young bridegroom, and, as an incident, that of the Queen. They were in the way, that is all. The murderous hands on the royal house of Portugal were set in motion by the same society. These fatal tentacles reach to the extremities of the earth. The most innocent, the most charitable, the most virtuous, be he King or Minister, walks under sentence of death. De Rossi, slain on the steps of his office, was simply sacrificed because Mazzini and his associates wanted a revolution, not a redress, of their supposed grievances.

Looking at Ferrer's antecedents, the conduct of the Spanish Government is unintelligible to the spectator judging by ordinary rules. Making every allowance for the literalness of the doctrinaire of Liberalism, he cannot surely think assassination is included in the rights of man, or the desertion of a wife and the abandonment of children are privileges conferred by a high position in the Grand Orient. I think the most enthusiastic asserter of a man's right to do what he likes will not go the length of Herbert Spencer.¹³ I think it would be inconvenient if each one was at liberty to rob, murder or commit adultery. I submit Madame Ferrer had a title to her husband's devotion anterior to and deeper than had the school-mistress he raised to her place. I submit his own children were

¹² No one denies there are Socialists who are the friends of law and order, as there are Freemasons ignorant of the inner councils of their fraternity.

¹³ Spencer's philosophy is the gospel of the scientific Socialist—that is, the earlier philosophy.

more entitled to Mademoiselle Meunier's money, or a share of it, than the young ragamuffins of Barcelona. But, in truth, in connection with the man's illicit relations and disregard of elementary family and social duties, we observe even among his respectable English acquaintances such a laxity of opinion that we may pass over the Parisian and Catalanian liberality as of no account.

The man's avowed principles were dangerous to society. Why was he allowed to propagate them among the very persons—boys and girls—in whom they would grow into the terrible harvest of the whirlwind? If one had less experience of the depravity of certain men he might think Ferrer insane when in his school he lectured to children under the name of physical science on the naked facts of animal life and the vicious conclusions of a sociology in accordance with the view that there was no life but the physical. We know that this kind of brutal philosophy was rampant in the eighteenth century in France, but it was confined to the publications read by grown men and women belonging to society. Well, even these saw the outcome of the teaching when they mounted the steps to the guillotine or ate in foreign capitals the bread that is hardest to eat and mounted the stairs the most difficult to climb.

But, at any rate, Ferrer was very far from being afflicted with what we understand as madness. He loved his own safety. That article of war which the old mayor in one of Byron's plays so much approves seemed to have been observed religiously by Ferrer, namely, that which directs the leader to keep out of danger. We saw the same beautiful charity in Mazzini and other chiefs in exile. Ferrer could make money on the Stock Exchange as skillfully as any gambler on the market. Had he exceptional information? He could exercise the influence of friendship over a lady that appeared to be a pious Catholic and who enjoyed very considerable wealth. He could employ a judicious discretion in the application of money left for pious uses as though he were a British judge in equity in the eighteenth century dealing with what they called Popish and superstitious uses.¹⁴

We have said he was acquitted of complicity with Morral, and, as has been pointed out, he resumed the direction of his schools. In the spring of 1909 he went to London, taking with him one of the schoolmistresses, who was received among the well-to-do, moral people of the London suburb as though she were his wife. This affair is incomprehensible, for the people in Paris or elsewhere

¹⁴ A Madame Meunier left £32,000 to Ferrer and left a large sum for Masses for the repose of her soul. It would appear that the latter was absolutely in Ferrer's discretion, I suppose the only way it could be bequeathed for pious uses in France. There is no doubt but that he appropriated it.

through whom he made acquaintance with the London families must have known, what the police knew, that he had left his wife and family destitute and had taken up this teacher in one of his schools.

Well, "the challenge" to the Church and State school system went on from 1901 to 1909 without his being shot at all, much less shot upon the moment. So much for the honesty of the men behind the manifesto in the *New York Times*. At the same time I cannot sufficiently impress on the reader that his schools would not be allowed to stand for a moment even after this acquittal, say in Berlin or in Amsterdam, of an attempt to kill the sovereigns and their consorts. I have said that in the United Kingdom he would have been put upon his trial for the earlier rebellion, and I can imagine the sense of loyalty and devotion to their Majesties with which the foreman for self and fellows would answer the Clerk of the Crown's or Associate's question: "Have you agreed to your verdict, gentlemen?"

How could these schools be allowed to taint the air in a Christian land? They taught the most debauched and dishonest views concerning conduct and the claims to property. Some of it is familiar enough; we have heard that property is robbery.¹⁵ Why should children be told this at all or at least without explanatory limitations in a town filled with warehouses and private dwellings splendid in their appearance and furnished as wealth could do it? The poor are robbed by the rich.¹⁶ To me it seems that a committee of robbers in the purlieu of a city could not assign as good reasons for burglary or robbery on the highway. This is not all, but I cannot enter on the theories illustrated by himself and one of his female teachers in practice. Now, this is the man whom the world-wide press championed when put upon his trial in 1906. The blindness of owls in daylight was as a penetrating power of vision in comparison with the darkness of the anti-Catholic press of England, the United States and the British colonies. The delicate hand of the Grand Orient supplied "the copy," for capital was great in the society and largely owned the instructors of the people. Capital's possessions escaped in Barcelona in 1909. Why?

I have already adverted to the lightness with which the attempt upon the lives of the King and Queen of Spain passed from memory. If there be any alive who can recollect the Orsini bomb thrown at the carriage of Napoleon III. they must remember it was not even a nine days' wonder. It would not have been this even were it not that Palmerston refused to surrender the Italian refugees on the ground that the offence was a political one, even though the Emperor was cultivating the most friendly relations with the British Govern-

¹⁵ Prudhon.

¹⁶ Mill, Marx, Engel, but Mill refers only to unreformed conditions.

ment. The incident was kept alive for the nine days because all England gloried in the maxim of political immunity asserted by her Foreign Secretary. I care nothing about this, *per se*—I may say that assassination is not a political offense, even though kings and presidents are the victims—but my point is: Why should the execution of Ferrer for a crime of which he was found guilty by a competent tribunal and for which he was executed nearly a year ago be more in the eyes and minds of nations twelve months after his execution than at first, even though then it was echoed and reëchoed by the press of the world? Why should the assassination of an entire royal family fade away in a day or two? an attempt to assassinate a king and queen sink almost without a ripple on the sea? the murder of an empress be a shorter incident of the hour than the announcement of an aeroplane display? the murder of the President of the greatest nation in the world an item for an annual? Is the press manipulated and by what influence? Is it Wall street? the Stock Exchange? the Bourse? or what?

When the Emperor Maximilian was shot in Mexico it was the astonishment of a moment, though the history was the most pathetic since the death of Conradin.¹⁷ The Dreyfus affair was a matter of a half dozen years, notwithstanding the air of unreality about the agitation. The execution of Ferrer exercised the papers and will engage them for Heaven knows how long; the almost total extinction of the House of Braganza was as momentary as a shadow passing over a field in harvest time. This is hardly without cause. Now again, as was pointed out in this REVIEW by another writer, the attack on churches, monasteries and convents was the organized act of men led by a special and intense malignity. That is, as the writer put it, it did not appear to be the mere blind fury of destruction, which takes possession of a mob in a time of great excitement. He was right, for no other kind of property was injured by half-starved workmen in a city of great capitalists.

I am not making this special and ordered malignity an *ex post facto* proof of Ferrer's guilt as an accomplice of Morral's in the material of the trial, but I am distinctly entitled to use it as a retro-active suggestion with regard to an historical probability of his guilt then. I am not relying to any extent on the *prima facie* probability of guilt implied in the accusation, though I think, having regard to all the facts, there is such a probability; but I do say that a man only accused of attempting through another to kill his sovereign and the sovereign's wife, and of having through another killed and grievously wounded many bystanders, should not be made a hero.

¹⁷ The fate of this last of the Hohenstauffens was so like Maximilian's as to seem a preognition.

There is nothing to a man's credit in being charged with a crime even though he be innocent, still less is there when the proof of guilt is lacking in completeness only, and leaves the reputation tarnished by the pregnancy of suspicion.

The manifesto further says: "In 1909 they profited by the mistake [the mistake was having been tried by the regular tribunal in 1906] and had him tried by court-martial. Anonymous depositions were introduced; the witnesses were not cross-examined. Ferrer was not allowed to produce any witnesses in his own behalf and the officer assigned to defend him was permitted only to make a speech in his defense and was arrested and imprisoned for doing even that."

When a country is in a state of rebellion the ordinary courts are suspended; and the trial of rebels, if there be a trial, is by what is called drumhead court-martial. It is quite true that at the time of the trial peace was restored, that is, order was reestablished. It must be borne in mind that Catalonia is so distinct and so isolated a province, so constantly disturbed by insurrection, that it is hardly wrought into the homogeneity of the general government in the same degree as the other provinces.

The insurrection that had taken place there in 1909 was a very strange affair. On other occasions there was some principle of policy or right involved. The Catalonians have even sustained the ambition of a successful native of the province, General Prim, if I mistake not, who rebelled in order to establish a government that would support the grandmother of the present King. If I remember rightly, it has been Carlist more than once and Republican more than once; it has, in fact, veered round to every point of the compass, but always under the influence of some political idea. I am not sure that its Carlosism sprang from a sense of the claim of legitimacy as the principle was understood in France and under the name of Jacobitism understood as in Great Britain;¹⁸ I rather think, in fact, that ever since the evil presence of Godoy cast its shadow on the throne of Ferdinand VII¹⁸, Catalonia tended to republicanism either as an autonomous province of a monarchical state or as an autonomous province of a republican Spain. If I am correct in this resumé, and I think I am, one sees no such influence in the incendiary riots of 1909 and the abortive attempt of Ferrer to induce the local authorities to set up a provisional government.

After order was restored Ferrer fled. Numbers were in prison, arrested during the riots of the 26th, 27th and 28th of July. It would strike one that if he were acting like a good citizen he should

¹⁸ The Irish, though Jacobites of an intensely devoted character, were attached to the Stuarts as the representatives of freedom of religion and Home Rule in the sense of the great Parliament of 1689, very much like the Home Rule of Grattan's Constitution.

be aiding the authorities by his counsel, that he would be amongst them and be seen with the officers and be recognized by the common soldiers as a friend of law and order. He was the head of schools in which there were two thousand pupils; and he was a man of wealth even in that city of great merchants and rich Jewish money-lenders.

It must be asked why he left London for Barcelona so hurriedly as to be compelled to cancel several engagements in the former city. I have no doubt that he was in correspondence with people in Barcelona; and was kept well posted with regard to the movement in opposition to sending additional troops to Africa which was agitating all Spain. Whether the opposition to the object of the war was right or wrong is immaterial, because the whole country after the first reverses accepted it and united in condemnation of the excesses in Barcelona. I am not aware that any placards were posted up in this city charging the Government with sacrificing the troops for the benefit of a few mine owners. You would expect such placards. But, as I say, when support of the policy of the Government became universal, Barcelona was collecting petroleum and arms, meeting after working hours in bye streets and admiring Ferrer's schools in the full flush of their activity.¹⁹ At any rate, the opposition there to the war was not because it was sacrificing the recruits for a few rich men.

I have pointed out under the circumstances that a court-martial was the only mode of trial possible, unless he was removed from the province, a proceeding which would be ground for complaint as arguing a determination to convict him if it were at all legal. The *locus in quo* of the rebellion is the natural jurisdiction and the convenient one. Every advantage from character is there. His benefactions to the starving poor, his aids to charitable institutions, his largesses to his pensioners, his free schools and free food and clothing to the pupils, the example he set of domestic virtue shown by reverence to his wife and the way he assisted her in administering the moralities of the parental board, his solicitude about his children in early youth and his open hand in launching them on the road to fortune, it was in the local venue such things could be enthusiastically told. But the manifesto informs us he would not be allowed to examine a witness.

Well, he could have examined witnesses if he dared, but any one except a fool would have known that his doing so would only be riveting the chain more closely, making the case of the prosecution

¹⁹ In writing at another time, he speaks of his schools as empty, but the ground of his claim in one respect, at least, to public sympathy is that in the short time of nine years he had two thousand pupils, and this argues a great success against the State.

stronger. Had he called witnesses he would have revealed why he had left London in such a hurry and much more. In fact, the place was simply overrun by the agents of the secret society, who threatened the witnesses for the prosecution with Russian methods as the witness Domenech was threatened; and therefore ample protection would be had for his witnesses. An infamous man, red from scenes of riot and murder, whose life had been a varied and unresisting violation of all the laws by which States are sustained and families reared for the observance of moral, social and religious duties, could hardly call witnesses to swear to the blamelessness of his conduct. It was in his power when contradicting a witness who swore to his presence among the agitated groups when arms were being distributed among the people to say where he was at the time, if not where the witness swore he saw him, and the Court would be only too happy to send for a witness to the alibi. He was in hiding for a month; I submit he could have escaped as easily as in 1885, but I suggest that an overweening confidence in the power of the *imperium in imperio* which had taken him out of danger in 1906 and which subdued France when Dreyfus was released in spite of sentence²⁰ may have kept him waiting in the place until he could boldly return to his teaching and the resumption of his correspondence with the Grand Orient and the assassins of Europe.

The civilized world, as we call it, that is, the realms east of the Vistula and north of the Mediterranean, is infested by learned criminals, dabblers in physical science and a study of intellectual adventure called sociology. Ferrer was one of those, and the man Crippen who came nearest to him in newspaper interest in these late weeks would seem to be another. At any rate, Ferrer's admirers lay such stress upon the method of "The Modern School" that I notice this method as totally unfit in the least objectionable part of its application for young boys and girls. A Marx, a Haeckel, an Engel and an Anatole France cannot advance any science, moral or mental, for this reason, that established facts stand in their minds as ideas indistinguishable from hypotheses possibly incapable of verification, but these men are pillars of the Modern School. For instance, such an idea as that there can be no progress unless the institutions of law, police and legislation are flung into the melting pot for a new birth is not exactly the dictum that young boys and

²⁰ Why honorable men high in the service should lend themselves to the manufacture of evidence against an obscure officer I cannot think. The dossier and bordereau passed at first. There is a mystery in this matter that time may make clear. That there was jugglery with those documents I consider probable. Suicide and disgrace show there was something of the sort, but I am not convinced the court-martial was wrong—the impeached documents could be left out—neither did the Court of Cassation reverse its judgment, only its sentence on Dreyfus.

girls might grasp as an universal, although they might, if directed, realize the satisfaction that a law against theft could for them be profitably abolished, a particular policeman taken off the beat or a particular criminal justice compelled, as King Lear suggests in the sociological inspiration of his insanity, to change places with the man before him in the dock. A word before I pass from this point.

Even in the most advanced class of public school, the school that covers the humanities of an university and a good part of its exact and physical science, the pupils may readily enough confound the value of ascertained results and ingenious speculations. This, I submit, is very likely to be the case in the philosophy of history, which is in reality, as I long ago pointed out, the sociology of the past untrameled by the comparative statistics which cause so much confusion in our judgment of the very time in which we live. To estimate a period and its capabilities the factors must be numerous, like those that go to form individual character and its presage, but infinitely more complicated.

In Ferrer's school kings might be necessarily a persistent evil, because Spain has been falling into decay and has been left behind in the race of prosperity and progress ever since her rulers overcame the elements of conflict which compelled them to be men and not kings merely. This is the very thing the man in the street would say now; and not only the man in the street. But think of all it means, the interaction of a thousand influences, moral, political, religious, geographical, educational, racial. All these forces springing from the soil of the country and the soil of the national heart are concrete in the king and the great fact he symbolizes, namely, the march of mankind from the troglodyte with his sling looking from Pyrenean heights for the goat that was to feed and clothe him to the Carthaginian with his masses of men, his elephants, his wagons, his horses, forcing his way toward the Massilian bay round which he was to pass on his way to Rome—to Philip in the great and gloomy palace of the Gridiron dreaming of an empire over two hemispheres, and so on through cycles of change. But this is barely the surface-corner of the mighty thought which Ferrer and his like disfigure for the misleading of the young.

Beneath the underlying facts of progress is a bedrock of moral and physical fact to which we never can descend if led by the *ignis fatuus* of the speculative mind. Yet if it could be reached what possibilities might be discovered! the potentialities of genius and the limits of genius, so exquisitely presented in the Psalm that tells us that man is lesser than the angels, yet lord of the moral and material universe. These ideas would be called mediaeval by persons who make man a sociological monkey, who has given up arboreal

habits and taken to bomb-throwing and fire-raising as the latest steps of the onward. In fact, according to the manifesto, a glory immortalizing Ferrer is his fight against mediaevalism and the conventional restraints imposed by it.

Though I fear I have exceeded my fair claim to space, I must say a closing word on the evidence. More than fifty witnesses were examined and openly, except a few whose dread of the Secret Society's violence was the horror of a nightmare. One can understand this kind of feeling; it is in effect as appalling as the shock from an explosion which has scattered death around or from the consequences of hunger and exposure for days such as we read of in the case of derelict boats or crews that for too long a time remained outside the line of passing ships. Is there no fear of giving testimony in parts of the United States? Why, in England witnesses not long ago had to be protected, witnesses for the defense even; I mean within a year or two ago. In Ferrer's case the witnesses for the defense had the shield of the society which, I suggest, overawed the ordinary Court in 1906 and the Government as well.²¹

I referred to the testimony of one Domenech²¹ who, though threatened, gave it publicly. It proved, if believed, that Ferrer had given a false account of how he spent the evening of the 26th, the day of the 27th, the day of the 28th of July. Peace was restored the 29th. Domenech was one of the conspirators, but then he was corroborated in every particular he had deposed to by more than one credible witness to each separate fact, but all witnesses to the entire.

First, I take Ferrer's account of his doings as taken down during the examinations of witnesses by way of testing their statements or volunteered and sworn to by him. He saw something like excitement on the streets on the evening of the 26th; he went to the railway station to go to his home in a suburb, but found that the railway service had failed. He had to proceed on foot and arrived at a late hour of the night. As a matter of fact, he did not arrive until the morning of the 27th, for he could not on the other evidence.

Domenech's testimony is that he accompanied Ferrer on the 26th of July from the Hotel International at 9.30 P. M., that they went to two centres where the revolt was being organized and the mode of working it discussed. As though he was suspected, one of those counselling said significantly they dealt with traitors by Russian methods.

The difference between Domenech's testimony and Ferrer's story

²¹ When I submitted that the anarchists should give that tribunal credit for exceptional liberality to the defense, I meant it as a retort to them for contrasting the result before it to that before the court-martial. It was giving the accused the benefit of the doubt, like a Scotch "not proven."

as appearing in interlocutories or formal narrative on oath is so great that one or other is absolutely false or both false. Ferrer leads the Court to suppose that he went home from the railway station, but we find Domenech corroborated by a detective who saw Ferrer moving about among the gathering crowds and then proceeding to the International. This would be before 9.30 in the evening and after going to the railway station.

A soldier swears that on that evening he tried to seduce him from his allegiance. Ferrer cross-examined him, beginning by denying that he had ever been at the place of the alleged meeting with the soldier at all. The soldier was unshaken, then Ferrer remembered he had been there, that there was some such conversation, but that the witness mistook his meaning. He was seen active among the crowds by another witness. Another saw him leading a crowd of rioters as the evening advanced; two witnesses swore he gave them arms. In passing I may observe that witnesses swore they saw persons going round with petroleum and directing what was to be done with it. This is the very condensed transcript of a mere summary of Mr. Belloc's in the January number of the *Dublin Review*; but it is conclusive. I reserve for closing the evidence of the Mayor of Premia, confirmed by all the official persons on the afternoon of the 28th, when it seemed, as the rebels were in possession of the town, that the insurrection would be successful.

On the 28th, despite his statement that he remained at home "from the evening" of the 26th until the 29th, we find Ferrer in Premia on the 28th. I pause for a moment to remind the reader that "the late hour" of the 26th when he got home was in reality an early hour of the 27th. He dined at the Hotel International, and, as Domenech swears, they left it at 9.30. Even then if he had gone straight home I apprehend he could have reached it in a short time, for I do not think a man dining in the evening at an hotel with the intention of walking after dinner would select one at a long distance from his home. The name of the International may suggest a reason for the selection, but the interval between 9.30 and "the late hour" is filled in by the activities sworn to by so many witnesses in which he was engaged. The detective lost trace of him after he left the hotel, and was unable to learn whether or not he was expected to sleep there; but he must have been directed to shadow him, for there could be no other reason for the pursuit and going back to the hotel.

These are more or less small particulars mingled with grave ones, but they go to Ferrer's "credit," as lawyers would say. He implies that he went home because the streets were crowded with excited groups; disappointed at the railway station he walks home. *Aliunde* we have it that his dress was noticed by witnesses who did not know

him, but who described it so accurately that he was traced by it by witnesses who identified him at the trial after a month. He was clearly a prominent figure. All this, I should say, was likely to have occurred before his dinner; but the important point is that later on he was seen here and there among the groups, advising, encouraging and arming them, instead of leaving the town in the evening like a respectable man of cautious temperament who was afraid of excited mobs. Ferrer squeamish about mobs!

He is seen then by nineteen witnesses at Premia on the 28th. In the flush of triumph he asks the Mayor to proclaim a provisional government. He is heard making this demand by all the official witnesses in the place. This the Mayor refuses to do. There is an altercation at the trial between him and the Mayor. The matter is too clear, but he denies that he made the demand, after being beaten bit by bit from his position that he had not left his own residence from the evening of the 26th. The Mayor closes the controversy by saying that a man would deny anything who denies this. No case could be more complete.²²

I declare solemnly that the power which shut out all this matter from the press while endeavoring to fill Europe and America with the idea that Ferrer had been shot on the testimony of nameless witnesses, that he was allowed no right of cross-examination and refused any advocate save an officer, was the power that silenced the press for days with regard to the destruction of religious houses and the outrages and insults offered to religious men and women and to the dead in monastic, conventual and parish church graveyards. The power that muzzled the press must be that which controlled the petroleum fires and the looting of the religious houses and the libraries of European reputation. No property was injured save church property in a city where workingmen borrow from Jews rich beyond the dreams of avarice and maintain by their labor the palaces of business men said to be in a manner magnificent as those of the merchant princes in the great days of Venice.

If this be the case, if capital be above religion, patriotism and law, one must look forward to a new irruption of a yet unimagined race of Barbarians more terrible than that which at the end of twelve centuries walked through the desolated fields and over the fallen cities of the Western Empire.

GEORGE McDERMOT, C. S. P.

San Francisco.

²² The Mayor was Mayor of the village of Premia, at the head of the maritime road, which would be a strategic position if the provisional government were proclaimed. This fits into the attempt to wreck the monarchy by Morral's bomb so exactly that Alfonso's refusal of the Holy Father's intercession is accounted for.

THE NEED FOR CATHOLIC HISTORY.

THESE is, or rather has been, a spirit abroad observable in almost every department of human learning, which is very difficult to define and for which we have certainly as yet no name. Just as feudalism was only called feudalism long after it was dead, while the men who lived under its influence simply took it for granted, and we have to guess from their acts what their inner bias really was, so for this spirit which runs, or rather has recently run through the whole of modern learning, we have no name, we are still so steeped in it that we can with difficulty analyze its process or define its elements of weakness and falsity, though with every passing year we increasingly feel those elements to be present.

In the place of name or definition let us consider a few of the undoubted effects of this spirit and a few of its undoubted and most evident manifestations. There is first of all the exaggeration of authority.

The modern reader has heard that word "authority" so often misused and so much more often assailed by the very spirit of which I speak, he has so often been warned by Catholic criticism that the disease of our time is the contempt for authority, that he will perhaps rub his eyes on reading such a sentence and be on his guard against so foolish and superficial a paradox. I am guilty of no such petty literary trick as paradox in writing the above phrase. The prime note of the spirit of which I speak is most distinctly the exaggeration of authority, and, coupled with that exaggeration, what commonly appears in the exaggeration of anything: false use. Authority—intellectual authority—which this spirit has exaggerated, has alas! been put by it to a false use. The Catholic Church has always and most rightly insisted that the bases of final intellectual action, quite as much as those of just moral action, must ultimately be referable to authority; and it is perfectly true that the modern spirit of which she very properly complains has a contempt for authority in its strict and only natural sense. None the less or rather because of that contempt does that modern spirit of which I speak exaggerate authority, and in exaggerating falsify it. Let me define what I mean by that exaggeration and to give examples of it.

It will everywhere be observed, but nowhere more than in the two provinces of physical science and of history, that the modern reader is treated to affirmation rather than to proof. It is true that the extension of learning makes the elements of a proof often more difficult of attainment by the general reader than they were, and that the extension of the numbers of those who would learn makes the common

acceptance of a piece of proof more difficult still. But these difficulties are but concomitants, which permit the charlatanism of false authority to work unhindered; they are not in themselves the causes of the abuse. The causes of the abuse are deeper and are moral causes. Consider certain effects of this abuse of authority. Any hypothesis which reasonably explained some set of observed phenomena, and which had been provisionally accepted by "scientists," is or was until recently universally put forward before the vulgar, not as an hypothesis, but as an ascertained fact. The masses of men who had received superficial instruction in physical science (for instance) held as gospel that the hypothetical "atom" of chemistry was something actually existing, evident to the senses, and also something eternal and unchangeable. They firmly believed that the sun was slowly cooling; that lines of volcanoes represented lines of fissure in the "crust" of the earth; that volcanic activity acted as a safety valve for the "molten interior" of the globe, and so forth.

You have or had the same thing in history. A mass of European institutions were ascribed by the dominant school (wholly upon hypothesis) to German barbarism, but this purely hypothetical origin was not taught as an hypothesis; it was taught as an historic fact. Again, the decline of the Roman Empire in material things was connected with the advance of the Catholic Church; there was no attempt to establish a chain of cause and effect, and the mass of readers (who had no opportunity of discovering by direct reading how much more luminous, universal and clear, not to speak of its vast extension, philosophy became as the Catholic Church advanced) were told upon *authority* that the process of thought leading from Cicero to St. Augustine was a process of decline.

Innumerable examples might be cited: the evolutionary hypothesis for instance in that form which all specialists, or very nearly all specialists, now admit to be exploded, was taught to the masses as immutable and irrefutable truth. The Church in defining her authority to teach us transcendental truths has always pointed out that, by the very nature of such truths, they could not be known save through such an authority as she claims, and, but for revelation, could not be known at all. In these affairs of physical science no such necessity was present; the simplest mind could easily have grasped if all the main facts had been put before the public in their due proportion: the plain man was quite competent to decide these on the full evidence; but he was not given the full evidence: the evidence was selected and distorted in favor of a particular scientific bias, and against all doubts or questioning, was set up nothing more than the authority of certain names and their repeated appearance in the press. Thus a whole generation believed that organic forms had proceeded

from a common type by infinitely small gradations. There was no proof of so monstrous an hypothesis; it was all a draft upon future evidence, and under the action of research the Darwinian contention has wholly broken down. But, I repeat, a whole generation believed it unquestioningly: they believed it not because they had read and weighed the evidence, but because the human mind has an appetite for authority, and in this case accepted authority in a sphere where it had no claim.

The same sort of thing was apparent in English economics with their orthodox free trade school; it was apparent in the monometallic theory of the same generation (to quote but one small department of enquiry); one saw it in the conventional history which was taught for too long in the primary schools of France, and one sees it in the conventional history that is still taught so very insufficiently by the universities of England.

Side by side with this abuse and exaggeration of the principle of authority—this postulating of an authority that was no authority at all, but merely notoriety—went something cognate to it and proceeding from the same root, something if possible more immoral and more abusive of the human intellect. This was the deliberate suppression of evidence.

In the field of the evolutionary hypothesis just quoted, for example, the pedigree of the horse was perpetually cited as a paradigm. How many textbooks have not included some such sentence as this: "We have a beautiful example in the descent of the horse," etc., etc. Now three facts of capital importance were suppressed when this popular example of the Darwinian theory was put forward: first, that there was no true unity of type; the pedigree in no way corresponds throughout with what we call a horse; secondly, there was no unity of locality—the development was sporadic; and, thirdly, that the pedigree, even if true, was *not* an "example" out of many—it was unique. One of the links in the pedigree is based upon a very small animal, another upon an animal many of whose characteristics were not those of a horse. Secondly, the examples are taken from very different spots, none of one type being found on the American Continent and none of another on the European. Thirdly, the most important point of all, the horse is the *only* full example out of myriads which the apologist can put forward; but the general reader was not informed of these three things; he was given a piece of special pleading, and he was given it in the guise of an impartial statement.

You have just the same thing in the history which is written under the same bias. You are told everything that can support the anti-Catholic and what may be called the anti-traditional position; you are

not told what can support it. The harsh treatment of the Jewish usurers in the thirteenth century and at the end of the twelfth is an unfailling theme; but their immense (and ill-gotten) wealth in the preceding generation, their continual interference with their poorer fellow-citizens during the period of their dominance, their activity and strenuous opposition to the European civilization around them, is omitted. The non-Roman origins, legendary and not provable, but probable, of the house of Wessex is an untiring subject; its devotion to the Church is forgotten.

Yet another characteristic attaches to this school, and one that we should expect from the manifestations of its spirit which have just been mentioned. It refuses to meet criticism with criticism, or fact with fact. It has attempted to meet that reaction against its falsehood which is now rapidly gathering strength by nothing better than ridicule or silence. The present writer, for instance, alluded in an historical work to the descent of Charlemagne from the old Gallo-Roman nobility and his headship of the Roman family of Ferreolus of Narbonne. He was taken to task by the *Nation*, an academic newspaper of distinction in this country, for making an "amazing" statement. All French scholars are, of course, aware of Fustel de Coulange's great work, and the descent of Charlemagne is now a fixed and proved matter. Yet in the world that is still steeped in the authority of the German school an illusion to so trite a piece of information is treated as "amazing." When full proofs were furnished to the newspaper in question, those proofs were indeed printed, but no further discussion upon the matter took place. This is but a small example, and it is only given here because it has fallen within the author's private and personal experience; but the same kind of thing is going on everywhere as the reaction against the school of learning to which I have alluded proceeds. The new facts and the new criticism are not met: they are denied or ignored; and this attitude is particularly conspicuous in the field of early Church history, where recent research makes steadily and increasingly for the Catholic position and against the guess-work of the German schools.

Now the conclusion to which one is led when one considers this spirit is bias and its falsity, but especially when one considers its former power over the learned and its still almost universal grip of the half learned mind, is that Catholics in particular, whose creed and tradition is consciously or unconsciously the object of attack, should possess themselves as soon as may be of a *standard history* that will give them a due perspective of the European story: it is more important to be fixed in a just perspective of history than of physics, just as it is more important to be a good man than a healthy one.

History is the object lesson and the guide of politics, and if your history is false in tone, your civics will follow suit. There is no department of human learning where a false (not a legendary) spirit does more harm.

We already have, indeed, a great mass of work dealing with particular points directly connected with quarrels attaching to the Catholic faith. The Anglican community business has been thoroughly dealt with; the Galileo fable is, for us at least, exploded; we can discover the truth from our own authorities about the dissolution of the monasteries, about the quarrel with Thomas a'Becket, about the rise and historical nature of the Papacy, the early sources and original establishment of episcopacy, and so forth. We have upon these and a hundred other matters which concern us particularly excellent monographs and an increasing body of research. But what we have not got is a standard history, or a series of standard histories, which shall give the young student and the general reader a true view of Europe and of its development.

Europe and its development are a Catholic thing. The strongest unbeliever interested in historical truth—an Asiatic student, let us say, or any one remotely removed from the quarrels of Europeans—would at once recognize that whether its divine claims were true or false, the Catholic faith was the formative soul of European civilization. He would see that wherever it was preserved, there the European tradition in art, law, marriage, property, everything, was preserved also. He would perceive as a Catholic phenomenon the stupendous revolution whereby the mass of Roman slaves developed first into serfs possessed of land and capital, next into men economically free, and next into independent citizens, politically free as well, and lastly into the units of conscious democracies.

He would grasp the significance of the fact that the reaction towards servile conditions which we term "Capitalism," or "the industrial system," arose in societies which had lost the faith, first flourished there, was resisted in those which had kept the faith, and will never be permitted in these to achieve its full purpose of human degradation. There is no aspect of the European story which cannot be set in terms of our European religion, the religion and the philosophy that have made us. Yet that minority of Catholics who speak the English language have not as yet in the English tongue a literature which can make them familiar with these general truths. It is the gravest possible lacuna in our general intellectual equipment: it is one which we should as soon as possible attempt to fill.

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BISHOP NICOLSON'S VISITATION OF THE HIGHLANDS
IN 1700.

THE so-called Reformation, which was established by law in Scotland in 1560, did not affect the Highlands till many years later. The ministers being at first few in number, established themselves in the more desirable districts, whilst on the other hand some of the priests of the old order administered the rites of religion to the people until about the year 1600. It was the want of missionaries and of priests in the Highlands that was the principal cause of the decadence of the old faith, for the priests having died off, the missionaries from the colleges abroad not knowing the Gaelic language, and there being no Bishop to see that priests were provided, the people fell little by little into a cessation of religion as it might be called. The people of the Highlands and islands were in ignorance rather than in heresy, to which they were naturally averse, both from the attachment they feel for all that is ancient and from the dislike they have for all that is novel.

A very important step towards the improvement of the Catholic religion in the Highlands was taken in 1677, when Mr. Alexander Leslie was appointed visitor and was ordered to send to Rome a full report of the number of Catholics and of their needs. Mr. Leslie estimated the number of Catholics in the Highlands at 12,000, with three or four priests, all of them except one from Ireland. From other sources we know these priests to have been Fathers Francis White, George Fanning, Francis Macdonell and Robert Munro.

Another great step in advance was made in 1694, when the first Vicar Apostolic was appointed in the person of Bishop Nicolson. As has so often happened in the history of the Church, men of remarkable ability have been found for posts which appear to have been called into existence at the very moment when these men were at hand to fill them. Such a man was Bishop Thomas Nicolson; such also was Bishop James Gordon, his coadjutor and later his successor.

Bishop Nicolson's episcopate began with trouble. Consecrated in 1695, he was delayed a year and a half in Holland waiting for a favorable opportunity of crossing to England. At last he arrived in London in November, 1696, only to be cast into prison, where he was detained for six months. In July, 1697, he arrived in Edinburgh and undertook the duties of his office. In September of that year he wrote to Propaganda: "I have not yet been able to visit the Highland districts, where I fear the labourers are few and the harvest abundant. . . . An attempt was lately made to estab-

lish schools in the Highlands, but less successfully than we anticipated, for the whole of that country is full of garrisons, and the missionaries are not permitted to live in one place, which is greatly to our disadvantage. Experience has taught us that in certain districts of the North, where the protection of a great noble or a less hostile attitude on the part of the people have made it possible for priests to reside, matters go much better, for every day a certain number are reconciled to the Church."

In the year 1699 Bishop Nicolson commenced his visitation of the Highlands and in 1700 he completed it. Two almost identical accounts of it exist, the one in French and the other in Italian, both evidently prepared by the secretary and companion of the Bishop and under his orders; they form, in fact, the official report of the visitation.

After stating that many most ancient customs survive amongst the Highlanders, who are divided into clans, each under its chief, the report says: "They have a great care of their genealogies, and the Lairds have genealogists from father to son, who write what concerns the clan. They are much given to follow the military profession; their character, the roughness of their land and their manner of life render them well suited to it. There is not the humblest peasant but has his sword, his musket, his targe and a large dirk, which is always to be seen hanging at his side. Besides these arms the gentry use helmets and breastplates. By nature they are of very lively spirits and they are wonderfully successful when they have a little education. Even the common people seem to be far more open and confiding than those of the Lowlands. Indeed, what makes them seem to be less so, when they first come amongst strangers, is their want of experience and their ignorance of a language and of customs different to their own.

"It is not my place," says the writer of the report, "to describe here all those customs of theirs which are different from ours, consisting as they do in their manner of life, of dress, etc. Suffice it to say that they are very coarse feeders, never eat more than twice at most in the day, use over their short dress a plaid which also serves them as a covering at night, whilst their bedding is very hard. This, however, does not apply to persons of rank, who in their food and clothing often enough follow the customs of civilized countries. Nor does it apply to the islesmen, who dress in the manner of the Lowlanders when they are at home, but when they go out on any expedition they wear Highland dress. The costume of the women seems to us more extraordinary, for they wear the plaid girdled like the men except that the plaid descends to the ground and is fastened in front of the breast with a brooch of copper."

The report then repeats the statement regarding the attachment of the Highlanders to their ancient customs and their dislike of novelties. The arable land is said to be of small extent, but to give a good return, and that with little labor. Snow lies but a short time in the seaboard districts and in the isles. The horses and the flocks, which are very numerous, are outside all the winter, exposed to the weather night and day. Stables and byres they have none, except the gentry, who have stables for their saddle horses. It continues: "All these districts are very difficult to reach except by sea, on account of the mountains and rocks which surround them. It is only strangers, however, and those unaccustomed to the hills who have any great difficulty in traveling through them, for the inhabitants themselves have little difficulty. It is an extraordinary thing that they prefer to go forty miles, for example, always climbing up and down, and are less tired thus than if they had to go the same distance on a level road, where there was neither hill nor dale."

The following are mentioned as the districts where there are most Catholics: Strathglass, Glengarry, Knoydart, Morar, Arisaig and Moydart, with the islands of Uist, Barra, Canna, Eigg and Rum. In the previous year the Bishop had visited Strathglass, twenty miles beyond Inverness, and had there confirmed the majority of the people. Since then he had sent word to the missionaries in the other Highland districts and in the isles to prepare their people for his arrival this year.

"We started from the Enzie, in Banffshire, 24th May, 1700, going by boat in order to attract less notice, and to avoid passing through Moray and Inverness. There was a strong wind in our favour, so that we soon covered the sixty miles; but as the tide, which is very strong here, was against us, we were terribly tossed about between the force of the wind and of the tide and were in great danger. At midnight we arrived at a friendly house, the Castle of Lovat, six miles from Inverness. The next day the Bishop, who had been very seasick, took a rest, and I went into the town to call upon an excellent lady, the widow of the late Lord Macdonald. This nobleman had contributed more than any one else to bring back the Highlands and islands to the faith, being, as he was, one of the most important men in the Highlands and full of zeal. Close to Lovat and on the banks of the river is Beaulieu Abbey, of which the abbot's house is almost entire, along with the ruins of the cloister and a rather fine church."

On May 27 the Bishop and his party arrived in Strathglass, which is described as twelve miles from Lovat. He greatly admired the valley of the Glass river, one of the most beautiful in all Scotland, with its fine arable land along the riverside and the wooded hills

rising on each side. Timber was then in such abundance that all the houses were built of it. "They are called Creil houses, because the larger timbers are interlaced with wickerwork in the same way that baskets are made. They are covered outside with sods or divets. All the houses on the mainland, where we have been, are built after this fashion, except those of the lairds and principal proprietors. Strathglass is partly inhabited by Frasers, whose chief is Lord Lovat, and partly by Chisholms, under the Laird of Strathglass. These latter are all Catholics. The usual visitation was made here and those were confirmed who had not been last year."

It was on leaving Strathglass that the party began to feel that they were really in the Highlands owing to the difficulties of the road. They knew that there was a good road from Inverness through the Great Glen to Invergarry, and from thence to Loch Arkaig and Arisaig; but this they dared not take, because there were no less than five garrisons posted along it to keep the Highlanders in subjection. It was, moreover, just the time when Parliament was assembling and when the ministers, who for some time past had not ceased to excite the authorities against the Catholic religion, had compiled lists of the names of the priests for presentation to Parliament, which was expected to order a violent persecution. In consequence of this the Bishop felt that he should endeavor to gain the outer isles as soon as possible, avoiding the high roads in order that his journey might cause no alarm. The result was that after leaving Strathglass they had to cross some fearful hills without ever seeing any trace of a road, and this during four days; two were needed to go from Strathglass to the Braes of Glengarry and two more from there to Knoydart.

The distance from Strathglass to Glengarry they calculated at twenty-three miles, but each of these they thought was as bad as a league and more. They had horses to carry the baggage, but the Bishop was obliged to go on foot most of the time, especially amongst the rocks and boulders, where it was often necessary to creep on hands and feet, and in the swamps, which were almost continuous. The account goes on: "Our ordinary lodgings on the journey were the shielings or little cabins of earth four or five feet broad and six feet long, into which one enters by crouching on the ground, nor can one stand upright when arrived inside. These shielings the Highlanders use as a shelter in the hills and forests, where they pasture their flocks, as also to store their dairy produce. In the Braes of Glengarry we were met by some gentlemen of the district, a few of whom were confirmed as secretly as possible because the garrison, which occupied the castle of the chief, was not far off."

The Bishop only stayed one day in Glengarry, leaving word with

the priest to have the people ready against his return. This he was obliged to do in the other districts also that he traversed, for he was in a great hurry to reach the isles as soon as possible. He had been informed that the seas which he had to cross were very dangerous, and indeed even to-day, with a good steamboat service, the journey is not lightly to be undertaken. The description of the seas is quite accurate: "We knew that they were very dangerous, not only because they form part of the vast ocean, but more especially because of the different currents, several of which one sometimes encounters at the same time, each contrary to the other, and these beat up against one another with tremendous force. It is thus only during three months of the year that one can cross to these distant islands in safety in the open boats, which are the only ones they have in that country."

To reach Knoydart from Glengarry the party had to cross a most difficult mountain, where it took them five or six hours to do the last mile. On this occasion the Bishop told his companions as they were going along that although he had crossed and recrossed the Alps, he had never experienced anything like the difficulties of this journey. On the second day towards evening they reached Loch Hourn, quite tired out, and were greatly disappointed to find there nothing but an old shieling almost falling to pieces and green grass to lie on.

Loch Hourn is described as an arm of the sea which stretches fifteen or sixteen miles inland and separates Glenelg from Knoydart. Boats came here from all parts for the herring fishing, and it was here that Mr. White, a well-known missionary of the previous generation, had brought back an abundance of fish by blessing the Loch with holy water. Great was the surprise of the Protestants who were present in their fishing boats and who, after a long dearth of fish, experienced the good effects of the blessing.

The following day our travelers went seven miles down the loch and were met by Lord Macdonell, who conducted them with great civility to the house of one of his vassals in Knoydart, where "we had the ordinary prayers," evidently an obscure manner of speaking of Mass, for the report goes on to say that on the 9th, the feast of St. Columba, they again had the ordinary prayers, with Confirmation afterwards, "and this we did wherever we went." Before leaving Knoydart they paid a visit to the old laird, who was nearly ninety-five years of age. He had greatly distinguished himself in the wars of Montrose, and being cousin to Lord Macdonell, had succeeded him in all his property. The fine old soldier received the Bishop with the greatest respect and forced him to stay some days in his house, where about forty persons were confirmed, the rest being put off until the return of the Bishop from the isles. "On the 23d,"

says the report, "we arrived at Eilean Ban, on Loch Morar. This is a fresh water loch, fourteen miles long, having the district of Morar-mhic-Alasdair on the north and that of Morar-mhic-Dughail on the south. Here, after consulting with Mr. Cahassy, whose infirm state of health obliged him to stay on this island, with Mr. Rattray and some other priest, the Bishop sent all of them back to their own districts except Mr. Morgan and Mr. Maclellan, whom he decided to take with him to the isles to serve as interpreter and to help in the functions."

The island on Loch Morar and the loch itself are of very great interest for many reasons. The loch, though only half a mile from the sea, has the extraordinary depth of 1,017 feet, a greater depth than exists anywhere in the German Ocean. The picturesque little island was later the site of a Catholic seminary, whilst in 1746 the celebrated Simon, Lord Lovat, was there captured and led off to his trial in London.

But to return to our travelers. On the 15th of June they went to Keppoch, in Arisaig, where at that time there was the Catholic school. Arisaig is described as less hilly and more pleasant than Knoydart, Morar or Moydart, which are all much the same in regard to rocks and mountains, whilst Arisaig is much more level and abounds in corn. The chief of Clanranald, being by chance on the mainland, came to receive the Bishop with great kindness and courtesy and placed at his disposal one of his boats, with his best sailors to take him wherever he wished in the isles.

The following archæological notes had best be given in the words of the report. Kilmarui (*i. e.*, the Cell or Church of St. Malrubber) is close to Keppoch, in Arisaig. In this chapel there are several tombs of a hard bluish stone, on which there are some ancient figures very well carved, but without inscription for the most part. One would not have thought that the people of these countries had as much skill in sculpture as these tombs show them to have had. There are some on which a priest, wearing the ancient form of chasuble, is engraved; others have only figures of arms, such as large swords, or else figures of birds and other animals. There are similar tombs on Eilean Finnan (where the lairds of Moydart are buried), in Eigg, in Uist, Barra and in several other islands off the north of Scotland. In this respect Icolmkill, anciently called Hy, is very noteworthy. Here was the celebrated abbey of which Bede speaks in several places, founded by St. Columba, abbot and doctor and apostle of part of Scotland. This abbey was held in the greatest veneration until the so-called Reformation, when it was pillaged and destroyed. The tombs of the ancient Kings of Scotland and of all the chief families in the Highlands were here, and the Highlanders

think with considerable probability that after the decadence of religion, when the abbey had been profaned and ruined, the chiefs each brought back to the churches on their own lands some of the tombs of their forefathers. I also saw two stone crosses well carved with strange figures; one is in the cemetery of St. Columba, in the Isle of Canna, and the other at Kilcohan (*i. e.*, Church of St. Colgan), in Knoydart, where is the burial place of the lairds of that country.

On June 18 the party embarked at two o'clock in the morning. The wind was not in their favor, yet by use of oars they gained the Isle of Eigg towards the middle of the day. "This is a small island, which yields a fair quantity of grain and has excellent pasturage, though it is only three miles long. Of the inhabitants, all of whom are Catholics, 140 were confirmed. The houses of this and, indeed, of all the other islands are not constructed of wood, like those of the mainland (for in the isles there is no wood except what has been imported), but the walls are extremely thick. The two faces of the wall are of stone and the space between is filled in with earth in the manner of an embankment or rampart against the cold winds which blow from the ocean in winter. By order of the chief of Clanranald we were treated with great civility by his factor or deputy, a very intelligent man."

Next are described the atrocities committed by the captain of a man-of-war named Porringer, who had been sent to the isles to harry the coast and draw the men back from following the royal army. This recalls to mind the terrible fate that befell the inhabitants of this island years before, when they were almost all suffocated in the large cave at the narrow mouth of which their enemies the Macleods had kindled large fires. The floor of the cave is still strewn with the bones of the murdered inhabitants.

In Eigg the Bishop and his party found themselves in dangerous proximity to the garrison at Castle Tirrim, the ancient fortress of the chiefs of Clanranald, so the weather being favorable they left Eigg, and coasting along the Isle of Rum disembarked in Canna. Here they found that as in the case of Castle Tirrim, the residences of the principal Catholics had been used to quarter soldiers in.

Canna is described as a small island five miles in circumference, very fertile for its size and with abundance of pasturage, whilst the harbor on the southeast afforded safe anchorage. "At the entrance to this harbor there is a very high rock, in which it is thought there must be a mine of iron or adamant, since as the ships pass under it the compass turns towards the rock." One hundred and fifty years later this same rock is thus described: "In the vicinity of the harbor is an eminence called Compass Hill, which is said to disarrange the

compass so much as to cause it to whirl round, so that when placed near it no faith can be placed in its magnetic value."

The inhabitants of the Isle of Canna were found to be all Catholics, and 100 were confirmed both on the outward journey and on the return from Uist. The priest at that time was Mr. Hara, whilst Mr. Morgan as dean visited this and the neighboring islands occasionally. The party left Canna at 11 o'clock in the evening, for the wind was favorable, and being near midsummer it was light all through the night. They had not gone far when a great calm came over the sea, so that they were surprised to find the water as smooth as glass instead of the dangerous crossing they had feared.

"About midday of June 23, which was Sunday, we landed at Loch Eynort, in Uist, where Mass was said in a tent we erected on the beach. Towards evening we went to the house of the laird at Ormaclate and were received with many marks of respect by the lady in the absence of the chief of Clanranald, whom we had left on the mainland. Uist is part of the long island which the ancients called Aebuda, or Hebrides. It is really composed of several islands, which follow in this order from north to south. The most southern is Barra, separated from South Uist by about eight miles of sea. It was in South Uist that we landed. Next comes Benbecula, separated from Uist by a mile of sea when the tide is high, but when it is low tide one can cross the ford dry shod. Another ford separates Benbecula from North Uist, whilst further north again is Harris, which belongs to the Laird of McLeod, and then Lewis, which belongs to Lord Seaforth."

The writer of the report had no occasion to cross to North Uist or he would have learned that the ford of which he speaks without comment has many and great dangers of its own. Except to those very well acquainted with it, it is difficult to find, and if the exact course be missed, night may come on whilst the traveler is in vain trying to pass through pools which he knows well are not on the right track, and of which the depth often forces him to retrace his steps. He will then try to pass another way, only to meet the same fate, and thus the precious hours pass by until he discovers to his horror that the tide is rising and slowly cutting him off from all hope of escape. But such as would learn more of the terrors of the North Ford are referred to Niel Munro's delightful tale, "Children of the Mist."

"South Uist and Benbecula together are about twenty-six miles long from north to south and five broad. On the west, towards the great ocean, the country is very flat and the land is arable and more fertile than is usually the case in the seaboard of the mainland. On this side of the island also are the houses and the villages, whilst in

the middle there is a lake stretching almost continuously for twenty miles right down the centre of the island. On the east there are nothing but steep hills and deep gorges, which serve for pasturage in summer. In this island, as likewise in all the others, there is a great abundance of fish, and in one river there are salmon. There is a great quantity of wild fowl, duck and geese, besides enormous quantities of sea birds. There are also eagles and falcons, of which the nests are to be found in Uist and Barra. There are deer in the hills, but neither hares nor foxes. There are no trees in the isles, not even in gardens, and when any are planted they do not grow above the height of the walls on account of the cold winds which blow from the vast ocean. It seems, however, that there used to be trees in some of the valleys, but now all the wood is brought from the mainland."

Not indeed all, for more than might be expected is washed ashore on the west coast by the waves of the vast ocean, to which it has either been committed to lighten the weather-beaten ship or been torn from her after she has succumbed to the terrible force of the Atlantic storms. No doubt the fact that the Gulf Stream strikes the outer isles accounts in great measure for the large quantities of timber that drift ashore there. From earliest times this wood was a welcome and a free gift of nature to the hardy islanders, but some thirty years ago the British Board of Inland Revenue cast their covetous eyes on this small source of income, and now no man may touch the wood until he pay the price fixed by a government official. One would have thought that life in the outer isles was hard enough without such added grievances, often sorely felt and so thoughtlessly inflicted.

"In South Uist all the people are Catholic except about forty persons, who attend the minister's chapel. At twelve stations, such as presented themselves were confirmed, the numbers reaching over 800. We were greatly pleased with the kindness of the chief of Clanranald and of his lady. They sent their horses and men to take the Bishop wherever he wished to go, and they welcomed him at their house with every sign of respect and affection when he retired there once or twice after his hard work. The same warm-hearted respect was shown us by the laird of Benbecula, a learned and pious man and uncle to the chief."

The party arrived in Barra on the 10th of July. It is described as six miles long, productive of good crops of corn, with excellent grazing. The lord of the isle, who was very zealous, received the Bishop with great respect. "The people, who are excellent, really deserve a good priest, but we only had one of the Franciscans escaped from Ireland to place there until God should provide otherwise.

"In Barra there are the ruins of two or three churches and of a priory at Kilbar. There are six other inhabited islands which belong to Barra, and there is a chapel in each. Of these Vatersay is the largest, with a circumference of five miles, whilst there are fourteen other smaller islands that are only used for pasturage."

Having returned to Uist on July 19, the Bishop spent a few days confirming such as had not received that sacrament at the time of his first visit, and on the 24th he left in a boat placed at his disposal by the Laird of Benbecula. It is a matter of regret that the writer of the report, who has so many interesting observations to make, did not tell us more of the customs he found current in Uist. Perhaps at that time many of these, which seem to-day so strange, were still in practice on the Highland mainland, though now it is only in the isles that they are found. Here one still sees in use saddlery, cart traces and saddles made of bent, the long grass that grows on the macha along the seashore. Here much of the land is turned with the "cascrom," the old-fashioned foot plough, or with the wooden horse plough, which is still preferred to its iron competitor. Here one may still enjoy the "ceilidh" as in the evenings, and especially the Sunday evenings, one strolls in at the open cottage door to take one's seat at the end of the row of visitors. No host rises to welcome the new arrival, for all are welcome and have ever been, whilst each joins in keeping up the round of tales and anecdotes that have been so often told and told again. None but those who have visited the outer isles, and especially South Uist, can realize the charm of the old-world surroundings that have changed so little in the course of centuries.

After a short visit to the Isle of Rum, which had only a small population, of whom twenty-four were confirmed, the Bishop and his party got back to Arisaig, on the mainland, on the 29th of July. "After our return from the isles we began the visitation of Arisaig, Moydart and Morar, and in the eight stations in this neighborhood 700 persons were confirmed. Next we drew up rules for the Catholic school that is in Arisaig, and then we went to the Eilean Ban, in Morar, where we met the neighboring missionaries, and after consultation with them we drew up some disciplinary regulations. Thence on 14th August we went to Knoydart, where 214 persons were confirmed. On 24th we reached Glengarry, after a most fatiguing journey of a day and a night, exposed to the weather at Inverquich, where there was neither cottage nor shieling.

"Glengarry is a fertile and pleasant district, over eighteen miles in length. The River Garry flows through the deep valley, starting from Loch Quoich, and discharges itself into Loch Garry, from the far end of which it flows on again till it reaches Loch Oich, near

Invergarry Castle. In Glengarry there is a large population, all Catholics. Mr. Rattray usually attends to them, but the rumors of a new war, the suspicions of their neighboring garrisons and the animosities that remain after the last war are not extinguished nor even allayed, so that after having confirmed those only who were the best disposed, we left on August 28th with the intention of returning when the spirit of unrest should have subsided."

The evidently hurried departure from Invergarry was no doubt well advised. Four years later the worthy Mr. Rattray, alias Munro, was taken prisoner by the soldiers of the garrison already mentioned, who surrounded the house where he was lodged. Besides being very old and infirm, he was at the time sick of a severe fever, which prevented him from moving to safer quarters, having pretty sure notice some time before of the danger that threatened him. The soldiers, finding that he was not only unable to walk, but even to ride, losing every sentiment of common feeling and humanity, threw him across on horseback like a sack of corn, and in that manner conveyed him to the castle of Glengarry. Being arrived there, they cast him on a low floor, refusing him in that rigid season of the year (January) either covering or even a little straw to lie on. In this situation he continued tortured by a continual fever, accompanied by other complaints, for two days, without ever during that time getting as much as a glass of water. On January 17 it pleased God to release him from his sufferings. (Abbé Macpherson's MS.) Little wonder that Bishop Nicolson, who had already been twice imprisoned, was unwilling to run the risk of a third similar experience.

"On 29th September we returned to our starting point after a journey of over 400 miles. During the whole three months that the visitation lasted the Bishop worked so hard that there were only three days, according to a careful diary that he kept, when he was not engaged from morning till night, either traveling from place to place or preaching, confirming and catechizing the people. Although he gave Confirmation almost every day, still it was his invariable custom never to do so without preaching himself as a preparation. His words were at once interpreted to the people by one of his suite. He scarcely gave himself a moment's repose, notwithstanding the very great fatigues of so difficult a journey."

The rest of the report is concerned with purely ecclesiastical matters and summarized the experiences the worthy Bishop had gained and which he later put to such practical use in his "Statuta." These were long the law and the directory for the priests on the Scotch mission, and there is little doubt but that the visitation of 1700, of which the foregoing account has been given, was the turning point

in the fortunes of the Catholic Church in Scotland, which has ever since continued to increase both in the numbers of her children and in the style and the decoration of her churches. Nowhere is this more truly the case than in the Western Highlands and the islands, where the Catholic churches are the pleasantest objects that the eye rests on, bespeaking peace and culture in those wild and storm-swept districts.

ODO BLUNDELL, O. S. B.

Fort Augustus, Scotland.

ONE OF DANTE'S TROUBADOURS.

I.

THE SORDEL OF THE CHRONICLERS.

Sordels fo de mantoano, d'un castel que a nom Got, gentils catanis, e fo avinens hom de la persona, e fo bons chantaire, e bons trobaire, e grans amaires.—Old Provençal Chronicle.

SORDEL—a soft, uncertain, two syllabled cadence—we find the name on the illuminated pages of the Provença chroniclers; Sordello, stronger for the added vowel, we spell it out through the soft starlight of Dante's middle realm, and Sordello it remains through all the six cantos of Browning's marvelous unscrolling of the incidents in the development of a human soul. It was in the high suntide of the mediæval period that the historic Sordello first came into prominence. When he died it was sundown of the ages of faith. He was contemporary at birth with Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Innocent III., and at death with Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon and the founders of the English House of Commons. The jongleurs have told his tale after their fashion, intermingling fact and fancy, presenting first-hand and second-hand information with the impartiality of a delightfully naïve credulity. The sad-eyed exile of Florence has taken up the theme and sketched it in his strong, simple way, illuminating the lines of truth and beauty and shrouding in merciful shadows the years of weakness, the hours of cowardice, the moments of shame. And finally Browning comes with his insistent "and you shall hear Sordello's story told," unfolding the development of the soul of the poet, inventing a brilliant episode, startling us by the boldness of an unforeseen conclusion. But the real Sordello lives in no one of the three. The chroniclers were simple and obvious; they failed. Dante was balanced perfectly between crass obviousness and the eerie-suggestiveness of the ultra-esoteric. He did not succeed. Browning wrote for the atten-

tive reader in a style full of elisions and abrupt transitions. But Sordello's story remains untold. The mediæval gossips give us their legends; they are the hearsays of the period. Dante abridges these accounts for us, emphasizing the good and eliminating the evil. This is the idealization of a kindred spirit. Browning generalizes the incidents, so that what was the story of one man becomes the history of all mankind, the key to the tragedy of all idealism and the comedy of all realism.

There are three accounts concerning the birth of Sordello. According to an old Provençal manuscript in the Vatican he was the son of a poor knight named El Corte. Another version, based upon a line in Rolandino's chronicle, makes him a member of the family of Salinguerra. The third, Aliprando, in his rhyming history of Milan, avers that he was of noble birth, belonging to the house of the Visconti. All three agree that he was born in Goito, near Mantua, at the close of the twelfth century, probably between 1189 and 1194. On the highway between Brescia and Mantua one passes the little village of Goito, "tidy, white and quiet." A heap of ancient ruins, a wall of impressive thickness and a narrow door are all that remain of the famous castle, "the lodge of the Lady Adelaide." There is nothing of romantic charm, no leafy paths nor pebbly brooks nor wild ravines with unexpected heights and depths as described by Browning. Six hundred years ago it was much as it is to-day. Then, as now, swampy flats and shallow marshes stretched away on every side to meet monotonous sweeps of meadow broken at regular intervals by long rows of mulberry bushes. From the early days of sudden onslaught by fierce Gothic hordes to the latest encounters between Austrians and Piedmontese in 1848, Goito's fortunes have been linked with those of its important neighbor, Mantua. But after all the throb and tumult of its stirring history, it boasts but one claim to immortality, one association that insures perpetuation to its name—on its reedy plain was born Sordello, the mysterious, the most celebrated of the early Italian minstrels, one who wrote in the style of the earlier French troubadours and in their Provençal tongue.

It is to Aliprando's rhyming chronicle we must turn if we would find the source of the Sordellan legends recounted by the earlier biographers. Aliprando tells us of the boy Sordel, and how as a youth he astounded the world of letters by a wonderful poem, "*Le Trésor*;" how when he grew to manhood, arms proved more seductive than letters and challenge after challenge was accepted from overconfident knights; how the King of France, hearing of these deeds of valor, invited the brave bard to cross the Alps—of Sordello's preparations for the journey and how at the last moment he

changed his mind at the earnest entreaty of Ezzelino da Romano, who urged him to come to reside with the Romano family at Verona; of his sojourn at Verona, and how when he found that Ezzelino's sister Beatrice was losing her heart to him, he fled to Mantua; how Beatrice followed him disguised as a page; of his marriage with Beatrice; of his visit to France, where his valor, gallantry and poetic talents were greatly admired; of the presents bestowed upon him by the King, three thousand francs and a golden falcon; how he returned to Italy, where he was received with great pomp as the first warrior of his time; how the Mantuans came out to greet him, but he refused to tarry until he reached Verona, where he was reunited with his bride; of his return with her to Mantua, where they were welcomed by eight days of public rejoicing. Then comes the story of Ezzelino's anger because of the marriage and of his attempt to take the city; of Sordello's defense of the walls and of Ezzelino's ignominious defeat. The narrative concludes with an account of the onset of the poet at the head of a band of Milanese against his crafty enemy. For the second time Sordello was the victor, slaying his opponent with his own hands.

The whole narrative is a sorry mixture of blind anachronism and blundering romance. Tiraboschi rejects most of it. And yet this chronicle is the storehouse from which the historical writers of the next century drew their stories of the Goitan troubadour and of the Lady Beatrice, who never existed. Tiraboschi had access to a large number of early manuscripts which he studied faithfully and transcribed with an almost Teutonic accuracy and patience. He says that Sordello was born near Mantua towards the close of the twelfth century; that he went to Provence when a boy; that he eloped with the wife of Count Richard, of Saint Boniface; that he was of noble birth and a famous warrior; that he died a violent death in the middle of the thirteenth century. Rolandino inserts in his version an ambiguous line, upon which Browning founds the relationship of Sordello and Salinguerra. "Cunizza, wife of Richard of Saint Boniface," Rolandino writes, "and sister of Ezzelino da Romano, was stolen from her husband by one Sordello, *who was of the same family.*" Benvenuto d'Imola's note to Canto VI. of the *Purgatorio* is not without interest. "Sordello was a native of Mantua," Benvenuto tells us, "an illustrious and skillful warrior and an accomplished courtier. This chevalier lived in the time of Ecelin da Romano, whose sister conceived for him a violent affection. Informed of this intrigue, Ecelin disguised himself as a servant and surprised the unfortunate pair. The poet promised on his knees not to repeat the offense. But the cursed Cunizza dragged him anew to perdition. He was naturally grave, virtuous and prudent.

To withdraw himself from Ecelin he fled, but was pursued and assassinated."

Modern students of Provençal literature have spared no pains in their quest of the truth underlying this tissue of biographical fact and legendary fancy. The result has been an endless controversy, in which one faction loudly condemns, while the other heaps up superlative praises. De Lollis can see in Sordello only a time-serving adventurer, Guelph or Ghibelline as occasion demanded, a mediocre poet, a faithless lover and a betrayer of the confidence of his friend and patron, Richard of Saint Boniface. Torraca can see only the most celebrated of the Provençals, a poet of unusual vigor and fecundity, a noble patriot, a dauntless warrior. This diversity of opinion, based upon divergent historical accounts, has led to the theory that there were two Sordellos, contemporaries—the one a poet, student and philosopher; the other a vagabond soldier, a tramp—jongleur, a tavern-brawler, the hero of the many graceless episodes that have been erroneously associated with the name of the great Lombardy troubadour. Through the painstaking researches of Gitterman several documents have been brought to light that seem to point to the existence not only of two, but of three Sordellos, all living in Northern Italy in the early decades of the thirteenth century. To the third Sordello Gitterman attributes the adventure with Cunizza. There is much to be said in favor of the triumvirate. But it would seem that since all three are connected in the Provençal accounts with Ezzelino, and since all three are synchronal and synspatial, it is possible that they were also identical in personality. The high praise of Dante and the gossip of the Provençal tale-bearers, in all likelihood, refer to the same man. Perhaps Sordello, like his successor, Dante, found himself with life half spent, "all in a gloomy wood astray, gone from the path direct." Perhaps his youth was desecrated by leaps of overvaulting ambition, an inordinate love of self-aggrandizement and lawless pleasure-guests. But if he came at last to see the error of his ways; if in the end he followed the Light and abjured Darkness; if his later years were consecrated to truth-seeking and beauty-loving and the doing of good, we must judge him by his final choice, not by his early errors. It is the Master's way to be merciful. Our age, however, is too apt to speak of repentant sinners as if their sinning and repenting were something to their credit. The true penitent never sees sin in that light. By every deliberate choice of evil something is forever lost—lost for eternity. The Master pardoned Peter, but John was the disciple that He loved.

Besides, we must not forget that De Lollis and his school of critics find plenty of evidence to support their censures. Early in his

twenties Sordello appears as a disturber of the peace in a tavern at Florence. A fight ensues and a wine flask is broken over the poet's head. Then there is the story of his cowardly refusal to accompany Saint Louis on a crusade because of his fear of rough waters. His apologists insist that this refusal was a mere pleasantry, one that would never have been indulged in except by a man whose reputation for bravery was too well established to be in any danger of question or suspicion. From all accounts he was a great traveler. He left Italy in 1229 and made a tour of the south of France, visiting the courts of Provence, Toulouse, Rousillon, Castile, Leon and Portugal. About ten years later we find him at the castle of the Countess Beatrice, daughter of Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence, and wife of Charles I. of Anjou. Charles took the wandering minstrel under his protection, and time and again proved himself a friend in need. The poet repaid him by complaints and ingratitude. "How can a man be cheerful," Sordello asks, "when he is poor, sick all the time and unfortunate in lord, love and lady?" To which Charles replied: "I have always cherished and honored him. I have given him substantial property and a wife of his own choosing. But he is a fool and a nuisance and would not be grateful if one gave him a county." For all this, some years later we find Charles bestowing five castles in the Abruzzi upon "his intimate and faithful friend Sordello," as a reward for services rendered in an expedition against Manfred. During this expedition the poet was taken prisoner at Novara by the Ghibellines. At first Charles received the news with indifference. But Pope Clement IV. interceded in behalf of the troubadour, asking that he be ransomed and recompensed for his sufferings. Charles' indifference was at once transformed into active interest, and the gift of the Abruzzi castles followed. And so Sordello returned to continue his programme of finding friends and losing them, of falling in love and promptly falling out again. Love, except of self, and friendship, except with a view to some personal advantage, he could not understand. And yet he wrote much of love and friendship. Such baseless vaporings coarsen the soul; they even leave an impression upon the body. And, in fact, our poet was not imposing in presence. His well-cut lips smiled too easily; his bold black eyes suggested recklessness and daring rather than courage. Such lips might say harsh words upon slight provocation; such eyes could never brighten save in selfish cunning or through some sordid joy or gain. For him duty consisted in getting what he wanted. In one of his poems he tells us:

And whoso lacks the thing his heart desires
Is worse than dead. He lives in woe and need.

In another he advocates the dual service of God and Mammon:

Who'er considers life with care
Will always find, so I declare,
One thing enjoined by wisdom's rod,
To please at once the world and God.

Shortly after Sordello received his castle-grant he disappeared. From the fact that Dante places him among those who died before they could repent, it is conjectured that he met a violent end. It may be that he fell at the hand of Ezzelino, as Benvenuto d'Imola testifies. Ezzelino is held responsible for so many crimes that one more laid at his door can hardly make much difference. Villani says that "Ezzelino was the cruelest and most redoubtable tyrant that ever existed among Christians." And Symonds in "The Renaissance in Italy" portrays him thus: "Ezzelino, a small, pale, wiry man, with terror in his face and enthusiasm for evil in his heart, lived a foe to luxury, cold to the pathos of children, dead to every higher emotion. His one passion was the love of power. When he captured Friola he deprived all the citizens of their eyes, noses and legs, and then ordered the unfortunates to be exposed to the mercy of the elements. He expired in agony, wrenching from his wounds the dressings placed there by his enemies to keep him from dying." According to a sixteenth century legend, Sordello lies at San Pietro, in Mantua, near his beloved Mincio. Virgil celebrates "Mincius crowned with sea-green reeds;" Milton sings of "smooth-sliding Mincius circled with vocal reeds." There our poet sleeps. He is done with the mad rivalries and bitter animosities of the Italy of the thirteenth century; with the perpetual struggle between Pope and Emperor and the ever-recurring battles between commune and nobles. And yet these centuries were in no sense dark. Through all the clamor and confusion two ideals were growing steadily clearer and brighter—one was the chivalric ideal of love with all that it enjoins of sympathy with the weak and suffering and reverence for womanhood; the other was the glorification of utter selflessness by the triple vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. The knights and their various allied orders were the propagators of the first; the gentle saint of Assisi and his brothers were the champions of the second. Sordello in his youth had chosen, not the monk's, but the knight's part.

II.

THE SORDELLO OF DANTE.

But lo! a spirit there
Stands solitary, and towards us looks.
—Purgatory, Canto VI.

Three of the principal characters in the Sordellan cycle appear in the Divine Comedy—Sordello himself, Cunizza and Ezzolino.

Ezzolino is confined with the violent in the Seventh Circle of the Inferno. There, guarded by the Minotaur, runs a river of blood, wherein are tormented such as have committed acts of violence against their neighbors. Some are immersed to their eyebrows, others to their throats, according to the degree of their guilt. From the crimson flood loud shrieks arise as the unhappy sufferers forever renew their futile attempts to escape. The banks are patrolled by Centaurs armed with keen arrows. One of these monsters explains:

These are the souls of tyrants who were given
To dealing woe and death. They wail aloud
Their merciless wrongs. Here Alexander dwells,
And Dionysius fell, who many a year
Of woe wrought for fair Sicily. That brow
Whereon the hair so jetty clustering hangs
Is Ezzolino; that with flaxen locks,
Obizzo of Este, in the world destroyed
By his foul stepson.

Cunizza circles in the Third Heaven of the Paradiso in the planet Venus. She describes to Dante the site of Romano, where she and her brother Ezzolino were born. She comments upon the fair fame won by the troubadour Folco, and regrets that no such fame is now sought by her countrymen of Venetia. Then, seeming no longer to heed Dante, she resumes her place on the wheel of light and continues her dance in the heavenly cosmos. Cunizza, like Sordello, must have found "the path direct" in her later years. Although placed in Paradise by the sternest of moralizers and the most uncompromising of all lovers of justice, she has not escaped veiled censures and even open reproach. The commentators heap up footnotes. They remind us that while William of Lucerne was declaring Cunizza beyond all other women in worth and beauty and threatening those who made war upon her reputation with a sword which would surely cut before it bent, Ugo de Saint Cyr was replying with a smile that an infinite number of wounds would not suffice to vindicate the honor of the Lady of Romano; that all the doctors in Salerno could not medicine her good name. Dante's exaltation of her has led to endless controversy and speculation. It may be that the Florentine's fervid Ghibelline faith scorned the slanderous stories circulated by Guelph chroniclers concerning the daughter of a champion of the Emperor. Or he may have been influenced by the so-called "document of emancipation" executed in 1265. This was a deed of manumission granting freedom to all the slaves and bondsmen of the house of Romano. It was signed by Cunizza in her extreme old age. Transfigured by her sorrow and delivered from the tumult of her youthful emotions, her declining years seem to have been serenely calm and even solemn. If in those later days she ever met Sordello, we have no record of the meeting. And yet their mutual tenderness and the bond of a common repentance may

have brought them together for a brief moment at the end, perhaps to ask forgiveness and to say a last farewell. For years the aged penitent dwelt with the Cavalcanti, the family of Guido Cavalcanti, the poet-friend of Dante. There Dante must have known her in his childhood days. There he must have heard the whole sad story of her life. And after her death he must have heard of the penitential spirit of her closing years, of her edifying death and of the grateful prayers of the emancipated dependents who never wearied of rehearsing the virtues of the good Cunizza, the last Lady of Romano.

Sordello is consigned to the purifying flames of the Purgatorio. There, at the foot of the mount, in company with those who have come to sudden and untimely ends, he meets Dante and Virgil. The spirits press about the living poet and his guide, chanting:

We all by violence died, and to our latest
Were sinners, but then warmed by light from heaven;
So that, repenting and forgiving, we
Did issue out of life at peace with God,
Who with desire to see Him fills our hearts.

After some converse with Giacopo del Cassero, a Ghibelline of note; Buonconte da Montefeltro, Dante's comrade-in-arms at the battle of Campaldino, and Pia, a lady of Sienna, who was murdered in secret by her husband, the two poets observe a solitary spirit that has not joined in the general press, standing apart from the crowd. Virgil speaks:

But lo! a spirit there
Stands solitary, and toward us looks:
It will instruct us in the speediest way.

Dante continues:

We soon approach'd it. Oh, thou Lombard spirit!
How didst thou stand in high abstracted mood,
Scarce moving with slow dignity thine eyes!
It spoke not aught, but let us onward pass,
Eyeing us as a lion on his watch.
But Virgil with entreaty mild advanced,
Requesting it to show the best ascent;
It answer to his question none returned,
But of our country and our kind of life
Demanded. When my courteous guide began,
"Mantua," the shadow in itself absorb'd,
Rose towards us from the place in which it stood
And cried: "Mantuan, I am thy countryman,
Sordello." Each the other then embraced.

At the first mention of his native city Sordello is aroused. He becomes all alertness and attention. So it should be, Dante muses bitterly. Italy is worthy of such love, but her sons are recreant. He opens his heart in a long wail of mingled pity and scorn:

Ah, slavish Italy! Thou inn of grief!
Vessel without a pilot in loud storm!
Lady no longer of fair provinces,
But weedy wastes o'ergrown. This gentle spirit

Even from the pleasant sound of his dear land
 Was prompt to greet a fellow-citizen
 With such glad cheer: while now thy living ones
 In thee abide not without war; and one
 Malicious gnaws another, ay, of those
 Whom the same wall and the same moat contains.
 Seek, wretched one, around thy sea-coast wide;
 Then homeward to thy bosom turn and mark,
 If any part of thee sweet peace enjoy.

Then follows a scathing arraignment of the factions in the various cities of Italy and of the callousness of the rulers who leave them to their fate. Florence is at first sarcastically omitted from the censorship; but the sarcasm soon dies away in a groan of despair when he recalls the depths to which the fair city by the Arno has fallen:

My Florence
 How many times within my memory
 Customs and laws and coins and offices
 Have been by thee renewed and people changed.
 If thou remember'st well and canst see clear,
 Thou wilt perceive thyself like a sick wretch,
 Who finds no rest upon her down, but oft
 Shifting her side, short respite seeks from pain.

Sordello was overjoyed when he found that this shade from the dim corridors of the under-world was a Mantuan; but when, upon further questioning, he found that his guest was none other than Master Virgil, he fell upon his knees in loving reverence, exclaiming:

Glory of Latium,
 In whom our tongue its utmost power displayed;
 Boast of my honored birthplace! What desert
 Of mine, what favor rather, undeserved,
 Shows thee to me? If I to hear that voice
 Am worthy, say if from below thou comest,
 And from what cloister's pale?

Virgil replies that he belongs in that part of the Inferno where "mourning's voice sounds not of anguish sharp, but breathes in sighs;" where souls abide who "the three holy virtues put not on, but understood the rest and without blame followed them all." Then he asks to be directed up the mountain-side. Sordello answers:

Thou beholdest now how day declines;
 And upward to proceed by night, our power
 Excels. Therefore, it may be well to choose
 A place of pleasant sojourn. To the right
 Some spirits sit apart retired. If thou
 Consentest, I to these will lead thy steps,
 And thou wilt know them, not without delight.

In accordance with this plan the three poets ascend an eminence whence they behold a pleasant recess in the form of a flowery vale. Within the enclosure on the grass are the spirits of dead Kings and rulers chanting the *Salve Regina*. Sordello names and describes them as he points them out: The Emperor Rudolph, "who might have healed the wounds whereof fair Italy died;" Ottocar of Bohemia, "with kindly visage;" Philip III. of France, "that one with

nose deprest;" Henry of Navarre, "him of gentle look, who flying expired, withering the lily's flower;" Charles I. of Anjou, "him of feature prominent;" Henry III., "the King of simple life and plain, Harry of England," and last, but not least, William, Marquis of Montferrat, "who sits lowest, yet his gaze directs aloft." The night descends, and with it two green-robed angels with emerald wings. "From Mary's bosom both are come," explains Sordello, "as a guard for the vale against him who hither tends, the Serpent." The poets enter the valley and Dante is speaking with Nino, the judge of Gallura, when the Serpent glides noiselessly in between the grass and flowers. But the "celestial falcons," the verdant-vested sentinels, swoop down and the ancient enemy of the human race disappears from view. The night advances; the eastern cliffs begin to glow. Dante, still burdened by his earthly frame, is forced to rest. He sinks upon the ground overcome by sleep. And while he sleeps Lucia comes and carries him up the mountain-side, where, awaking two hours later, he finds himself with Virgil at the gate of Purgatory. Sordello and the spirits of the vale of flowers have been left behind.

It is the general opinion of critics and commentators that this entire episode, with its famous Italian Jeremiad, was suggested to Dante by the Goitan bard's "Lament for Blacas." This elegy, written upon the death of Blacas, a Spanish troubadour of extraordinary personal courage, urges the craven-hearted rulers of the age to eat of the great heart of the dead Blacas, in the hope that they, too, may become brave and generous and honor-loving. "Why," asks Tommaseo in his "Nuovi Studi di Dante," "does Dante place Sordello as a guide through the flowery valley where Kings and rulers are found? Because in this place he meant to call together to himself as judge many of the most powerful princes of Italy and of Europe, and Sordello in a Provençal song did similar work and judged with lofty severity many great princes of his time."

The "Lament" is noteworthy and in the original may well have made a deep impression on Dante. The first stanza eulogizes the brave troubadour:

I fain would mourn Blacas—let all the world attend!
For sorrow, grief and pain my bosom justly rend;
In him am I despoiled of master and of friend,
And every noble trait hath met in him its end.
So mortal is the blow, such fatal ill impend,
We can but vainly hope the generous loss to mend,
Unless his heart we take and through the nations send
That cowardly lords may eat, for that will courage lend.

The succeeding stanzas arraign the Roman Emperor, Frederick II., against whom Milan had rebelled; Louis IX. of France, who, influenced by his mother, allowed his right to the throne of Castile

to lapse; the English King, Henry III., who had lost territory to the French, and the Spanish King, Ferdinand III. of Castile, for allowing his mother to interfere in affairs of state. They are all invited to partake of the heart of the brave Blacas. No funeral dirge ever served better to express at the same time deep love and reverence for the dead and supreme contempt for the living. The irony is unsurpassed:

The first of all to eat, since greatest is his need,
 Shall be the Roman Emperor, if he would succeed
 Against the Milanese, who count themselves freed;
 For he, despite his Germans, hath the worst indeed.
 The witless King of France shall next upon it feed,
 And then regain Castile, lost ere he gave it heed;
 But he will never taste it if his mother plead,
 For he would grieve her not—he well deserves his meed.

Then let the King of England, timid as a hart,
 Eat bountifully thereof, and quickly will he start
 To win back the lands which France with lance and dart—
 Because she knows him well—hath taken for her part.
 But let the Spanish King eat doubly of the heart,
 Too weak for one good realm, while two are on his chart;
 But should he wish to eat it, let him go apart,
 For should his mother know, her stick would make him start.

Dante tells us in his "*De Volgari Eloquentia*" that Sordello excelled in all kinds of composition and that he helped to form the Tuscan tongue by some happy attempts which he made in the dialects of Cremona, Brescia and Verona. Dante also speaks of a "Goito Mantuan" who was the author of many good songs and who left in every stanza an unmatched line which he called "the key." This singer, according to Tiraboschi, was our Lombardy minstrel. None of the Italian poems has come down to us; the Goito Lay, whatever may have been its theme or merit, is lost forever. Gone, too, are his "History of the House of Aragon" and his "Defense of Walled Towns." His extant poems, thirty-four in number, have been collected by Sainte-Pelaye, Fauriel, Raynouard, Diez, Mahn and de Lollis. They are all in Provençal and for the most part gallant songs. They are remarkable, Gismondi tells us, for "the harmony and sensibility of their verses" and for "the purity and delicacy of their sentiments."

But the poet-patriot of Dante is not the restless traveler and polished courtesan of the early biographers, nor the gay chanter in novel metre and faultless phrase of loves that wax and wane, as portrayed by some of the later critics, nor yet the severe ruler and judge, who, repenting of his youthful follies, has lost all that is human and engaging, degenerating into a mere bundle of sententiousness and self-complacency, as others would have us believe. The Sordello of Dante is an exalted nature, a man of his age, and yet a true contemplative with a turn for speculation and an ironical contempt for

mere worldliness and its concomitants. Dante calls him "the good Sordello" and "the courteous Sordello." He must have left a noble record—a record lost in part to us—thus to have impressed so penetrating a student of human nature, so impartial a lover of righteousness. Like a recluse, we discern the shadowy form of the famous Goitan, moving majestically among the spirits of the mighty ones of former days. He is with them, but not of them.

But lo! a spirit there
Stands solitary, and towards us looks.

III.

THE POET-PHILOSOPHER OF BROWNING.

My stress lay on the incidents in the development of a soul. Little else is worth study.—Browning's foreword to *Sordello*.

The Sordello of Browning is a poet, a troubadour, with a poet's sensitiveness to beauty and a troubadour's faith in the springtime of things, in fresh green leaves and the aspirations of youth and the love that lasts forever and forever. But he is more than a lover of the beautiful. "The poet, when he leans on truth, is a philosopher," Plato tells us. If not in the beginning, at least in the end, the Sordello of Browning loves truth as passionately as he loves beauty. And so we have Sordello, the poet-philosopher, as the hero of a poem which is a study of the proper service of the poet. Browning ascribes to the mediæval minstrel the thoughts, emotions and ideals of a Dante, makes him a modern who chooses unhesitatingly the side of the people, transforms Cunizza into Palma as the romantic factor in the story, and concludes with the dramatic incident in which Palma reveals the fact that Sordello is, in reality, Salinguerra's son. Of course, we know that the Lombardy minstrel was intensely Ghibelline in his sympathies, and therefore a partisan of the Emperor as against the people's party, which was championed by the Pope; we know that he loved Cunizza and not Palma, her elder sister, and we know that there is no historical basis for Palma's revelation, unless the ambiguous line in Rolandino's Chronicle can be conformed to some such supposition. Browning's version is founded upon the ancient Provençal record of Sordello's youth in the north of Italy; but in the long years of his tempestuous life our troubadour traveled over the greater part of Southern Europe. His youth in Northern Italy was not the third part of his life. He was over eighty when Charles of Anjou, King of Naples, gave him five castles in the Abruzzi. After that he disappeared—died, I suppose, as we all do in the end.

Browning intentionally ignores the mere facts. "The historical

decoration," he writes, "was purposely of no more importance than a background requires; my stress lay on the incidents in the development of a soul. Little else is worth study." And so he attempts to body forth for us the soul of Sordello—the soul of a poet who would feign be a philosopher, too. Now there is an ancient feud between poetry and philosophy. Plato tells us so in the Republic when he decides that the verse-makers are to be forever banished from his ideal state. "For if we allow the honeyed muse to enter either in epic or lyric strains, not law and the reason of mankind, which by common consent have ever been deemed best, but pleasure and pain will be the rulers in our state," he explains. And truly the feud is an ancient one; there is none older. Feeling and thought have ever been at outs in the soul of man; there has never been a truce in the perpetual warfare waged between heart and head. And compromises are unendurable; we demand complete surrender from one side or the other and absolute perfection in the final adjustment. Browning is not so exacting. Perhaps, he argues, perfection is for eternity and approximations to perfection for time; perhaps ideal standards are not adapted to measuring the half-flights of our earth-life. But, he continues, if we must choose between the heart and the head, let it be the heart.

Forget
Vain ordinances. I have one appeal—
I feel, am what I feel, know what I feel:
So much is truth to me.

This is a sort of pragmatic emotionalism which accepts our feelings as deeper and truer than our thoughts. A profounder analysis reveals the synthesis of thought and feeling in action, the unity of truth and beauty in goodness. There is no conflict, no need of choosing between the two.

"Who will may hear Sordello's story told," the poet assures us at the opening of the poem; "who would has heard Sordello's story told" are his concluding words, the last line of the last book. The first two books describe Sordello's failure as a poet; the last four tell how near he came to failing as a man. And the story is easy to follow if one is familiar with the history of the period. The opening scene is set in Verona. The curtain rises with Palma, Sordello, Ezzelino, Salinguerra and all the various adherents of Pope and Emperor upon the stage. Guelphs and Ghibellines are locked in a death-struggle. But this is just a device to arouse interest and to focus attention upon the principal characters. The poet soon decides that it is best after all to begin at the beginning. The scene shifts from Verona to Goito. Sordello is a boy upon the hill-sides there. The seasons come and go in a mist of white or green or russet. The child lives in a dream-world, because the real one

is as yet inaccessible. But he is a poet and gives his heart unreservedly to all that is fair and lovely and of good report. And at first he is wholly absorbed in the exquisite beauty of the material universe—the simmering quiet of long summer afternoons sacred to the noiseless flight of azure damsel-flies or broken by the swift onset of palpitating lightning flashes alternating with rumbling thunder-rolls; the cold white calm of wintry nights with snow-shrouded forests gleaming under the moon's ensilvering pall. But externals cannot satisfy his soul for long. His sympathies widen. He becomes interested in man and man's work in the world; he comes to understand something of the beauty of the human soul, of the sweetness of its love and friendship, the austere heights of its sacrifices and renunciations, its capacity for illimitable happiness and immeasurable pain. He weaves all these experiences into his songs and sings because he cannot help singing. The love of nature leads him to the love of man. Perhaps his love for mankind will lead him to a love higher still. If he seeks unweariedly, he will find at last; if he knocks unceasingly, the golden door will be opened unto him. Browning outlines the process for us in advance:

Fresh births of beauty wake
Fresh homage; every grade of love is past,
With every mode of loveliness. Then cast
Inferior idols off their borrowed crown
Before a coming glory. Up and down
Runs arrowy fire, while earthly forms combine
To throb the secret forth, a touch divine—
And the scaled eyeball owns the mystic rod;
Visibly through his garden walketh GOD.

First nature, then man, and finally God: these are the successive objects of Sordello's love as his awakening soul grows out of the dream-life of his childhood into the verities of manhood. His love of nature is deep and genuine. There are the oaks and scarlet maples and lady-birches to shelter him from the hot sun; there are the shining depths of the Nuncio and its sandy banks overrun with slimy water-life; there are rings of vineyards circling the southern hillsides and pleasant pasture lands on the northern slopes; there are the wild creatures that creep timidly up out of the swampy defiles and morasses Mantuawards, and the tams, domestic ones that live about the lodge. And in the midst of all this natural beauty, shut in amongst the mountains, stands the castle of the Lady Adelaide. Without, it is a stately pile; within, it is a "maze of corridors contrived for sin," a labyrinth of dusk winding-stairs leading to inner chambers, and dim galleries girdling forbidden passageways. This is Sordello's home—all the home he has ever known. For his parents are dead, so they tell him, and the Lady Adelaide has been good enough to take him as her page. He is left quite

to himself; he has no playmates. Sometimes he sits for hours in the evening in the maple-paneled room with the slim palm pillars; sometimes he visits the cumbrous font in the central vault and wonders at the patience of the Caryatides that stand, year after year, shoulder to shoulder, at the fountain's edge. Sometimes the statues seem to smile at him, or their look of weariness lessens as he assures them of his sympathy.

Calmly, then
About this secret lodge of Adelaide's
Glided his youth away; beyond the glades
Of the fir-forest border, and the rim
Of the low range of mountains, was for him
No other world: but this appeared his own
To wander through at pleasure and alone.

Thus he lives and dreams and plans a wondrous future. He will be satisfied with nothing short of perfection; he will be a poet. And Palma of the golden hair, the fair daughter of Agnes Ese and Ecelin. Palma will be his bride. The gossips about the castle say that she is betrothed to Count Richard of Saint Boniface; but there are also rumors to the effect that she has rejected his suit. As an adventurous spider that spins its web and flings it out from barbican to battlement, so our young architect of fate erects his visionary dome in the first white glory of the morning and sees it gleaming with rainbow-edged raindrops in the gold and purple majesty of the advancing day. And yet there is danger ahead. The world brushes cobwebs and dream-webs impatiently aside. But there can be no turning back now; nature can never again be all sufficient. He longs for real life in a real world of real men and women.

His opportunity comes sooner than he expects. A troubadour, Eglamor by name, a protégé of Count Richard, is to sing at a court of love. These courts are supposed to have been assemblies of ladies that met to hear the cases of recreant lovers. Chaucer refers to these courts, but they are never mentioned in the *tenso*s of the troubadours. Raynouzrd, however, the compiler of the great collection of Provençal poetry, maintains that these courts actually existed and that their decisions were held as binding as those of any other court. The day comes and Sordello is present. Eglamor, smiling in conscious power, sings, to the accompaniment of his jongleur, Naddo, his song to the Lady Elys—*el lys*, the lily. The crowd applauds. But Sordello is disappointed. He steps forward on the impulse of the moment and takes up the same theme:

The true lay with the true end,
Taking the other's names and time and place
For his. On flew the song, a giddy race,
After the flying story; word made leap
Out word, rhyme, rhyme; the lay could barely keep
Pace with the action visibly rushing past.

The people fall back aghast. Then the air is rent with shouts

of approval. And Palma is there. She has heard the song and has noted the matchless lines, the immortal part of the impromptu Goito lay:

*Take Elys there,
Her head that's sharp and perfect like a pear,
So close and smooth are laid the few fine locks,
Colored like honey, oozed from topmost rocks,
Sun-blanced the livelong summer.*

Sordello grows faint when he sees her. She unbinds a scarf from her neck and decorates him with it as a token of her favor. It is too much. He stammers something, anything, and the jongleurs bear him away. Eglamor accepts his defeat with touching gentleness—Eglamor, who had loved art better than life, who had not understood that to be a man is greater than to be a poet. He places his crown beneath that of his successful rival and lies down to die. Sordello recovers in time to go out to meet the funeral procession. They lay the vanquished minstrel to rest under a canopy of primeval pines in a covert of tender ferns and wild-wood flowers, while his successor speaks words of eulogy and prays that his fame may be everlasting. And the prayer is not fruitless. A tiny white flower is named for the dead bard. On its frail petals his name will be borne to succeeding generations.

*A plant they have, yielding a three-leaved bell,
Which whitens at the heart ere noon, and ails
Till evening; evening gives it to her gales
To clear away with such forgotten things
As are an eyesore to the morn: this brings
Him to their mind and bears his name.
So much for Eglamor.*

And so Sordello comes into his own. He is accepted of men, even of Palma. And at first he strives earnestly to perfect his work, for he is too true an artist not to be aware of his limitations. He is forever melting, welding, hammering out words in the hope of fashioning an armor worthy of his thoughts. He succeeds a little, but fails more, partly because of the distractions growing out of the plaudits of the mob. He begins to lose faith in art and to weary of a life devoted to pleasuring the populace. And so when Naddo comes requesting that he sing at a festival to be held in honor of Tanrello Salinguerra, he refuses flatly. He steals away to Goito to the home of his boyhood, and leaves the world to sing and feast and celebrate as best it can without him. He realizes that he has failed as a poet, or rather that poetry has failed in proving itself inadequate as an embodiment of the emotions and aspirations of life. His sojourn at Goito is in the nature of a spiritual retreat. The day of trial is coming. He will need all the strength he can gather from the sacred silence of the woody solitudes. A year passes. And then suddenly Naddo appears upon the scene bearing important news and

a message from Palma. Eccelin's two sons have taken Guelph brides, Palma is once more betrothed to Saint Boniface. Palma desires that Sordello shall compose the marriage hymn. To Naddo's surprise Sordello consents to depart at once for Verona.

And now comes the rest. Palma and Sordello are alone together in a room of the palace at Verona. All is confusion and excitement outside. The promised peace that was to crown the Guelph-Ghibelline alliances seems farther off than ever. It is time some strong hand seize the reins. Palma looks to Sordello. He can control the situation if he will only stand with the Ghibellines—make the Kaiser's cause his own. She speaks deliberately and with feeling. She tells him how she has loved him ever since the day when she first saw him; how she has planned for him, and how, at last, the time has come when her dreams may be realized. Sordello listens in silence. He is a man of thought rather than a man of action. He sets out for Ferrara, where the strife is at its height, to make a calm study of the merits of the two parties, so that he may choose his side in the contest. But the rival claims are bewildering; good and bad are mingled in both camps. Guelph or Ghibelline matters not, he concludes after much meditating. Man's welfare depends on neither. A new Rome, free from the bitterness of party strife, a great free commonwealth with justice and righteousness as its watchwords—this is his dream. But before sunset his dream dissolves. He sees that the race progresses slowly; that out of the good and evil of to-day are evolved the perfection of to-morrow. He sees that the Guelphs, led by the Pope, represent the popular cause—the people's party. Therefore, he decides to stand with the Guelphs, to persuade Salinguerra to stand with them. He goes to him and makes his plea in the presence of Palma. Salinguerra in turn tries to convert Sordello to the Ghibelline side, and ends by solemnly investing the poet with his own badge—the symbol of supreme leadership among the followers of the Emperor. All three are aware of the significance of the act. If Sordello will he may be chief of the more powerful of the two parties, and with Palma as his bride, rule all Northern Italy. But the price is oppression of the people, the sacrifice of his most sacred convictions. How often our modern statesmen have been tested by a similar temptation and have weakly chosen the badge of Cæsar and trampled in the dust the banner of the Cross. The moment is a dramatic one, and a dramatic revelation crowns it. Palma has long known certain facts concerning the birth and parentage of Sordello, facts concealed by the dead Adelaide for reasons of her own. Sordello is Salinguerra's son, who did not perish in the fire at Vicenza, as had always been supposed. Surely now he will accept his mission, will stand with

his father, with the Emperor. Sordello is aroused at last; Salinguerra is overcome. The girl leads the old warrior from the room. Sordello remains with the Emperor's badge upon his breast torn between conflicting emotions.

It is evening, and the moon is rising over the city. The badge gleams in the white light, burns into his very soul. He cannot think clearly; his head is hot. Palma had said something about his need of a determining outside influence to give coherence to his life, "some moon to control his spiritual sea-depths."

But years and years the sky above
Held none, and so, untasked of any love,
His sensitiveness idled, now amorphous,
Alive now, and to sullenness or sport
Given wholly up, disposed itself anew
At every passing instigation, grew
And dwindled at caprice, in foam-showers split,
Wedge-like insisting, quivered now a glint
Shield in the sunshine, now a blinding race
Of whitest ripples o'er the reef; found place
For much display, not gathered up and hurled
Right from the heart, encompassing the world.

Others with half his strength accomplish more, just because of the concrete definiteness of their working ideals. They are swayed by one, not many motives. He is strong and yet he needs external strength. Long ago he had discovered that he could not find that strength in nature; now he sees that he cannot find it in man. Even Palma's love is insufficient, for Palma's plans are for this world, and "there is a life beyond life." There is need of a power "utterly incomprehensible" and "out of all rivalry," a being at once human and divine, one who can love infinitely and be satisfied with a finite love in return. But this infinite being is none other than the Christ of the Christian Revelation. And those who would follow Him must love the Cross and wear the thorn-crown. The struggle is to the death, but Sordello is equal to it. He tears the badge from his breast and tramples it underfoot. Thus is his spiritual triumph complete. He has not failed as a man. But the physical strain is greater than he can bear. When Palma and Salinguerra return to receive his answer to their proposal, they find him dead. Palma kneels down to kiss his cold lips, and for a moment his heart beats audibly. But it is only for a moment. He is dead. Taurello and the Emperor must seek some other representative. Guelphs and Ghibellines must work out their salvation unaided by the dream-builder of a new Rome. As for the poet, his songs, as well as his life, are soon forgotten, all except the matchless description in the inspired Goito lay:

So, on a heathy brown and nameless hill
By sparkling Asolo, in mist and chill,
Morning just up, higher and higher runs
A child barefoot and rosy

Up and up goes he, singing all the while
 Some unintelligible words to beat
 The lark, God's poet, swooning at his feet,
 So worsted is he at "*the few fine locks,*
Stained like pale honey, oozed from topmost rocks,
Sun-blanch'd the livelong summer"—*all that's left*
Of the Goito lay.

It is morning; the child sings and Sordello sleeps.

Who would has heard Sordello's story told.

M. A. DUNNE.

Chicago, Ill.

CONTRACT AS THE ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT.

SPINOZA, LOCKE AND ROUSSEAU.

SPINOZA, substituting for the materialistic tendency of Hobbes an openly declared pantheism, follows him in distinguishing a rude state of nature as precedent to a state of political organization wherein reason holds sway over primitive passions; not, indeed, with complete success, but with much improved results. In the first stage, at which there has been no revelation, there has been no knowledge of God; and because there has been no civil government, there has been no human justice. Man under such privation can offend only against himself or his own interests. "In statu naturali non datur peccatum; vel si quis peccat, is sibi et non alteri; et nihil absolute jure prohibetur nisi quod nemo potest." (Tract. Polit., Cap. II., n. 18.) "Ante revelationem nemo jure divino, quod non potest non ignorare, tenetur. Jus divinum incipit, a quo homines expresso pacto Deo promiserunt in omnibus obedire, quo sua libertate naturali quasi cesserunt et jus suum in Deum transtulerunt." (Tract. Theolog.-Polit., c. xvi.) Right is coextensive with might for the natural man as it is also for God: "Deus jus ad omnia habet, et jus Dei nihil aliud est quam ipsa Dei potentia." (Cap. II., n. 3.) Mankind in this state must be estimated as regards conduct quite in the dry light of science. Human action must be understood, not evaluated; it has simply to be described on particular lines. "Sedulo curavi humanas actiones non lugere sed intelligere." (Cap. I., n. 4.) In this first stage, as in every other, all conduct is under rigorous necessity in its every detail, being determined by the one power which is divine: "Naturalium potestas nulla alia esse potest quam ipsa Dei aeterna potentia." (C. II., n. 2.) It is true that a large part of action in the natural man is the work of passion, which means

defect of reason. But passion is unblamable, for it is a part of inevitable nature: "Homo sola cupiditate ductus non agit nisi secundum regulas naturae hoc est, ex jure naturae." (Cap. II., n. 5.) Mental deformity, which in rude races is so great, is as little culpable as is bodily. Adam could not resist the attraction of the forbidden fruit (n. 6). He, like all his posterity, must follow the stream of nature, which, if bad at times for individuals, is good for the universe at large. "Quisquid nobis in natura ridiculum, absurdum, aut malum videtur, id inde est quod res tantum ex parte novimus, totiusque naturae ordinem maxima ex parte ignoramus" (n. 8).

The good of the universe must be purchased by evil for the individual; that is the explanation for all that is seemingly bad in nature. When we pass from this state of Spinoza's primeval nature to his cultivated, his better, state, with its civil government, we find that many of the old blotches are transferred to the new picture, because passion still retains a sway in human conduct which remains throughout as inevitable as ever. All we can say is that they are freest who, being the most intelligent, are least the slaves of their passions: "Maxime sui juris sunt qui maxime ratione decunter" (n. 11). By a compact in the new state men agree to form a civil society which has justice for its aim instead of the greatest exertion of individual strength on its own behalf. But unfortunately this compact of itself has only a utilitarian value, and breaks down where there is no force at hand to secure its observance. Of itself it lasts only as long as a contracting party does not find it convenient to change his mind: "Tantum rata manet fides quamdiu ejus qui fidem dedit non mutatur voluntas." (Cap. II., n. 12.) Hobbes speaks in the like way of compacts, but the force at the command of the government is a remedy against individual defaulters. It is necessary, therefore, to make the political power—of which democracy is the best form, while absolute monarchy is almost an unworkable form—strong enough to hold under control for the public good all attempts of private individuals to seek at its expense what they, with their limited outlook, consider better than adherence to the rigor of the social contract. Spinoza, severely condemning the individual preferences, says that no one can doubt how much more useful it is for men to live by law and the clear dictates of reason, because these aim at nothing but man's true utility. (Tract. Theol.-Polit., Cap. XVI. This account is twice given with a fair degree of consistency, once in the *Tractatus Politicus* and once in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*.) The state is therefore a necessity, and must be founded "by a stable contract to live according to the light of reason alone, and to restrain appetite so far as it tends to the injury of others" (*ibid*). The state is the sole judge of what is genuinely

for the common good, hence the individual must submit his judgment to the state, unless the thing commanded is so outrageous—for instance, parricide—as to be what man cannot be expected to do, either for hopes or for fears—the only sanctions of government. Hence a qualification is added to the rule which is laid down so terribly in the Tract. Polit., Cap. III.: “*Quamvis subditus civitatis decreta iniqua censeat tenetur nihilominus exequi.*” The qualified form of Spinoza’s doctrine is that there are indeed cases wherein man is expected to act against reason in obedience to the state, because disobedience would be a greater evil than compliance with the irrational, or even the anti-rational (n. 6). Yet there is a bound set to such compliance in the case of evils beyond comparison mischievous (n. 8). As to religion, the state should leave that alone (Cap. III., 10),¹ giving no help to such works as church building (Cap. VI., 40). While all forms of religion should be tolerated which do not menace the Republic, no Church ought to be allowed to become an independent owner within the state.

Should the state, as above described, seem desperately tyrannous, there is hope for a remedy against the extremity of despotism, not in the right of rebellion, but in the fact that a grossly oppressive government actually destroys itself, *mole sua ruit*. Though not responsible to the people, it is subject to the laws of existence and of annihilation as laid down by nature and by God. The state can in some sense do no wrong, and if in another sense it does act wrongly, it is not to blame, inasmuch as all its acts are the acts of men whose conduct is determined by the laws of the divine nature working themselves out inevitably in the world’s course. Under such restrictions Spinoza makes the admission which from another point of view he denies, namely, that the sovereign power may do wrong: “*Peccat civitas: quando contra rationis dictamen agit aliquod: et est tum maxime sui juris, quando ex dictamine rationis agit: quatenus igitur contra rationem agit sibi deficit.*” (Cap. IV., n. 4.)

Enough has been said to show the unloveliness of the theory of political compact set forth by Spinoza. Being fatalistic throughout, it seeks to improve upon a lawless state of nature by a contractual law of justice which still leaves the people under great oppression, civil and religious, for which there is no remedy except in the gradually self-destructive action of tyranny when it goes to its extreme.

It is to Locke’s second book on government that we must look,

¹ Cf. Tract. Theol.-Polit., c. 19. “*Justitia vim juris non potest accipere nisi ex jure imperii. Religio vim juris accipit qui ex solo eorum decreto qui jus imperandi habent. Deus nullum regnum in homines, habet nisi per eos qui imperium tenent.*”

for his first is spent on what we do not want, the refutation, namely, of Sir Robert Filmer's view that civil power is a gift descending from Adam through the patriarchs to its modern possessors; that monarchy is absolute, and "no man is born free." According to Filmer, it is a truth undeniable that there cannot be "any multitude of men whatever, either great or small, but that among them there is one man that hath a right to be king of all the rest as being the next heir to Adam. If Adam himself were still living and were ready to die, it is certain that there is one man in the world, and but one man, who is his next heir." (Bk. I., Chap. X., n. 104.) From this extravagance we may pass on to the next book, in which Locke deals with more serious considerations. Here Locke, while failing to correct Hobbes in his aggregation theory of society, which overlooks the organic society, dissents from him by denying that the state of nature is one of war; rather it is a state of rational inclination to amity, often upset by war, and providing very inadequate means to end a strife once begun. "We have a plain difference between the state of nature and the state of war. Mankind living together according to reason, without a common superior on earth that has authority to judge between them, is properly the state of nature." (Part II., Chap. III., n. 19.) Each has then to judge and to uphold his own cause. As to the political proof that the state of nature ever existed, Locke does not insist upon that in its literal sense, regarding it rather as "probable that people who were naturally free, and by their own consent either submitted to the government of their father or united together out of different families to make a government, would generally put the rule into one man's hands without so much as express conditions limiting or regulating the power which they thought safe enough in his honesty and prudence, though they never dreamed of a monarch being *jure divino*." We have reason, then, to conclude that all peaceful beginnings of government have been laid in the consent of the people. He adds that the want of records testifying to peoples in the state of nature² are accounted for by the impracticability of continuing in such a state (Part II., Ch. VIII., n. 10), which, however, has been and still is a reality, "since all princes and rulers of independent governments are in a state of nature. It is not every compact that puts an end to the state of nature, but only this one of agreeing mutually to enter into one community and form one body politic." (Part II., Chap. II., n. 14). In making the distinction between the

² It is lawful to consider the individual man in the abstract as endowed with rights limited by no social claim, if thereby we can illustrate principles, and do not mean to be describing concrete facts.

compact to form a society and the agreement to set up over that society a formal government, Locke more or less agrees with Hobbes and Rousseau, though the last has peculiarities of his own. "He that will with clearness speak of the dissolution of government," says Locke, "ought, in the first place, to distinguish between the dissolution of the society and the dissolution of government. That which makes the community and brings men out of the loose state of nature into one politic society is the agreement which every one has with the rest to act as one body and to be one distinct government." Theoretically, the multitude first agree to be one people, and then to have one ruling authority. (Part II., Ch. XIX., 211.) Society thus formed can, for a substantial violation of the conditions upon which sovereignty was granted, depose its ruler and set up another; it has no right or power to surrender itself to a slavery. This theory Locke advanced to justify the act of England in replacing James II. by William III., a kind of change which Hobbes had tried to make impossible by an extravagant view of indefeasible right from the force of contract in fixing immovably the absolute sovereignty. Locke, who, as a matter of indifference, terminologically uses "compact" instead of "contract," is more consistent and decidedly preferable in his principle that "the keeping of faith belongs to men as men" and not merely "as members of society," though the two aspects cannot really be separated. (Chap. II., 4.) He regards the ruler's faith as violable specially in three ways—by modifying laws to suit private interests, by imposing taxes without the authorization of the people, and by transferring the legislative power into unconstitutional hands. (Chap. II., 142.) Hence James II. had offended, in Locke's view of compact.

Aristotelians would see in Locke's theory too much of the mechanical aggregation and too little of the teleological organization. They would recognize in the state a political end settled by the very nature of man, to be attained by moral means; and their test of a constitution would be: Does it properly make for its goal? Of course, Locke cannot wholly leave out such considerations, but he fails to give them organic life. He saw the brutality of a government which would regard the people chiefly as a resource for taxes and for military recruits; he saw that even after the revolutionary change the English Government was still not an ideal constitution. but he thought that, at any rate, a step had been made in advance of Stuart practice and of the Hobbesian theory, which sought to stereotype that practice.

Before describing Rousseau's system we need a few preliminary remarks. Scholastic authors say that every action of man, no matter how detrimental to his final beatitude, has its spring in that ulti-

mate desire for it; his fundamental will is to perfect contentment, even while he knowingly sacrifices the dictate of his rational appetite by an irrational act. In some degree similarly Rousseau says that the people as a rational society really want always the common good, for that is natural tendency of man as *zoon politikon*, and he designates this will "*la volonté générale*" as opposed to "*la volonté de tous*" or "*la volonté d'un.*" Rousseau adds force to his view by asserting the essential goodness of human nature as such.⁸

When German philosophers took up Rousseau's idea, as they very fervently did, they extended it considerably in their own direction. Kant held that man as a rational nature prescribes to himself, with a categorical imperative, his own moral laws and own last end, and that in so doing he prescribes it likewise for all other men, as they each in turn do for him. It is the universally legislative will of each and all together. Thus men are laws to themselves, prescribing their own destiny and, if they are good, working it out. This is their essential liberty, which leads to self-realization. The seeming restraints on individual liberty which political organization demands are not really diminutions of it, for man is by nature social, and as such is best situated when the liberty of each stops short at the claims of equal liberty in all others. Hegel, with his idealism and monism, carried still further the theory of Kant concerning man as rational, free, *solidaire*, so that there could be no genuine opposition between people and sovereign in their true relationship. Nature was the same self-developing power everywhere, and worked out its own purpose by a fundamental logic of which individuals were mostly unconscious; so that it was not a refutation of the general will for the common good if many persons were not aware what precisely that good was, and did not consciously aim at it. These are ideas to be usefully kept in view while considering Rousseau's work, but we shall not explicitly apply them at the several stages. They may be tacitly kept in mind, but not attributed to him in their explicit shape, because he never held the opinions of German pantheism.

Nor must we perplex our course by pretending to say exactly what Hegel in his several utterances exactly taught as to organic society, "*la volonté générale*," the life of the individual in the totality of his *volk*, the power of the individual's personal life to take upon itself the form of eternity in order to act "*auf ewige Weise, sub specie aeternitatis*," and to reach an absolute ethic and religion. It is enough to be aware while considering Rousseau's "*volonté générale*" that it has been greatly amplified by German idealists, whom English copyists of our own day are following with much

⁸ Socialists make a like claim for their *volonté générale*.

obsequiousness and attributing to Rousseau what he never maintained.

In his great work, "*Le Contrat Social*," Rousseau laments that free born men are everywhere reduced to slavery by the bad state of existent societies. In common with the later French Revolutionists, he calls man "good by nature,"⁴ yet allows that primitive state of nature, though free and contented, to have been something like Plato's city of swine, in that it lacked intellectual elevation and was infra-moral, lower, indeed, and less desirable than the civilization of modern Europe, which he denounced. After it came a condition of culture in which social life was spoilt by the abuses of private property and by the tyranny of the strong minority over the weak multitude; to remedy which he proposes the scheme of the social contract.

All the citizens should meet together to form themselves into one sovereign people. Always the people remain sovereign. They cannot give the sovereignty to representatives, such as are English members of Parliament. In England the only time of freedom is when, if we suppose universal suffrage, the people are in the election crisis and are doing their one sovereign act. The first process towards the social contract is by a unanimous vote of the majority, so they become fitted to start the solution of their great problem: "*Découvrir une forme d'association qui défende et protège de toute la force commune la personne et les biens de chaque associé et par laquelle chacun s'unissant à tous n'obéisse pourtant que lui-même et reste aussi libre qu'auparavant.*" This reservation of popular power, which Hobbes calls impossible, is provided for by Rousseau in "the general will," which is to be distinguished from the "will of all," inasmuch as the latter may be selfish, while the former, though it may misjudge the means, always makes its aim to be the public good. The difference may be roughly illustrated by a cricket team. If its members, for their individual glory, vote unanimously to play a game of hard hitting, which most attracts to the players singly the "*admiratio populi*," that is, the "will of all," but not the "general will," because part of the calculation is that the side as a whole is less likely to win the game. The general credit of the side as a side is sacrificed to a common desire for individual feats. We may omit to consider Rousseau's theory as to how the general will is left as the residue by the mutual neutralizations of individual self-seekings, at least if the voting is not by parties or sections, but is really by individual determinations. His plea that the will may be good while

⁴ The exalted idea of the human race was not derived from Voltaire's "*le genre sot, méchant et fou, dans toute sa turpitude, et tout sa demence, dans ses misères et ses atrocités*"—that is, his description of mankind.

the judgment errs is more to the point, and it was anticipated by Thrasymachus, who urged that "the ruler as ruler does not go wrong."⁸

So far from magnifying self-sacrifice in his political theory, Rousseau insists that no one can give himself away for nothing: "Se donner gratuitement, c'est une chose inconcevable." By submission the citizen "forces himself to be free," free to exercise his best will, which is "*la volonté générale*," and to which corresponds "*le moi commune*," legislative on one side and subject to law on the other, like the human will on the Kantian account of its double position of noumenon and phenomenon.

Next in Rousseau's system to the constitution of the sovereign people, with its inalienable supremacy, which could cease only in the case that it should vote its self-dissolution, comes the appointment of the government, a merely administrative agency, and not an element in social contract itself, which is limited to the formation of one united sovereign people. The government lasts as long as it satisfies its master; it has no strictly legislative act, for that as an act of sovereignty is confined to the people in its General Assembly. No limited body of representatives can be entrusted with the prerogative. The government has the executive power according to the law, and any rules which it lays down are not strictly laws, but acts of the magistracy. Periodic meetings of the people are required to settle whether a government, once commissioned, is to be retained in office—Rousseau admitting, as we have seen, what nobody can deny, that the assembled people may fail to express that general will which is really for the common good—desiderates for the guidance of the sovereign assembly some very gifted individuals, who will act as its inspirers. So great, indeed, was the difficulty that the powers needed for such an office are superhuman. "*La volonté générale est toujours droit, mais le jugement qui la guide ne le voit pas toujours. Pour découvrir les meilleurs règles de société il faudrait une intelligence suprême, qui vit toutes les passions des hommes, et qui n'en éprouvoit aucune: qui n'eut aucune rapport avec notre nature et qui la connaît du fond: dont le bonheur fut indépendant de nous, et qui pourtant voulait bien s'occuper du notre: enfin qui dans le progrès des temps, se ménageant une gloire éloignée, peut travailler dans un siècle et jouir une autre. Il faudrait des dieux pour donner les lois aux hommes. Celui qui rédige les lois ne doit avoir aucun droit législatif.*" Here the author admits a combination of impossibilities: "*Une entreprise au dessus de la force humaine, et pour*

⁸ Plato *Repub.*, I. 14, 3, 4. Adam Smith held that the search of each man for his own greatest good is "led by an invisible hand" to result in the common good.

l'executeur une autorité qui n'est rien." As to such counsel-giving men as can be actually obtained, Rousseau did not expect in them the motive of love which urges a father to take care of his family; also he thought a purely dispassionate, disinterested service not obtainable. He therefore offered as a motive the pleasure of holding sway and the glory of the position. The lowness of such a view reminds one of the opinion put before Thrasymachus: "There is no longer any doubt that neither arts nor government provide for their own interest; men rule for the interests of their subjects, who are the weaker and not the stronger. And this is the reason why no one is willing to govern. In order that rulers may be willing to rule they must be paid in one of three kinds of payment—money or honor or a penalty for refusing." (*Republic*, 346-347.) The outlook in Europe when Rousseau proposed his reformed state was not promising for him. The American Republic and the French Republic of the Revolution tried⁶ to give some effect to his scheme, but he himself was unfortunate enough to prophesy that Corsica, whose actual feat was to give Napoleon as a despot to France, would be a future triumph of his principles: "*J'ar quelque pressentiment qu'un jour cette petite ile étonnera l'Europe.*"

Those who have an admiration of Rousseau do not defend his scheme as a whole: what they claim for him is that he started certain ideas which others could apply in a more practical way to the work of political amelioration. It was the mistake of French Revolutionists to take him literally. "*Son esprit,*" says Taine; "*anime la Constitution toute entière. Il semble que la nation ait pris son jeu de idéologue au sérieux, sa fiction abstraite. Cette fiction elle l'exécute de point en point. Un contrat social effectif est spontané: une immense assemblée des hommes qui, pour la première fois, viennent librement s'associer leurs droits respectifs⁷ s'engager pour un pacte explicite, se lier par un serment solennelle est la recette sociale présentée par les philosophes; on la suit à la lettre.*"

In the spirit of Rousseau's sentimentality his followers called themselves equals, friends, brothers. They were very festive in their demonstrations of fraternity; high-wrought feeling characterized their proceedings as a whole. This excess of sentiment was not, in fact, strengthening to character. E. Caird says that Rousseau was apt to take his resolves for the accomplishment of his desires, and to treat as facts what he had only proposed or rhetorically enunciated.

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⁶ Arthur Young at the time said that the important question was whether the French would "copy the Constitution of England, freed from its faults, or attempt from theory something absolutely speculative."

⁷ Engels complains that the reason which triumphed in the social contract was the bourgeois reason which neglected the proletariat.

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THE proclivity of foreign correspondents to garble facts and then report them with a gloss of falsification is not a sin of modern growth. It has had for its advance agent since the world began "the father of lies," and it will continue while there is power in the dictatorial home office to force its prejudices into the words of its representative. The wide-reaching scope of this evil is known to every thorough student of history; a sentence that is almost a proverb in the language epitomizes the evil and its scope thus: "History is a conspiracy against the truth." And of more than Macaulay might it be said that his "history is his story." Almost every new historical study in our magazine literature is an effort to reconstruct popular opinion on past events and epochs.

Whatever may have been the pernicious effects of misrepresentation on great characters and nations in the world's history, it is not wide of the mark to say that Ireland has suffered as no other country from the pen of government emissaries, whether military or civilian. In support of this assertion the eloquent utterances of countless witnesses, who are not Irish in religion or nationality, might be adduced; this temperate statement¹ will be sufficient, with all its impartiality, from Douglas Hyde: "Few English Elizabethans, once they passed over into Ireland, seem to have been able either to keep faith or tell truth; there was never such a thoroughly dishonorable race or one so utterly devoid of all moral sense as the 'Irish statesmen' of that period."

The foreign correspondent whose prevarications are the occasion of this statement is (*Proh pudor!*) the poet of the Fairy Queen, Edmund Spenser. He had, of course, a cause to maintain—to keep his hold on the stolen grant of the Kilcomlan estate—and not possessing a "bonhomie" that might win him a way among the natives nor a military outfit that could terrify them, he had recourse to other weapons. All is fair in love or war, he may have said; and again, the pen is mightier than the sword. Spenser's pen had inspiration for other things than charming poetry, and it most likely helped to write the famous "Act" of Elizabeth which condemned the Irish bards;² for we find phrases from Spenser's reports identical with

¹ "Literary History of Ireland," Douglas Hyde, p. 496.

² One "Item" of the Act of Elizabeth reads thus: "For that those rhymours by their ditties and rhymes made to divers lords and gentlemen in Ireland to the commendation and high praise of extortion, rebellion, rape, ravin and other injustice, encourage those lords and gentlemen rather to follow those vices than to leave them, and for the making of said rhymes rewards are given by the said lords and gentlemen, let orders be taken for the abolishing of so heinous an abuse."

those in the act. But however high-sounding the indictment is against the bards, as announced by the act and by Spenser's criticism, their poems were not the praise of "extortion, rebellion, rape, ravin and other injustice;" in no measure were they so blameworthy, as any one may see from a perusal of hundreds of poems that still exist from those very bards.³ But treasonable they were because of a patriotism that was condemned; because they endeavored to fan into flame the smouldering sparks of national life and tended to what Spenser called "the hurt of the English and the maintenance of their owne lewde libertie." The strong national spirit of the Scotch border ballads and the Spanish minstrelsy that was so effective against the Moor win the world's attention for their very racial vigor. But Irish ballads have had a stigma of reproach upon them because they had the pulse-beat of the motherland. Such was the lawlessness and "other injustice" of the songs of O'Gnive, the bard of Shane O'Neill, "that often flung the stirrupless lancers of Ulster like a falling rock upon the armies of Elizabeth;" and that was, no doubt, the motive for condemning men like O'Daly, the bard of the Wicklow clans, and O'Mulconry, the laureate of Ireland in his day.

The Act went into force and many a good poet had his head taken off. But the spirit of song was a birthright of the people and was not to die easily; it was part of their very life and would perish only with their final extermination. The bards were not "white-livered," and they exercised their art even in the face of exile and the scaffold. They had the ingeniousness which is a characteristic of their countrymen. To escape the terrible penalties which were set upon their patriotic songs they adopted allegorical names for their native land, usually some endearing name of a woman; and, as if addressing some fair maiden in distress, with strong words of love and devotion, they sang in reality the praises and hopes of their beloved Erin. The circumstances of the times made the allusions in the allegory easily intelligible to the people. By this device the poets kept themselves safe from the clutches of the law, and yet did they reach the heart of the nation with stirring songs of patriotism.

The name that was most frequently given to Ireland in the allegorical ballads of the Elizabethan times was "Roisin Dubh," the "Dark Little Rose," or sometimes entitled "Rois Gheal Dubh," the "Dark Fair Rose." And the most famous of the Roisin Dubh poems was that by the bard of Hugh the Red O'Donnell, the celebrated Tírconellian chieftain. There are many English renditions⁴ of this splen-

³ Douglas Hyde (*ibid.*, p. 495) gives witness here: "I have read hundreds of poems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but have never come across a single syllable in laudation of either 'extortion, rape, ravin or other injustice.'"

⁴ A translation of one of the Roisin Dubh poems by Thomas Furlong

did ballad, but the translation that is worthy of a place in any English anthology of lyrics is by James Clarence Mangan, under the name "The Dark Rosaleen." Three of the seven stanzas from Mangan's rendition will suffice to show some of the excellence of the famous song. Here, as in the original, the gallant lover of the Dark Rosaleen is the O'Donnell; he has been oversea and has returned with the blessing of Rome and the promise of military aid from Spain, or, as the allegory calls them, wine from the royal Pope and Spanish ale.

O, my Dark Rosaleen,
Do not sigh, do not weep!
The priests are on the ocean green,
They march along the deep.
There's wine from the royal Pope
Upon the ocean green;
And Spanish ale shall give you hope,
My Dark Rosaleen! My own Rosaleen!
Shall glad your heart, shall give you hope,
Shall give you health, and help, and hope,
My Dark Rosaleen!

Over hills, and through dales,
Have I roamed for your sake;
All yesterday I sailed with sails
On river and on lake.
The Erne at its highest flood,
I dashed across unseen,
For there was lightning in my blood,
My Dark Rosaleen! My own Rosaleen!
O! there was lightning in my blood,
Red lightning lightened all my blood,
My Dark Rosaleen!

Woe and pain, pain and woe,
Are my lot night and noon,
To see your bright face clouded so,
Like to the mournful moon.
But yet will I rear your throne
Again in golden sheen;
'Tis you shall reign, shall reign alone,
My Dark Rosaleen! My own Rosaleen!
'Tis you shall have the golden throne,
'Tis you shall reign, and reign alone,
My Dark Rosaleen!

When O'Donnell died in Spain from the poison that the emissary of Carew and Mountjoy administered, and when the "Flight of the Northern Earls" left Ireland without its gallant heroes, even then the allegorical poetry did not end. The Jacobite wars came on, and with them entered a new conventionality into the song structure.⁵ The

(1794-1827) is well known among the popular ballads of Ireland, and it is still sung as if it were a real love poem without any allegorical meaning. Various musical settings are given to the song by Petrie, Bunting and O'Daly. That by Dr. Joyce is a chosen one, and of it Dr. Joyce wrote in 1888: "I have been familiar with the air since my childhood, and I have always heard it sung and played in minor; and I believe that it is only the minor mode that brings out the true character. I give the simple and, as I believe, the most ancient vocal version, as I heard it sung by the best singers among the old people of Munster forty years ago."

⁵ Dr. Sigerson ("Bards of the Gael and Gail," p. 413) finds this conventional form of ancient Irish origin. One of the Monks of St. Gall, he shows, had used it in Latin nine hundred years before. For specimens of the Jacobite ballads in this form, see "The Poets of Ireland," p. 80, A. M. Williams.

womanly names were continued and the allegory was extended in many ways. They express at times an anxious longing for the union of Una and Donald—that is, of Ireland and the Stuart. Again there is a greater variety of names than in the Elizabethan times. Sometimes the maiden is Grana Weal, the young princess of Connaught whose exploits and adventures were famous in the land; again it was Sheela Ni Guira, or Moreen Ni Cullenan, or the name that another translation by Mangan has made famous, Caitilin Ni Uallachain.*

According to the allegorical form of the Jacobite poetry, the poet, as he wanders in lonely contemplation, sees a queenly maiden of exquisite beauty and grace sitting alone and in tears near some fairy rath by moonlight or in the shadow of some ruined castle of ancient splendor. The poet's attention is drawn towards the poor woman in distress, and with gentle courtesy he asks who may she be—is she Helen, "who caused Troy town to burn," or Venus, the bright goddess, or is she the beloved of Finn or of Deidre, "for whom the sons of Usnach died?" These are the types that were most frequently used, and they show the intermingling of classical mythology with Irish tradition.

If these later poems are defective on some art course, it is easy to win pardon for them when we consider the insuperable difficulties under which they were written. With circumstances a little more favorable, the native poetry of Ireland of that period would have rivaled, if not excelled, the richness of the contemporaneous Scotch ballads. Even after the terrible devastation of intervening years there is enough of the Irish Jacobite poetry to make a large sized volume.[†] And these poems, with others that have come down from Elizabethan times, have a merit that puts them beyond the cavilling pen of the mere literary critic. They made the heart of the nation beat high during perilous times; they nerved the hands of the people to action; they held the great ideal fast in the minds of their children and their children's children—steadfastness to the ancient religion and nationality, and they made the halo of hope shine brightly over every defeat with a splendor as undimmed to-day as it was a thou-

* Two verses of the Caitilin Ni Uallachain that Mangan freely translated are these:

Think her not a ghastly hag, too hideous to be seen;
Call her not unseemly names, our matchless Kathaleen.
Young she is, and fair she is, and would be crowned a queen,
Were the King's son at home here with Kathaleen Ny-Houlahan!

Sweet and mild would look her face, O none so sweet and mild,
Could she crush the foes by whom her beauty is reviled;
Woolen plaids would grace herself and robes of silk her child,
If the King's son were living here with Kathaleen Ny-Houlahan!

† Douglas Hyde, *ibid.*, p. 596. In the second volume of Hardiman's "Irish Minstrelsy" and in O'Daly's "Irish Jacobite Poetry," in its second edition, about fifty of these poems may be found.

sand years ago, when the Danes were swept back into the sea from the field at Clontarf. The Roisin Dubh still lives and sings to the sweet-sounding lyre of the younger Irish poets. Her realm is a larger world to-day than was the little island of which Edmund Spenser sent a report home to Elizabeth; it is great with numerous and brave men and women in ten thousand corners of the earth, and it is of their "empery" that the Roisin Dubh sings in Aubrey de Vere's song of that name:

I am black but fair, and the robe I wear
Is dark as earth;
My cheek is pale, and I bind my veil
With a cypress wreath.
Where the night shades flower I build the tower
Of my secret rest;
O kind is sleep to the eyes that weep
And the bleeding breast.

My palace floor I tread no more;
No throne is mine;
No sceptre I hold, nor drink from gold
Of victory's wine;
Yet I rule a Queen in the worlds unseen
By Sassanach eye;
A realm I have in the hearts of the brave
And an empery.

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PIUS VII. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—IX.

WHILE Napoleon was engaged in his campaign in Russia, Pius VII. led the same retired life in the Palace of Fontainebleau that he had led at Savona, for he considered himself as being still a prisoner. He refused to leave the Palace and to make use of the imperial carriages which had been placed at his service; and he preferred to say Mass in private at an altar placed in one of his rooms, rather than in the chapel of the Palace, where he would have been surrounded with greater splendor and ceremony. Some of the Cardinals then residing in Paris and known as the "red Cardinals,"¹ as well as the Bishops favorable to the imperial policy who had formed the deputation to Savona, were allowed to visit the Holy Father and to take up their residence at Fontainebleau. In their interviews with the Pope they did not fail to place before him the lamentable condition of

¹ The "red Cardinals" were those who had assisted at the Emperor's marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa, and had thereby merited his favor, while the thirteen Cardinals who had absented themselves were banished to various provincial towns and deprived of the right of wearing their robes. They were therefore known as the "black Cardinals." See *THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* for January, 1910, p. 154.

the Church, which since so many years had been unable to communicate with its supreme head. They depicted the sufferings of the Cardinals and prelates who, as well as large numbers of the clergy of the Papal States, had been banished or flung into prison on account of their resistance to the Emperor's will. Unless this state of affairs, they said, were ended without delay, the bonds which united the various churches to the centre of unity might, perhaps, be severed and a schism would ensue. There was only one way to remedy these evils; it was to grant the Emperor's demands and be reconciled to him. These arguments could not fail to produce a profound impression on the Holy Father, worn out and enfeebled both in mind and body by his long imprisonment at Savona, and the fatigue he had undergone in his journey from thence to Fontainebleau. But though Pius VII. listened patiently to these observations, he gave no other reply than what he had already so often given to similar advice from the Emperor's emissaries, and refused to do anything until he was set free and was assisted by his counsellors. Then he would see what measures ought to be adopted in order to restore peace.²

Napoleon's Russian campaign had been opened by several brilliant victories; but it had ended by a disastrous retreat, in which the greater part of the army of 500,000 men with which he had crossed the Niemen on July 24, 1812, perished of cold and hunger. Fearing for the security of his throne, the instability of which was made evident by the conspiracy of General Malet, the Emperor saw the necessity of speedily returning to France; and, abandoning the disorganized remains of his troops, he reappeared suddenly in Paris on December 18. After taking the necessary steps to raise another army and place the Empire in a state of defense, he turned his attention to his relations with the Holy See. While he was engaged in the preparations for his campaign Pius VII. had written to him twice, but he had not deigned to reply, except indirectly, by a letter which he ordered his Minister of Worship to address to the Cardinals and Bishops who had been deputed to Savona. It criticized the actions of the Holy Father in the most insolent and contemptuous tone; he was accused of ignorance, and advised to resign. It was evidently the Emperor's intention that the prelates should communicate this letter to the Pope; but, as they had already left Savona, it was M. de Chabrol, the Prefect of the Department, who performed that duty.³

² Cardinal Bartolomeo Pacca, *Memorie Storiche*, Orvieto, 1843, t. II., p. 87. Comte d'Haussonville, *L'Eglise Romaine et le premier Empire (1800-1814)*, Paris, 1869, t. V., p. 172. Henri Welschinger, *Le Pape et l'Empereur (1804-1815)*, Paris, 1905, p. 348. P. Ilario Rinaldi, *Napoleone e Pio VII. (1804-1813)*, Torino, 1906, t. II., p. 315.

³ See *AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* for July, 1910, p. 443.

Now, however, that Napoleon's misfortunes had shown him that he was not invincible, and that he was aware of the animosity which his treatment of the Sovereign Pontiff and of the clergy had excited against him among the Catholic nations of Europe, he felt the necessity of being reconciled with the Holy Father, especially with the view of maintaining the alliance with Austria, and he saw that it was his duty to take the initiative. On the eve, therefore, of the New Year he sent to the Holy Father by an officer of his household a letter in which, after congratulating him on the restoration of his health, he assured him that, in spite of the events which had taken place, he still preserved the same friendship for him; he expressed the hope that they might succeed in putting an end to the dissensions between the Church and the State; as for his part he was willing to do so, and that the matter depended entirely on His Holiness.⁴

To thank the Emperor for this unexpected show of friendship and to reply to his wish of coming to an understanding, the Pope sent to Paris Cardinal Giuseppe Doria, who had formerly held the post of Nuncio there, and it was soon decided to negotiate once more. Mgr. Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes, well known as an active supporter of Napoleon's views at the Council of Paris, was named by the Emperor to represent him in this discussion, which was to be held at Fontainebleau, where were also assembled Cardinals Fabrizio, Ruffo, Dugnani and De Bajane, Mgr. Bertazzoli, Archbishop of Edessa; Mgr. de Barral, Archbishop of Tours; Mgr. Mannay, Bishop of Trèves, and the Bishop of Evreux. Some of the demands which the Bishop of Nantes was instructed to present to the Pope were so exorbitant that the Emperor must have known that they could not be accepted, and may perhaps have wished to seem to make a great concession on withdrawing them. They were: Firstly, that the Pope and his successors before being crowned should swear never to do or to order anything contrary to the four propositions of the Gallican clergy. Secondly, that the Pope and his successors should in future name only one-third of the Sacred College, the other two-thirds should be named by the Catholic sovereigns. Thirdly, the Pope should disapprove and condemn by a brief the conduct of the Cardinals who had refused to assist at the Emperor's marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa—in which case, and provided that they accepted and signed the brief, the Emperor would forgive them and allow them to rejoin the Pope. But Cardinals Pacca and Di Pietro were to be excluded from this pardon and were

⁴ Correspondance de Napoléon I., publié par ordre de l'Empereur Napoléon III., Paris, 1868, t. XXIV., No. 19.402. Au Pape Pie VII., Paris, 29 Décembre, 1812.

never to be allowed to approach the Holy Father. Other articles stipulated that the Holy Father should reside in Paris, where he should receive a yearly income of two millions of francs (\$400,000) and be allowed to receive the envoys of foreign powers. The Emperor claimed the right of nominating the Bishops of the Papal States, and the Pope was to recognize the new delimitation of their sees. Finally, the Pope was to grant canonical institution within a delay of six months to the Bishops of France and Italy nominated by the Emperor, or, if he failed to do so, the metropolitan or the senior Bishop of the province should confer it.⁵

It is not surprising that, as the Bishop of Nantes informed the Minister of Worship, the presentation of these demands should have caused the Holy Father very great pain. He objected especially to the obligation of residing in Paris, to the suppression of the suburbicarian bishoprics and to the possibility of selecting the Cardinals, which would not leave him enough of influence in the formation of the Sacred College, which acts as the Papal council. Above all, he asked, as previously at Savona, to be assisted by his advisers.⁶ The Holy Father knew what advice he would be likely to receive from the Cardinals then at Fontainebleau, and though willing to make what concessions he could in order to appease the Emperor, he did not wish to come to any decision until he was restored to liberty and surrounded by the Sacred College. A few days of intense mental suffering caused by this state of anxiety broke down the Holy Father's health, and in a second letter to the Minister the Bishop of Nantes told him that he did not think that the Holy Father was capable of taking part in a discussion; that he was in a state of great agitation and could not sleep, and repeated continually that, though he was anxious to please the Emperor, his conscience would not allow him to decide while he was alone, imprisoned and deprived of councillors. The Bishop added that, as he wanted an answer, he was watching for the moment when he might ask for it without causing the Holy Father too much emotion.

Napoleon evidently thought that the Pope's power of resistance had been at last sufficiently enfeebled, and that it was time for him to intervene and win the final victory. On the 18th of January he ordered a hunt to take place in the woods of Melun, and toward the end of the day, as if by a sudden inspiration, he sent for a traveling carriage and drove to Fontainebleau, whither he had already requested the Empress to go. It was already night when he arrived,

⁵ Pacca, *Memorie*, t. II., p. 199. Rinaldi, II., p. 319.

⁶ D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 218. Mgr. Duvoisin au Ministre des Cultes, Fontainebleau, 11 Janvier, 1813.

and the Pope was conversing with the Cardinals and Bishops who resided in the Palace when Napoleon suddenly entered the room. The visitors at once withdrew, and the Emperor, as though he were on the most friendly terms with the Holy Father, saluted him affectionately, while the Pope received him with much satisfaction, apparently under the impression that he found in him some signs of repentance. On the following day the Pope and the Emperor began to discuss the important questions which were pending between them. No one assisted at these interviews, the outcome of which was the agreement known as the Concordat of Fontainebleau, and little has been known hitherto of what took place there, except that Napoleon, when irritated by the Holy Father's resistance to his demands, showed his anger by addressing him in dictatorial and contemptuous language; he even accused him of being ignorant of ecclesiastical matters.⁷ Some light, however, has recently been thrown on this event by the publication of a document from the Vatican archives, in which Cardinal Gaziola, Bishop of Cervia, has related the account given him by the Holy Father of the means employed by Napoleon to obtain his signature. The Pope, unmoved by the Emperor's outbursts of ill temper, had steadily persisted in rejecting his proposals, until at last Napoleon presented to him a document containing articles which he said were the preliminaries of the future Concordat. He asked him to examine them and see if they could be accepted, assuring him that they should not be published until they had been agreed upon and until he (the Pope) had approved of them. This the Holy Father steadily refused to do, and still more to sign them. But Napoleon protested so strongly that they were only the preliminaries for a Concordat which should end all controversy and misunderstanding, and that they should not be shown to any one until they had been examined, corrected and approved of, that he overcame his resistance.⁸

The preamble of the Concordat confirms this account, for it states that "His Majesty the Emperor and King and His Holiness, wishing to put an end to the dissensions which have arisen between them and settle the difficulties existing with regard to several ecclesiastical matters, have agreed on the following articles, which are to serve for a definitive arrangement." The eleventh and last article, too, declares that "the Holy Father agrees to the above mentioned stipulations out of consideration for the present state of the Church, and trusting that his Majesty will grant his powerful protection to the many wants of religion in our present times."⁹

⁷ Pacca, *Memorie*, t. III., p. 92.

⁸ Rintler, II., p. 326.

⁹ Welshinger, p. 357.

The first article of this Concordat declared that the Pope should exercise the Pontificate in France and in Italy in the same manner, and with the same forms as his predecessors. The second granted to the ambassadors and envoys accredited to the Pope by foreign powers, and to those sent to foreign powers by the Pope, the same immunities and privileges as those possessed by the diplomatic body. The third exempted from taxation the domains belonging to the Holy Father; those which had been alienated were to be replaced by an income of 2,000,000 of francs (\$400,000). By the fourth article the Emperor obtained at last the important concession for which he had so long intrigued. It declared that within the six months following a nomination by the Emperor to an archbishopric or a bishopric the Pope should confer canonical institution on the nominee in conformity with the Concordat and in virtue of the present Indult. The preliminary information should be made by the metropolitan. If the Pope had not granted confirmation before the expiration of that delay, the metropolitan, or, in his default, or in the case of the metropolitan himself, the senior Bishop of the province should grant confirmation to the nominee, so that no see should remain vacant more than a year. The fifth article gave the Pope the right of nomination to ten sees in France or in Italy, to be agreed upon subsequently. By the sixth the suburbicarian sees were restored and the right of nomination to them left to the Pope. On the death of the Bishops of Anagni and Bieti, their dioceses were to be united to the above sees, in conformity with an agreement to be made between his Majesty and the Holy Father. By the seventh article the Bishops of the Roman States absent from their dioceses, "in consequence of circumstances,"¹⁰ might be made Bishops *in partibus*—they were to be granted pensions equal to the revenues they had possessed, and they could be nominated to vacant sees either of the empire or of the kingdom of Italy. The eighth article stated that his Majesty and His Holiness should come to an understanding as to the reduction to be made, if necessary, in the bishoprics of Tuscany and of the State of Genoa, and also as to those to be created in Holland and in the Hanseatic departments. The ninth decreed that the Propaganda, the Penitentiary and the Archives should be established wherever the Pope should reside. The tenth article assured that the Emperor would restore his favor to the Cardinals, Bishops, priests and laymen who had incurred his displeasure on account of the present circumstances.¹¹

Such was the Concordat which was signed on the evening of

¹⁰ A euphemistic way of indicating the Bishops who had been sent into exile for refusing to take the oath to the Emperor, and whose dioceses had been suppressed in order to be united to others.

¹¹ Rinieri, t. II., p. 323.

January 25, 1813, by Pius VII., when broken down in health by his long imprisonment, worn out by the solicitation of the Cardinals and Bishops who supported the Emperor's policy and deceived by Napoleon's assurances that it represented merely a basis for future negotiations and was to be kept secret until finally accepted. Besides the Emperor and Empress, the Cardinals and Bishops then residing in the palace assisted at the signature of the Concordat. At the last moment the Holy Father hesitated and, recoiling from the momentous act he was about to perform, looked towards them imploringly, as though to ask for a word of advice, but they remained silent. One of them bent his head, thus implying that all resistance was useless, and the Pope, yielding at last, signed the Concordat. The Emperor added his signature, and, in spite of his promise to keep the matter secret, he hastened to send a copy to the Emperor of Austria, asking him, it is true, not to publish it; and another to the Duke of Lodi, Chancellor of the kingdom of Italy, directing him not to publish the text, but to spread the news that a Concordat had been signed.¹² The next day those who had most contributed to the Emperor's success received their rewards. Cardinals Doria and Ruffo were named officers of the Legion of Honor, Mgr. Bertazzoli a Knight of the Iron Crown, and all three received gold snuff boxes enriched with diamonds. The Archbishop of Tours and the Bishop of Nantes were made Councillors of State; Cardinal Bajane and the Bishop of Evreux, Senators.

As a result of the Concordat the Cardinals who had been imprisoned in fortresses or forced to reside in various towns under the supervision of the police were set free and allowed to come to Fontainebleau. The strictness with which the Holy Father had been guarded until then was somewhat relaxed; it was allowed to assist at his Mass, and many persons from all parts of France hastened to take advantage of the privilege.¹³

Napoleon returned to Paris three days after the signature of the Concordat, and Pius VII., overcome with grief at having yielded at last to the Emperor's importunity, and fearing the evil effects on the welfare of the Church which might be the result of his concessions, fell into the same state of deep melancholy which he had experienced at Savona. The first of the "black Cardinals" to reach Fontainebleau were di Pietro, Gabrielli and Litta. They discussed with the Pope the articles he had been induced to sign, and their observations contributed not a little to increase his remorse. His grief was so intense that it caused him sleepless nights. He abstained almost

¹² *Correspondance de Napoléon I.*, t. XXIV., No. 19,510. A. M. Melzi Duca de Lodi, 25 Janvier, 1813. No. 19,511. A. François I., Empereur d'Autriche, 25 Janvier, 1813.

¹³ Pacca. *Mémoire*, III., p. 95. D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 242.

entirely from food, and the effect on his health was so marked that when Cardinal Pacca arrived at Fontainebleau on February 18, after being released from Fenestrelle, he was seriously alarmed. The Cardinal, who on his way had been everywhere received with manifestations of sympathy and admiration, such as were due to one who had suffered so much for the cause of the Church, was struck on arriving at the palace by the solitude and the silence which prevailed around it, instead of the animation which he had expected to find. It seemed to him that he was entering "not a royal dwelling, but a state prison." When he was presented to the Pope he was shocked and grieved to see him so changed. He was pale, emaciated, his sunken eyes stared fixedly, like those of one in a stupor. When the Cardinal told him that he had hastened to come to express to him his admiration for the heroic constancy with which he had undergone a long and severe imprisonment, the Pope replied sadly: "But we have at last disgraced ourselves. Those Cardinals dragged me to the table and forced me to sign."¹⁴ At a second audience on the same day Pacca succeeded in calming somewhat the Holy Father's grief by assuring him that when the other Cardinals who had given such undoubted proofs of their devotion to the Holy See came to the palace they would help him to find a remedy for the misfortune which had occurred, and that there was hardly any evil for which, with good-will, some remedy might not be found. That evening Cardinal Consalvi arrived, and by the end of the month the thirteen Cardinals who had been known as the "black Cardinals" were again assembled round the Holy Father, some of them lodging in the palace and others in the town of Fontainebleau.

Pius VII. then requested each of the Cardinals to state in writing what he thought of the new Concordat, and to add whatever suggestions he might think fit to make with regard to it. The replies showed that there existed in the Sacred College two very different opinions on the subject. Some Cardinals, among whom were even a few of those known as "black," dreading the consequences of the fury to which Napoleon would give way on learning the failure of his plans, thought that it would be better to accept the Concordat, and when the time came for the final negotiation, to demand the insertion of some clauses more favorable to the Pope and to the Holy See. Others, on the contrary, advised the Holy Father to revoke and annul openly all his concessions, for that was the only way to avert the great misfortunes which the execution of such a Concordat would not fail to bring upon the Church. This revocation should be made publicly, and the Holy Father should declare that he

¹⁴ Pacca, *Memorie*, II., p. 196. "Ma ci siamo in fine sporcificati. Quel Cardinali . . . mi strascinarono al tavolino e mi fecero sottoscrivere."

retracted all that he had conceded, and that he had committed a grievous fault in making concessions which he could not make and ought never to have made. This opinion, which the most influential Cardinals had adopted in their discussions on the subject, was communicated to the Pope by Cardinal Consalvi, and though it was painful and humiliating to make such a retraction, he gladly accepted the suggestion and fully approved of it. As to the best method of carrying out their advice, the Cardinals, after much deliberation, came to the conclusion that the Holy Father ought to inform the Emperor of his resolution by an autograph letter, a copy of which he should then show to the Cardinals, and allow them to make it known to the public in every way they could.¹⁵

Any hesitation which the Cardinals might have felt in recommending the Pope to take such a decisive step as to annul the Concordat had been set aside by Napoleon himself. The Emperor's suspicions had been aroused by the reports furnished by his spies of the frequent interviews which took place between the Pope and the Cardinals, and the Holy Father's delay to grant the bulls of canonical institution which had been demanded, as well as his refusal to accept the first instalment of his pension, made it seem probable that he had changed his mind with regard to the Concordat. Hoping, therefore, to hinder Pius VII. from taking such a step, the Emperor resolved to render it obligatory without delay, and published it as a law of the empire by a decree given at the Palace of the Tuileries on February 13, although he had promised to keep it secret, and the preamble stated that it was merely intended to serve as a basis for a definitive arrangement.¹⁶

It was necessary to take great precautions to enable the Holy Father to write his letter to the Emperor, for so minute was the supervision exercised over his actions by Napoleon's spies that every day while he celebrated Mass in his chapel an emissary of the police visited his room, opened his desk and his presses with false keys and examined all his papers. The Holy Father was so feeble that he could not compose or write more than a small portion of this document at a time. Every morning, therefore, Cardinals Consalvi and di Pietro brought him the letter, some of which he had written on the previous day. He then added a few lines, and worked again at it in the afternoon. In the evening the original draft and the copy were

¹⁵ Pacca, *Memorie*, t. III., pp. 112-114.

¹⁶ This decree, accompanied by the text of the Concordat, was printed in the *Bulletin des Lois*, 4e Série, t. XVIII., p. 485, No. 488, and ordered to be sent to all the courts of law, to be inscribed in their registers and observed by them. By another decree of 25th March the Emperor reminded the Archbishops, Bishops and chapters that they were obliged to obey the new Concordat.

carried away by Cardinal Pacca to Cardinal Pignatelli's lodging, where the Cardinals could meet without exciting suspicion, as he was confined to his rooms by paralysis, and Pacca frankly confesses how intense was the anxiety which he often felt while passing before the sentinels lest he should be arrested and searched. The letter took several days to write, as the Holy Father recommenced it more than once. When it was finished, on March 24, he gave it to Colonel Lagorse, the officer of gendarmes who had brought him from Savona, and requested him to place it at once in the Emperor's hands.

Pius VII. began this retraction of the Concordat by frankly stating that though the confession which he was about to make and the displeasure which it would cause the Emperor were most painful to him, yet the fear of the Divine judgment, to which his great age and his feeble health were gradually bringing him nearer, made him conquer every other consideration, as well as the grief which he felt. He assured his Majesty that since the day on which he had signed the articles which were to serve as a basis for a definitive treaty the greatest remorse and the most intense contrition had tortured his soul, and left it without peace or rest. He had immediately seen the error into which he had been led by the desire of ending as soon as possible the dissensions with regard to the affairs of the Church and of pleasing his Majesty, and continual meditation had shown it to him more clearly. Only one consideration appeased somewhat his grief, namely, that when the time came for a final arrangement the harm which his signature had done to the Church might have been amended, but, to his great surprise and grief, and in spite of the agreement made with his Majesty, these articles, which were only the basis for a future treaty, had been published with the title of a Concordat. It was only the desire to act with prudence and to avoid precipitation in such an important matter that had prevented him from at once expressing his feelings and protesting. He resolved then to wait until the Sacred College was assembled, in order that he might consult it, not as to what he should do to correct what he had done, but as to the best mode of executing his intention. What seemed to him most advisable was to write this letter to the Emperor confessing with apostolic frankness that there were many articles in this deed which his conscience would not allow him to carry out, for he acknowledged with grief and confusion that to do so would be to exercise his power not for edification, but for destruction.

He then quoted with regard to the Concordat the words applied by Pascal II. to a concession extorted from him by the Emperor Henry V., and of which he repented: "We acknowledge, and therefore confess, that this document is bad, and, with the help of the

Lord, we desire that it should be completely amended so that no harm may ensue to the Church and no injury to our soul." Some of the articles, indeed, might be corrected, but others were intrinsically bad, contrary to justice and to the government of the Church as established by our Lord Jesus Christ, and could not therefore be executed or allowed to exist. How could he, for instance, be so unjust as to deprive so many Bishops of their sees and allow the suppression of the same sees without any canonical reason? The suppression of sees in 1801 was an exceptional measure acknowledged to be necessary to put an end to a schism and to lead a great nation back to the centre of unity. Does one of these reasons now exist to justify before God and before men the measure prescribed in one of these clauses?

Pius VII. also showed that his authority could not be subjected to that of a metropolitan, who would thereby be made the judge of the Sovereign Pontiff. That concession had, indeed, been made by the brief given at Savona, but there were some variations in it. Even then, as he frankly confessed, the concession was a mistake, but he had hoped thereby to relieve the sufferings of the Church. That brief, however, had been rejected by the Emperor, so the concessions it granted had ceased to exist. His conscience also reproached him, he said, for not having mentioned, as he ought to have done, in these articles his rights to the dominions of the Holy See, which the oaths he had taken on his election to the Papacy obliged him to claim and to maintain. Though well aware, he added, of the obligations imposed by these stipulations, he also knew that, being opposed to the divine institutions and to his duty, they must yield to an obligation of a superior order which forbade their observance and rendered it illegal. He concluded by assuring the Emperor that he ardently desired to come to a definitive understanding with him, but on a basis which should be compatible with his duties, and he implored of God to grant him abundant blessings.¹⁷

The Holy Father then summoned the Cardinals to his presence one by one, as he wished to avoid the accusation of holding a meeting, and showed to each of them a copy of his letter and of an Allocution addressed to the Sacred College, in which he placed the facts before them, expressed his regret at what had occurred, and again declared that the Concordat of January 25, as well as the Brief of Savona, should be considered as no longer in existence. They would thus have no injurious effect on the Divine constitution of the Church or the rights of the Holy See. "Blessed be the Lord!" he exclaimed in concluding, "who has not turned away His mercy from us. It is He who chastises and who quickens. It has been

¹⁷ Pacca, *Memorie*, t. III., p. 117.

His will to humble us by a salutary confusion, but He has also sustained us by His almighty hand, giving us the assistance necessary for the performance of our duty in this difficult circumstance. We willingly accept, therefore, this humiliation for the good of our soul. To Him be now and forever all honor and glory."¹⁸

Napoleon's cunningly laid plans for the subjection to his authority of the Sovereign Pontiff and of the entire Church had thus been completely defeated by the letter of Pius VII.: his only resource was to attempt to conceal its existence. He wrote to Bigot de Préameneu: "The Minister of Worship will observe the utmost secrecy with regard to the Pope's letter of the 24th of March, as I wish to be able to say that I have or have not received it, according as events may turn out."¹⁹ He told him also to order all the Archbishops and Bishops then in Paris to go to Fontainebleau before returning to their dioceses and present to the Pope an address which he proceeded to dictate. They were to congratulate Pius VII. on having concluded a Concordat which should establish peace in the Church, and to express their regret that he had not as yet begun to execute it, which caused uneasiness and left many sees vacant. They were to assure him also that as Bishops and theologians they approved of the Concordat, and to request His Holiness to come to an understanding with the head of the State with regard to conferring canonical institution. But the Minister wisely replied that such a deputation would afford the Pope an opportunity, of which he would not fail to profit, of publicly repeating his retraction, which at that moment would be very embarrassing, and the Emperor seems to have let the matter drop.²⁰ He sent, however, Cardinal Maury to Fontainebleau to give the Holy Father his opinion of the Concordat, and at an audience on March 29 the Pope presented him with the letter he had written to the Emperor and his allocution to the Sacred College. The Cardinal asked to be allowed some time to study them, but, at an interview on the following day, he undertook to criticize the tone of the Holy Father's letter. He accused him of being guided by political considerations, and his language was so disrespectful that the Pope drove him from his presence.²¹

Napoleon was then about to enter on his campaign in Germany against the allied forces of Russia and Prussia, and, finding that all his efforts to deceive or to intimidate Pius VII. had ignominiously

¹⁸ Pacca, *Memorie*, t. III., p. 123.

¹⁹ Lecestre, *Lettres inédites*, t. II., No. 975. Au Comte Bigot de Préameneu, *Ministre des Cultes*, Paris, 25 Mars, 1813. (Letters which were not included in the official edition of Napoleon's correspondence, as they showed him in an unfavorable light.)

²⁰ Welschinger, *Le Pape et l'Empereur*, p. 383.

²¹ D'Haussonville, t. V., pp. 274 and 534.

failed, he resolved before leaving Paris to isolate him from the world, as he had done at Savona. The Minister of Police, Savary, Duke of Rovigo, was ordered to allow no one, except the Cardinals and the four Bishops already named, to assist at the Pope's Mass; no strangers, even no Sisters of Charity, were to be admitted to the palace. Colonel Lagorse, the adjutant of the palace, was instructed to warn the Cardinals that since they had done nothing for the good of the Church during the two months they had been at Fontainebleau, and did not wish to do anything, but were apparently anxious to give trouble, they would be allowed to stay at Fontainebleau only on condition of not meddling in anything or writing any letters. They were to remain perfectly inactive, visiting the Pope and meditating on their bad management of the affairs of the Church. The slightest infringement of these rules or any communication with Italy would cause them to be suspected by the Emperor, and might endanger their liberty.²²

In consequence of orders also contained in this letter, Cardinal di Pietro was suddenly arrested during the night of April 5 and brought away to Auxonne, a village in Burgundy, where he remained under the supervision of the police until the fall of the Empire. The Emperor believed him to be especially responsible for the revocation of the Concordat, and looked upon him as an enemy of the State. The Holy Father, surrounded by spies, was again cut off from all communication with the outer world, except such as he could hold by means of the Cardinals and of a few courageous men always ready to risk their liberty, or even their lives, in his service.

The dissolution of the council held in Paris in 1811 had been followed by the arrestation and imprisonment at Vincennes on July 12 of Mgr. de Broglie, Bishop of Ghent; Mgr. de Boulogne, Bishop of Troyes, and Mgr. Hirn, Bishop of Tournay. They had distinguished themselves above all the other members of the council by their courageous defense of the rights of the Holy See, and the Emperor hoped that by striking them he might deter others from following their example. At the end of November, 1811, the Emperor insisted that they should resign their sees. They yielded to his orders after a slight resistance, and in the early part of December, 1811, the three prelates were released from Vincennes and exiled to small country towns. The Bishop of Ghent was sent to Beaune, in Burgundy; the Bishop of Tournay to Gien, near Orleans, and the Bishop of Troyes to Falaise, in Normandy. They were also obliged to promise not to correspond with their dioceses or to take part in ecclesiastical affairs, but as the canons of Ghent

²² Lecestre, *Lettres inédites*, t. II., No. 982. Général Savary, Duc de Rovigo, Ministre de la Police Générale, Paris, 2 Avril, 1813.

sought to hold communication with their Bishop, Mgr. de Broglie, the Emperor before leaving for the Russian campaign ordered him to be imprisoned in a fortress in one of the islands of Lérins, off the south coast of France.²³

The three sees could not be considered vacant, for the resignation of the Bishops had not been accepted by the Pope, as the canons of Ghent frankly told the Minister of Worship. The chapters eluded the difficulty by electing as administrators some of their members who had secretly received powers as vicars general from their Bishops. The Government accepted them, and for some time the matter was allowed to rest. But Napoleon, before leaving Paris for his campaign in Germany, wishing probably to show that he considered the new Concordat definitively established, published a decree by which he declared it to be obligatory on the Archbishops, Bishops and chapters, and at the same time nominated twelve Bishops to vacant sees. Among these were the Sees of Ghent, Tournai and Troyes.²⁴ The canons of Troyes, after some indecision, found means to consult the Pope, and in conformity with his reply they refused to accept the Emperor's nominee. Mgr. de Boulogne was then asked to renew the declaration that he was no longer Bishop of Troyes. On his refusal he was again arrested (27 November, 1813) and imprisoned in Vincennes, whence he was removed to the prison of la Force, in Paris, where he remained until the entry of the Allies (1 April, 1814).

Mgr. Hirn, Bishop of Tournay, was also asked to declare a second time that his see was vacant, and on being given to understand that in case of non-compliance he ran the risk of being imprisoned, he consented without much resistance.²⁵ The chapter, however, refused to submit. Some of its members resigned, and the superiors of the seminary, foreseeing that disturbances might arise, dismissed the students before the usual time. Napoleon, who was then at Dresden, wrote an angry letter to the Minister of Police. He ordered him to arrest all the canons of Tournay; to send the three who were most to blame to a State prison, and shut up the others in French seminaries. The students under eighteen years of age were to be sent to different French seminaries, and those over eighteen to Magdebourg. This meant that they were to be incorporated in the army. If the city of Tournay conducted itself badly, it was to be

²³ D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 191. The fort Ste. Marguérite in the island of that name, where the celebrated "Iron Mask" had been confined for many years. In 1818 Mgr. de Broglie was allowed to return to Burgundy.

²⁴ Welschinger, p. 397. The Abbé de la Bruc, a canon of Dijon, was nominated to the See of Ghent; the Abbé de Saint-Médard, grand vicar of la Rochelle, to that of Tournai, and l'Abbé de Cussy to that of Troyes.

²⁵ L. de Lanza de Laborie, *La domination Française en Belgique* (1795-1814), Paris, 1895, t. II, p. 248.

deprived of its Bishop and the see united to another.²⁶ The Emperor's object, it is true, seemed to be rather to terrorize than to punish, for though the seminarists were sent to Cambrai, Arras and St. Omer, none were placed in the army, and only one canon was detained for a few weeks at Cambrai. The Emperor's nominee, the Abbé de Saint-Médard, appears to have succeeded in being named administrator of the diocese, where he remained until the arrival of the Allies in 1814, when he returned to France.²⁷

The clergy of Ghent offered an equally courageous resistance to Napoleon, and it was immediately followed by severe repressive measures. When Mgr. de Broglie, the Bishop, was asked to renew his resignation, he yielded to the threats of the Government and consented. Most of the canons refused to believe the fact, but three of them were weak enough to elect the Abbé de la Brue, the Emperor's nominee, as vicar capitular. The Pope was secretly consulted. He replied that the new Bishop was an intruder, and out of the 1,200 priests who formed the clergy of the diocese, only thirty acknowledged him.²⁸ The seminarists revolted openly. On July 25, the Sunday following the election of the Abbé de la Brue, they and their professors refused to assist at the ceremonies in the cathedral, and when told by one of de la Brue's partisans that if they refused to submit they would have to serve in the army, they exclaimed: "We are ready to go at once; it is better to be soldiers than schismatics." Napoleon's vengeance was not long delayed. He ordered the director of the seminary and three of the professors to be sent to State prisons, and that no one should know what had become of them. All the seminarists over eighteen, whether in holy orders or not, were to be sent to the fortress of Wesel, on the Rhine, and incorporated in different regiments of artillery. Those who were unfit for military service were to be sent to French seminaries, and they were escorted to Paris by the police as criminals and imprisoned at Sainte-Pelagie for some time before being sent to the seminaries of Cambrai and Arras. This persecution came to an end with the fall of Napoleon, and the forcibly enlisted seminarists returned to Ghent when, after a siege of four months, the fortress of Wesel surrendered to the Allies on May 1, 1814.²⁹

²⁶ Lecestre, *Lettres inédites*, t. II., No. 1,080. Au Général Savary, Duc de Rovigo, Ministre de la Police Générale, Dresde, 14 Août, 1813.

²⁷ De Lanzac de Laborie, t. II., p. 259.

²⁸ D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 285. De Lanzac de Laborie, t. II., p. 260. J. van der Moere, S. J., *Die Verfolgung der Genter Seminaristen in den Jahren, 1813 und 1814*, Mainz, 1874, p. 87, p. 85.

²⁹ Lecestre, *Lettres inédites*, t. II., No. 1,068 and No. 1,069. Au Général Savary, Duc de Rovigo, Dresde, 6 and 8 Août, 1813. Van der Moere, pp. 114, 140. The seminarists of Bruges were also comprised in this persecution, and were subjected to the same arbitrary measures as those of Ghent.

The seminarists of the Dioceses of Ghent and Tournay were not the only victims of Napoleon's fury. Many Belgian priests who, in the performance of their duty, had dared to resist the Emperor's will were sent to live under police supervision in distant towns or to State prisons. Their number cannot be ascertained with certainty, but in 1814 there were still twenty-four Belgian priests in State prisons.³⁰

And yet at that moment a last appeal was made to Napoleon, imploring of him to restore peace to the Church. Mgr. Duviver, Bishop of Nantes, who had been one of his most devoted partisans, wrote to him from his deathbed: "I beg of you to set the Holy Father free. His captivity is troubling the last moments of my life. . . . I believe that the return of His Holiness to Rome is necessary for your happiness." But the Emperor's pride and his confidence in his success had been again excited by his brilliant victories at Lutzen and at Bautzen. He was convinced that if he triumphed in this campaign nothing could thenceforth resist his will; that he would force the Church to submit to his supremacy, and he gave no answer to this request.

The situation of Pius VII. was indeed apparently hopeless, since even a Catholic power like Austria seemed inclined to take advantage of his misfortunes for its own aggrandizement. Napoleon's victories had been followed by an armistice between the belligerent powers (June, 1813), and the representatives of Russia, as well as those of Austria, had met at Prague with the view of discussing proposals for a general peace. The Holy Father did not wish to lose this opportunity of protesting against the loss of the Papal States, and in an autograph letter to Francis II., Emperor of Austria, he declared that he had never renounced the sovereignty over the dominions of the Holy See, and that they were necessary for the free exercise of the spiritual power of the visible head of the Church. He therefore begged of the Emperor to protect at the congress the interests of the Holy See, which were also the interests of religion.³¹ By the courage and devotedness of a Belgian nobleman, Count Paul van der Vrecken, who risked his liberty, and perhaps his life, in serving as messenger to Pius VII., this letter reached its destination safely, but not until after the congress of Prague had come to an end and Austria had joined Russia and Prussia in the war against France on August 10, 1813.³²

³⁰ Lanzac de Laborie, t. II., p. 253. Welschinger, p. 403. At that time the State prisons at Saumur, Vincennes, Ham, Landskame, Pierre-Châtel, Fenestrelle and Campiano were filled with priests and laymen imprisoned for having withstood the Emperor's anti-religious policy.

³¹ Pacca, *Memorie*, t. III., p. 279.

³² Paul Verhaegen, *Le Comte Paul van der Ureken (1777-1868) in the "Publications de la Société d'Archéologie et d'Histoire du Duché de Lim-*

The loss of the battle of Leipzig and the advance of the allied armies towards the French frontier made Napoleon fear that if he were obliged to treat with the coalition he should probably be forced to restore the Papal States. He preferred, therefore, to treat directly with the Holy Father while it was yet time and seek to satisfy him by the restitution of a small portion of his States, which might prevent greater sacrifices from being demanded at a congress. The first attempt to open negotiations was made in November, 1813, when a Siennese lady, the Marchesa di Brignole, one of the Emperor's ladies of honor, and well known for her attachment to the Church and to the Papal cause, was sent to Fontainebleau to inform Cardinal Consalvi that if the Pope wished to come to an understanding with the Emperor, he was free to send to Paris an envoy furnished with full powers for that purpose. But the Cardinal, after having consulted some of the other Cardinals and the Holy Father, replied that neither the time nor the place were suitable for any further discussion of the affairs of the Church.³³

Madame de Brignole was succeeded towards the end of December by Mgr. Fallot de Beaumont, Bishop of Piacenza, who had been recently nominated Archbishop of Bourges.³⁴ He was instructed by the Duc de Bassano, Secretary of State, to inform the Pope unofficially that it might be possible to set aside the obstacles which hindered his return to Rome. But the Holy Father replied that he had examined in the presence of God the reasons which guided his conduct; that nothing could make him change his opinions; that he had forbidden the Cardinals to mention the subject to him, and he dismissed him. In an interview with the Archbishop on January 2, 1814, Cardinals Pacca and Consalvi explained to him the motives which had guided the Holy Father in his refusal to treat. From the regret which the Brief of Savona and the Concordat of Fontainebleau had caused the Pope, and the consequences which they had produced, it was easy to see that no arrangement with regard to

bourg," Maestricht, 1893. The treaty between Russia, Prussia and Austria, drawn up at the Congress of Prague, has never been published, but from a letter from Metternich to Castlereagh in 1814 it would seem to have been agreed that the Papal States were to be given to Austria. The subject shall be mentioned in another article.

³³ Pacca, *Memorie*, t. III., p. 169.

³⁴ Mgr. Fallot de Beaumont was born in 1750 at Avignon, a subject, therefore, of the Holy See. Pius VI. made him Bishop of Valson. He resigned his see in 1801, at the time of the Concordat, and was named by the First Consul Bishop of Ghent. In 1807 he was transferred to Piacenza, where he sought to induce the priests who had been deported from the Papal States to take the oath to the Emperor. (See *THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* for July, 1910, p. 415.) In 1813 Napoleon nominated him Archbishop of Bourges, but he left the administration of the see in the hands of the vicars-capitular. In 1815 he resigned the See of Piacenza, and was allowed a pension by the Pope.

spiritual matters could be permanent and decisive unless it were settled under conditions of absolute independence. A treaty made as they then were would not bear that character, and the other powers would find in it a pretext for raising objections and advancing claims. It was, therefore, better to defer it until a more favorable time, and the Emperor would then be satisfied with the spirit of justice and of moderation which he should find at the court of Rome.³⁵

The Archbishop's mission had failed, but the Duc de Bassano sent him again to Fontainebleau with a letter to Pius VII. and the draft of a treaty by which the Emperor offered to restore his States. The end of Napoleon's power was approaching; the Allies had crossed the Rhine at three places on January 1, and his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, King of Naples, who had already occupied Rome and a considerable portion of the Papal States, was about to form an alliance with Austria. It was therefore especially the desire to thwart Murat's ambitious projects which inspired the Emperor's action, and he frankly confessed it in the letter which the Archbishop was to present to the Pope. It stated that as the King of Naples had made a treaty with the Coalition, one of the objects of which seemed to be the future annexation of Rome to his kingdom, the Emperor had considered that it would be more in conformity with the true policy of his empire and with the interests of the Roman people to restore the Roman States to His Holiness, in whose hands he would prefer to see them rather than in those of any other sovereign. The Archbishop was therefore empowered to sign a treaty by which the Emperor would acknowledge Pius VII. as temporal sovereign of Rome, and the Roman States which had been united to the French Empire would be surrendered as soon as possible, together with their fortresses, to His Holiness or to his representatives. Other clauses stipulated that the Pope was to confirm all the public and private transactions which had taken place according to the French laws in the Roman States. He was to allow those of his subjects who wished to settle in France to do so, and to leave France in possession of the same rights and privileges which had existed before the annexation of the Roman provinces to the French Empire.³⁶

Pius VII. refused to accept the treaty. He told Mgr. de Beau-

³⁵ D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 311, p. 550. Note remise au Duc de Bassano par M. Fallot de Beaumont, 3 Janvier, 1814. Murat's treaty with Austria was not made till the 11th, but he had been negotiating with Austria and England since some time.

³⁶ D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 554. Projet de lettre remis à M. l'évêque de Plaisance, par le Duc de Bassano, 13 Janvier, 1814. Welschinger, p. 415. All that he really offered were the two departments of Rome and the *Trasimene*, annexed in 1809.

mont, whom he received with his usual kindness, that as the restitution of his States was an act of justice, it could not be made the subject of a treaty; and, moreover, that whatever he might do while absent from his States might seem to be the result of violence and would give scandal to the Catholic world. He added that he wished to return to Rome, and that Providence would bring him back there. "It is possible," he said, "that my sins render me unworthy of seeing Rome again, but you may be assured that my successors will regain all the States which belong to them." On dismissing Mgr. de Beaumont the Holy Father told him to assure the Emperor that he was not his enemy, for religion would not allow it. He loved France, and when back in Rome it would be seen that he would do everything that should be required.⁸⁷

The allied armies had already occupied Dijon, and were advancing towards Paris. Napoleon was unwilling that the Pope should fall into their hands, for he hoped to be able to repel the invasion, in which case the Holy Father would be still in his power. He therefore ordered Savary, Duke of Rovigo, his Minister of Police, to send Pius VII. back to Savona, taking with him only Mgr. Bertazzoli. But Colonel Lagorse, who was to escort him, was to tell him that he was bringing him back to Rome. The Cardinals were to be sent to different towns in the south of France, accompanied by officers of gendarmes, and they were not to be allowed to know each others' destination.⁸⁸

Neither Pius VII. nor the Cardinals were deceived when Lagorse brought them this decision. They understood that the Pope was not going back to Rome, which was no longer in the Emperor's power, but that he was to be placed out of reach of the allied armies. The Holy Father begged in vain to be accompanied by even one Cardinal. He was allowed to take with him only Mgr. Bertazzoli; Lagorse was to follow in a second carriage with Dr. Porta and two servants.

On the following morning, January 23, Pius VII., after having said Mass, assembled the sixteen Cardinals then at Fontainebleau. He told them that he was leaving for an unknown destination, and might perhaps never see them again, but that he was firmly convinced that whatever might happen they would conduct themselves as became their dignity. He then gave Cardinal Mattei, the dean of the Sacred College, instructions which he had written for their guidance, and he strictly forbade them to listen to any proposal regarding a treaty, whether spiritual or temporal, for that such was his firm

⁸⁷ "Tout ce qui sera convenable." D'Haussonville, t. V., p. 315. Paoca, *Memorie*, t. III., p. 173.

⁸⁸ Lecestre, *Lettres inédites*, t. II., No. 1,128. Au Général Savary, Duc de Rovigo, Ministre de la Police Générale, Paris, 21 Janvier, 1814.

resolution. Then, after a short prayer in the chapel, he gave his blessing to the Cardinals and to a few people who were present and entered his traveling carriage, together with Mgr. Bertazzoli.

According to the instructions left by the Holy Father, the Cardinals were to reside near him, wherever he might be, or, if prevented, to remain together as much as possible. If a schism were to take place, they were to avoid carefully holding any communication in religious matters with those who belonged to it, or to assist at any ceremony in which a prelate took part who had not been canonically instituted. They were to avoid performing any act which might seem to acknowledge the pretended sovereignty of the Emperor or of his successors over the States of the Church, and never to accept any decoration, dignity or charge, secular or ecclesiastical. On account of the situation of the Church, and especially of the Holy See, they were to act as in a time of mourning, and were not to assist at banquets or public rejoicings, or to appear at Court. Finally, they were forbidden to accept any pension from the Government.³⁹

A few days later the Cardinals left Fontainebleau for various towns in the south of France. Cardinal Pacca was brought to Uzès, near Nîmes, where, although the Minister of Police had assured him that the authorities would do everything in their power to render his stay agreeable to him, the *sous-préfet* was ordered to have him closely watched; to find out from his servants what he said, what persons he visited and with whom he corresponded. He was not to be allowed to officiate in public, his relations with the clergy were to be supervised, and he was to be warned that if he gave any cause of complaint he should be deprived of his liberty. It was only after the abdication of Napoleon that the Cardinals were able to return to Rome.

According to the instructions given to Lagorse, the Holy Father was brought to Savona by a long circuit through the central and southern provinces of France, passing by Limoges, Montauban, Carcassonne and Montpellier. He was received everywhere with demonstrations of joy and affection on the part of the people; at the bridge over the Rhone between Beaucaire and Tarrascon, especially, the applause of the crowd was so enthusiastic that Lagorse, displeased by the veneration manifested for the Sovereign Pontiff, exclaimed angrily: "What would you do if the Emperor were to come here?" To which the people replied, pointing to the Rhone: "We would give him a drink!" and as the Colonel continued to show his irritation, he was asked: "Are you thirsty?"⁴⁰

³⁹ Pacca, *Memorie*, t. III., p. 181.

⁴⁰ Pacca, *Memorie*, t. III., p. 206.

Pius VII. reached Savona towards the end of February.⁴¹ He was received there by M. de Chabrol's successor, the Marchese de Brignole, a Genoese nobleman well known as a sympathizer with the Papal cause, and who treated the Holy Father during his stay not as a prisoner, but as a sovereign.

A considerable portion of the Papal States was at that time occupied by the troops of Joachim Murat, King of Naples, who had openly abandoned Napoleon and who aimed at rendering himself the ruler of a united Italy. Shortly after his return in January, 1813, from the disastrous Russian campaign he appears to have thought it advisable to take steps to provide for the safety of his kingdom in view of the approaching downfall of Napoleon, which everything seemed to forebode. He also dreaded that Napoleon, who was deeply irritated against him on account of his sudden departure from the army, might, in case he triumphed over the Coalition, and was again master of Europe, deprive him of his crown and drive him into exile.⁴² Murat began, therefore, in April, 1813, to negotiate secretly with Austria and with England; but before any definite conclusion was reached a friendly letter from the Emperor, whose long silence had been one of the motives of his intended defection, rallied him again to the Imperial cause. He left Naples, therefore, on August 2, joined Napoleon at Dresden in time to take part in the last battles of the campaign, in which he held a high command and distinguished himself by the brilliant manner in which he executed Napoleon's orders. After the battle of Leipzig (16th, 17th, 18th October, 1813) he again left the army for Naples, but this time with the consent of Napoleon, who reckoned on his sending 30,000 men to support Prince Eugene against the Austrians in the north of Italy. He renewed, however, without delay, his negotiations with Austria, and with Lord William Bentinck, the commander of the English forces in Sicily. In the meanwhile, under the pretext of marching to the assistance of Prince Eugene, some of Murat's troops had occupied Rome, where General Miollis commanded only a small French garrison, and others advanced towards Florence and towards Ancona. At the same time he seemed to be willing not to turn his arms against the Emperor if he could obtain from him conditions which should satisfy his ambitious aims. He wrote to Napoleon on December 28, 1813, that he had already done all he could for the service of France by sending his army towards the North, a movement which had stopped the advance of the Austrians towards Milan and Turin, but that he could not risk the safety of his kingdom by sending his troops too

⁴¹ Jules Chavagnon et Georges Saint-Yves, *Joachim Murat (1767-1815)*. Paris, 1905, p. 232.

far. He then asked the Emperor to proclaim the independence of Italy by forming it into his kingdom, and giving him all the provinces to the south of the River Po. The Emperor would find him in return a faithful and powerful ally. But an answer should be given without delay, as he (Murat) would soon be forced to explain matters to his people and to the enemy.⁴²

The arrival at Naples of Count Neipperg as Austrian plenipotentiary, and the threat of an immediate declaration of war in case he should refuse to sign a treaty, overcame at last Murat's indecision. He made, it is true, a last effort to induce the Emperor to grant him the concession he had already demanded; he informed him of the arrival at Naples of an Austrian envoy; he implored of him to make peace, and he warned him that otherwise he would find it impossible ever again to fight for him.⁴³ Nevertheless, the treaty was signed on January 11. Murat promised to assist the allies with an army of 30,000 men, and Austria guaranteed the kingdom of Naples to him and to his heirs. Sicily was to be left to the Bourbon King, Ferdinand IV.; and as compensation Austria promised to give Murat a portion of the Papal States containing a population of 400,000 souls, and to persuade the Pope and the allies to sanction this concession. Lord William Bentinck, who was strongly opposed to Murat, and who from the beginning of the negotiations in 1813 had sought to uphold the claims of the Bourbons to Naples and Sicily, had up to then refused to sign an armistice with Naples, although authorized by his Government to do so. He criticized the treaty severely as being inopportune. Murat, he said, should have been given some compensation for Naples elsewhere, but as little as possible; he cannot be reckoned on; the treaty renders him master of Italy, and Italy under Murat will be dangerous for the peace of the world; it is lamentable to see such favors granted to a man whose whole life has been a crime.⁴⁴ He yielded, however, with much ill will, to the orders of Lord Castlereagh, and crossing over to Naples, he signed there on February 3 an armistice between the Neapolitan and British forces, and agreed to a plan for the coöperation of his troops with those of Austria and Naples, but he refused to discuss the conditions of a treaty of peace, as he did not wish to take any step which should be opposed to the interests of Ferdinand IV.⁴⁵

⁴² M. H. Weil, *Le Prince Eugène et Murat (1813-1814)*, Paris, 1902, t. III., p. 291.

⁴³ Chavagnon, p. 269. Weil, t. III., p. 336, Joachim Murat à l'Empereur, 3 Janvier, 1814.

⁴⁴ Weil, t. III., pp. 413, 640, Lord William Bentinck to Lord Castlereagh, Palermo, 14 January, 1814.

⁴⁵ Weil, t. III., pp. 515, 518 and 642, Lord William Bentinck to Lord Castlereagh, Naples, 2 February, 1814.

A part of Murat's troops had by that time reached Bologna, Imola and Modena, and were thus in line with the detachment of the Austrian army which, under the command of Major General Count Nugent, had crossed over to the southern bank of the Po; but they had not as yet fought against the French, and Field Marshal Count de Bellegarde, the Austrian commander-in-chief, was still so uncertain as to Murat's intentions that he warned Count Nugent to be on his guard against the Neapolitans.⁴⁶ Murat had, however, poured a large number of troops into Rome under the pretence that they were on their way to join Prince Eugene; he had thus made himself master of the city, and named General de la Vaugnyon, a Frenchman in his service, its Governor. General Miollis, unable to offer any resistance, had withdrawn into the Castle of Saint Angelo on January 19 with the few French soldiers remaining to him (only 1,943), and the Neapolitans, who made no attempt to attack the Castle, immediately expelled the French civil functionaries and replaced them by Neapolitans. Some time previously the Emperor had sent Fouché, Duke of Otranto, to Naples to induce Murat to unite his forces with those of Prince Eugene; he was also apparently authorized to negotiate with him in case the course of events should render it hopeless to attempt to defend Italy.⁴⁷ The time for that step seemed to have come in February, 1814, and Napoleon, who was struggling against the advance of the three allied powers towards Paris, ordered Prince Eugene to retreat towards the Alps as soon as Murat should have openly declared war against France. The Grand Duchess Eliza of Tuscany, Napoleon's sister, and General Miollis were also instructed to surrender Tuscany and Rome to Murat, on condition that the French troops should be allowed to bring away their arms and artillery. It was only on February 15 that Murat, who had arrived at Modena, sent an official declaration of war to Prince Eugene; but as it was not followed up by any act of hostility, the Prince did not consider himself bound to carry out at once the order which he had received to retreat towards the Alps. It was, indeed, soon revoked, for Napoleon's hopes of ultimate success were, just then, revived by the brilliant victories which he won at Chainpaubert and Montmirail, and he sent at once a counter order to the Viceroy instructing him to defend Italy as long as he could, since it might be possible to preserve it if the enemies were expelled from France; and in that

⁴⁶ Well, t. III., p. 491. "Considering your situation and your position with regard to the Neapolitans, it is indispensable to take every sort of precautions." F. M. Count Bellegarde to Major-General Count Nugent, Vicenza, 30 January, 1814.

⁴⁷ Louis Madelin, *La Rome de Napoléon. La Domination Française à Rome de 1809 à 1814*, Paris, 1906, p. 624.

case, he added, the King of Naples would change sides.⁴⁸ Prince Eugene, therefore, retained his positions on the banks of the Mincio, but Fouché carried out the orders he had received to withdraw the French garrisons in Rome and in Tuscany. On February 24 he signed at Lucca an agreement with Lieutenant General Lecchi, Murat's aide-de-camp, by which the fortresses still remaining in the possession of the Grand Duchess Eliza, as well as the Castle of St. Angelo and the town of Civita Vecchia, were surrendered to the Neapolitans. General Miollis and his soldiers left the Castle on March 10, and, for a short time, Murat was master of Rome.⁴⁹

A Congress was then being held at Chatillon-sur-Seine between representatives of the Allied Powers and an envoy of the Emperor to discuss the conditions which should be offered to France in order to bring the war to an end.⁵⁰ Napoleon had probably reason to suppose that the Congress would demand that Pius VII. should be set free and the States of the Church restored, and, as he wished that any concession to Pius VII. should seem to be a spontaneous act on his part and not imposed by his victorious enemies, he gave orders that the Holy Father should be allowed to return to Rome. He knew also that the Pope's presence in his States would probably be a cause of dissension between the Austrians and their new ally. He took care, however, to avoid giving him the title of Sovereign, lest he should seem to rescind his annexation of the Papal States, and to acknowledge the rights of the Holy See. The Emperor, therefore, on March 10, directed General Savary, his Minister of Police, to order the officer of gendarmes who was with the Pope to bring him to Parma and there hand him over to the Neapolitan advanced posts. The Pope was to be told that since he had asked to return to his see the Emperor had consented. A few days later he wrote to Prince Eugene that he had ordered the Pope to be sent to the advanced posts for the purpose of embarrassing Murat. "I made the Pope be informed that, since he had asked as Bishop of Rome to return to his diocese, I allowed him to do so. Take care, therefore, not to bind yourself to anything with regard to the Pope, either to acknowledge him or not to acknowledge him."

⁴⁸ Correspondance de Napoleon I., t. XXVII., No. 21,212. Au Général Clarke, Duc de Feltre, Ministre de la Guerre, Negent, 8 Février, 1811. No. 21,295. A Eugène Napoléon, vice-roi d'Italie, Nangis, 18 Février, 1814. Weil, t. IV., pp. 153, 217.

⁴⁹ Madelin, p. 667. Weil, t. IV., pp. 220, 246. The text of the Convention of Lucca is in t. V., p. 32.

⁵⁰ Angebert, *Le Congrès de Vienne et les Traités de 1815*, Paris, 1863, t. I., p. 105. The plenipotentiaries were: Count de Stadion for Austria, Count Razumoffski for Russia, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Cathcart and Sir Charles Stewart for England, and Baron von Humboldt for Prussia. The Emperor was represented by de Cantaincourt, Duke of Vicenza. Lord Castlereagh also assisted at this congress, but unofficially, not as plenipotentiary.

In the same letter he told Prince Eugene to seek to make a treaty with Murat—to divide Italy, with the exception of Piedmont and Genoa, into two kingdoms. Every effort should be made to win the Neapolitans over to his side; later on he could do what he liked, for after such ingratitude he could not be bound to anything. These instructions would seem to show that even when setting the Holy Father free Napoleon did not intend to restore the Papal States to him, but that he still apparently hoped to defeat the Coalition and reestablish his Empire in its former splendor.⁵¹

As Napoleon had foreseen, the Congress of Chatillon did not fail to take into consideration the position of Pius VII. and to manifest its sympathy with him. Before separating on March 19, without having come to any conclusion with regard to the terms of peace, the plenipotentiaries presented a note to De Canlaincourt, in which they stated that, while insisting on the independence of Italy, the allied Courts had the intention of reestablishing the Holy Father in his former capital and that the Emperor's Government had shown the same intention in the counter-project presented by its envoy. The religion professed by a large portion of the nations then at war, justice and equity, as well as humanity, were equally interested in demanding the liberation of His Holiness, and the plenipotentiaries were persuaded that they had only to ask the French Government in the name of their Courts to obtain that the Holy Father should be enabled to provide for the wants of the Catholic Church by the enjoyment of absolute independence.⁵²

Pius VII. had been already set free. The Marchese de Brignole had informed him on March 17 that he was at liberty to return to Rome; but as the following day was the feast of Our Lady of Mercy, the Patroness of Savona, he deferred his departure in order to say Mass in the Cathedral. He left Savona on March 19, reached Piacenza on the 23d, and on the morning of the 25th he was accompanied by the French Generals Mancune, Rambourg and Van Dedem from San Donnino to the Taro, on the further side of which the Austrian advanced posts were held by the Radetsky Hussars. There the Holy Father, who could at last feel that he was free, was received by Generals Nugent and Von Stahremberg, who escorted him to Parma, where he met with an enthusiastic welcome.

⁵¹ Correspondance de Napoléon I., t. XXVII., No. 21,459. Au Général Savary, Duc de Rovigo, Ministre de la Police Générale, Chavignon, 10 Mars, 1814. Lecestre, Lettres inédites, t. II., No. 1,143. Au Prince Eugène Napoléon, Vice-roi d'Italie, Soissons, 12 Mars, 1814. Pius VII. had never asked to return to Rome as Bishop, but had always demanded the recognition of his right to the States of the Church as their sovereign.

⁵² P. Ilario Rinieri, S. J., *Il Congresso di Vienna e la Santa Sede*, Roma, 1904, p. 11. This work forms the fourth part of "*La diplomazia Pontificia nel Secolo XIX.*"

Murat was much alarmed by the unexpected return of Pius VII., which he saw would prove fatal to his hopes of reigning over a united Italy. He sent orders to Count Nugent to stop the Holy Father wherever he might be, until he received further instructions, if, indeed, he (Murat) thought fit to allow him to continue his journey. General Nugent took no notice of this order, nor of another which forbade him to allow the Pope to leave Parma; but he facilitated the Holy Father's progress in every way. At Modena Pius VII. gave audience to the Duke del Gallo, Murat's Minister of Foreign Affairs, but to all his attempts to come to an understanding merely replied that he could make no agreement except in Rome when he should be surrounded by his Cardinals.⁵³ Lord William Bentinck, who was in command of the Anglo-Sicilian expedition against Genoa which had landed at Leghorn on March 9, and had already reached La Spezia, had also an interview with the Holy Father while he was at Modena. Pius VII. received him in a most friendly manner, repeated to him the statement which he had made to Murat's envoy, and assured him that he would not recognize Murat before returning to Rome; and that then he would wait until the Allied Sovereigns had given the example.⁵⁴

On the following day (March 31) Pius VII. made a triumphal entry into Bologna, where he was received with enthusiasm, and took up his residence at the Archbishop's palace. Murat came immediately to solicit an audience, and again requested to be recognized as King of Naples; but he was not more successful than the Duke del Gallo, and his demands were rejected. When the Holy Father returned Murat's visit next day he informed him that he intended to return to Rome without delay and to resume again the government of his States. Murat then sought to negotiate; he offered to restore the two provinces which had been annexed to the French Empire on condition that the Neapolitan troops should be allowed to occupy the Roman States and maintain order there, but the Pope rejected this proposal, and declared that he would not renounce his claims to all the territory which belonged to the Holy See. This interview with Murat was followed by another with Lord William Bentinck, who, on learning from a member of the Papal household how great was the poverty of the Holy Father, and that he was subjected to many privations, presented him at once, in the name of the English Government, with the sum of 4,000 crowns.⁵⁵

Before leaving Bologna Pius VII. wrote to the Emperor of

⁵³ Well, t. IV., p. 437; t. V., p. 99. Rinieri, p. 84.

⁵⁴ Well, t. IV., p. 451.

⁵⁵ The receipt was for £1,252, or about \$6,200. Well, t. IV., p. 462. Rinieri, p. 88.

Austria to point out to him the equivocal conduct of Murat, who had occupied the greater part of the States of the Church, and whose good faith seemed doubtful. He hoped, however, that the Emperor's sense of justice and of religion would remove all the obstacles which might hinder the free exercise of his sovereign rights. The Pope again appealed to the Emperor in letters dated from Cesena and Foligno, requesting him to protect the interests of the Holy See in the Congress which was about to be held, and to oblige Murat to withdraw his troops. The King of Naples had already perceived the necessity of modifying his policy towards the Holy Father; he saw the impossibility of continuing to hold Rome, and on April 10 he issued a proclamation to the Roman people, in which he assured them that he had occupied their city not as a conqueror, but as a friend; that he would seek every opportunity of rendering them some service, and he expressed his veneration for the Sovereign Pontiff. He then wrote to Pius VII. during his stay at Imola to renew his offer of restoring the provinces which had been named by the French the "departments of Rome and of the Trasimene," but the Pope refused even to answer his letter.⁵⁶

At Cesena on April 29 Murat had another interview with the Holy Father and offered to make a further concession by withdrawing his troops from Pesaro and Tano (situated in the province of the Marches), so that the Pope might return to Rome through his own States, but he declared that he would retain the rest until the allied sovereigns should make some new agreement with him. Pius VII., therefore, resolved to remain at Cesena and await there the decision of the allies with regard to his States; but Herr von Lebzeltern, the envoy of the Emperor of Austria, who arrived just then at Cesena, urged him to return to Rome at once and take in hands the management of affairs. The Holy Father acquiesced, and sent Mgr. Rivarda as Delegate to Rome to form a provisional government, and Mgr. della Genga (afterwards Pope Leo XII.) to Paris as Nuncio and envoy to the allied sovereigns.⁵⁷ Pius VII. then continued his journey towards Rome—escorted, since he had crossed the Taro by the Austrian cavalry. At Ancona, still occupied by the Neapolitans, he met Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, and Madame Letizia, Napoleon's mother, both now fugitives and exiles and seeking the protection of the Holy Father, which he readily granted them. While at Foligno he sent Cardinal Consalvi, who had resumed his position as Secretary of State, to Paris to represent him at the Congress about to be held by the sovereigns of Europe;

⁵⁶ Ch. van Duerm, S. J., *Correspondance du Cardinal Consalvi avec le Prince de Metternich*, Louvain, 1899, pp. 4, 7, 12, 17. Rinieri, p. 89.

⁵⁷ Rinieri, pp. 96, 104.

and then passing through Spoleto, Terni and Nepi, he made his entry into Rome on May 24.

The exactions of the Napoleonic Government, the absence of the Papal Court and of many of the nobles, had much impoverished the Romans, but they made every effort to manifest their joy at the return of the Holy Father to his capital after his long exile, and the streets through which he was to pass were decorated with triumphal arches, colonnades, statues and precious tapestries; all classes contributed to the embellishment of the city according to their means. Pius VII. was met at the Ponte Molle by the members of the provisional government and the envoys of Austria and Portugal. Cardinal Mattsi and Cardinal Pacca took their places in his carriage, and seventy-two young men, unharnessing the horses, drew it from thence to Saint Peter's and to the Quirinal. The Neapolitan troops still garrisoned Rome, and together with a body of Austrian cavalry which had recently arrived, furnished the escort. The Swiss guards had been reorganized; they surrounded the Papal carriage, to the right of which rode Prince Pignatelli-Cerchiara, the Neapolitan General,⁵⁸ and on the left Colonel von Oppitz, the commander of the Austrians. About a mile from the Porta del Popolo the Holy Father was greeted by a band of children dressed in white, chanting "Hosanna! Blessed be he who comes in the name of the Lord!" and bearing palms, which they offered to him and fixed to his carriage. At the city gates the Senate, or municipal council of Rome, congratulated the Pope in the name of the Roman people, and the clergy of Rome then took its place in the procession. At Saint Peter's the Holy Father was received by the Cardinals; he prayed at the tomb of the Apostle, assisted at Benediction, and then went to the Palace of the Quirinal, whence five years previously he had been carried away into exile by Napoleon's Generals, Miollis and Radet.⁵⁹

The trials of Pius VII. were not, however, ended by his triumphant return to his capital. The Marches, a large and fertile part of the Papal States, were still occupied by Murat's troops and the Austrians

⁵⁸ It is a curious coincidence that Pignatelli-Cerchiara also commanded the troops which Murat sent to Rome in 1809 to strengthen the French garrison at the time of the storming of the Quirinal and the expulsion of Pius VII.

⁵⁹ Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, Venezia, 1845, t. XXXV., p. 186. Rinieri, p. 21. *Le Moniteur universel*, Paris, 1814, 15 Juin. *Lettre de Rome*, 27 Mai. Padre Rinieri does not agree with the opinion of Madelin, quoted in the July number of the *QUARTERLY*, that the Roman nobles submitted willingly to Napoleon. With very few exceptions, the higher nobility stood aloof and made every effort to avoid taking part in a deputation sent to compliment the Emperor. Five of the great families were sent into exile and obliged to reside in Paris in October, 1809. Three nobles who had been named Senators declined to accept the dignity. (Rinieri, pp. 211, 215, 239.)

held the Legations, three of the most important provinces. The Emperor of Austria was known to be favorable to the restitution of the Papal territories, but his ministers could not be reckoned on, and the intentions of the other powers which were to be represented at the Congress of Vienna could not be foreseen. The future position and welfare of the Sovereign Pontiff were, therefore, still uncertain, and it was mainly owing to the diplomatic talent of Cardinal Consalvi, his unwearied efforts, and the influence which he acquired over the other plenipotentiaries at the Congress that the Holy See regained its possessions.

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STUDIES IN KANT.

WAS KANT A MERE SOPHIST?

IT has long been a source of wonder to the writer of this article that the metaphysical doctrines of Kant have never to this day been refuted. Some time ago in an article in this REVIEW we stated that such a refutation was the great philosophical need of the times. We are still of this opinion; and as no one else seems to undertake the task, it is our intention in a brief series of articles to subject to a critical analysis the cardinal principles of the "Critique of Pure Reason." It should, perhaps, be said at the very outset that the task of dealing adequately with Kant is by no means an easy one. It will not make easy writing, and the uninitiated should be admonished that it is not likely to make easy reading. The subject is an abstruse one. Kant's treatment of it is obscurity itself—as he himself freely admits. We would that some one with more leisure and whose occupations and duties lie along the line of philosophical and metaphysical studies had taken up the work rather than one who finds in it a mere pastime, who finds too little leisure for that pastime, and who consequently cannot devote to the work the time requisite to make the difficult subject intelligible to readers without a philosophical training. Kant's meaning must be made clear, and this is no easy task, since it failed Kant himself; and in the mass of obscurity and sophistry the fallacy must be exposed. Better, however, that it should be done in some fashion than that it should not be done at all; and this must be our apology for introducing so obscure a metaphysical subject to the readers of the *QUARTERLY*.

The intellectual ascendancy of the Konigsberg philosopher throughout the empire of metaphysical thought is to-day freely admitted. The spell of Kant, however, has not been confined to mere metaphysic. Nearly all our modern errors, whether in metaphysical speculations, in philosophy, in theology, in the physical sciences, in morals, in natural theology, nay, even in revealed religion, are directly traceable to Kant and his system of knowledge. But it is in philosophy above and before all that his baneful influence is so deeply and painfully felt. The whole agnostic world of our day rests mainly on Kant. Much as he deprecated agnosticism and much as he protested against the adoption of it as a philosophical conclusion in which the mind might find a last resting-place, there can be no manner of doubt that the dogmatism of denial, whose essence is summed up in the intellectual (?) formula, "I don't know," is the logical outcome of the Kantian contention. No one perceived this more clearly than Kant himself. Foreseeing that agnosticism was the only legitimate consequence of his speculations, he labored hard in advance to stem the tide that must inevitably carry men's minds over the barriers and into the new philosophical absurdity; but he had opened the floodgates, and although he tried to raise his voice above the commotion which he had raised, he discovered that it was completely lost in the roar of the waters. His principles once admitted, the conclusion from them was irresistible, and the logic of the multitude soon proved stronger than the voice of his authority. In vain did he protest that his own method was "totally different from skepticism or that artificial and scientific agnosticism which undermines the foundations of all knowledge, in order, if possible, to leave nothing trustworthy and certain anywhere." To no purpose did he warn his followers that "skepticism is a resting-place of reason, where it may reflect for a time" in the midst of its wanderings, "but that it can never be its permanent dwelling-place." The disciples were more consistent than their master; from his premises they drew the only legitimate though barren and desolate conclusion.

The Quixotic position of the Modernists, too, absurd and ridiculous as its claims are, is directly traceable to the Kantian influence of the times. If any one is inclined to question the truth of this statement, we need only refer him to the utterances of the late Modernist leader, Tyrrell, shortly before his sad and pitiful demise.

Nor is it less true that the philosophical follies of pragmatism as recently promulgated by Schiller, Dewey and the late William James, in all their crude and naked vulgarity, are the legitimate offspring of the Kantian juggleries in his antinomian—thetic and anti-thetic—legerdemain. Nay, the ethics of our day which exclude God

and the supernatural from the motives of human conduct are the inevitable results of Kant's system. Proofs of these statements will appear in the sequel, so that it is unnecessary to delay upon them here; but certain it is that, what with his concepts and categories; his transcendental æsthetics, analytics and dialectics; his still more sweeping transcendental ideas; his antinomies, amphibolies and paralogsms; his phenomena and noumena; his pure reason and practical reason; his pure subjectivism and his phenomenalism; the broad basis on which all modern philosophical errors rest and on which the modern theological errors—whether theistic, deistic or atheistic—are founded, proves, in the last analysis, to be nothing more or less than the vaunted principles and so-called philosophical discoveries of Kant. For a century and a quarter Kant has held the sceptre of philosophy in Germany. During that period his influence has caused a complete revolution in nearly all the countries of Europe. There have been, it is true, occasional revolts against his authority; but even to-day, although his sway is to some extent diminished, for a great portion of the philosophic world the name of Kant retains all its magic, and entire schools of philosophy are ready to maintain that the "Critique of Pure Reason" has marked forever for mankind the boundary lines and impassable limits of all human knowledge. Hence the imperative necessity of exposing the fallacies in the *entire* Kantian system.

For it must not be forgotten that partial uprisings against the authority of Kant and his teachings there frequently have been. Fichte, Hegel and Schelling, in his own land, have, in part, repudiated the authority of Kant; but so far have they been from refuting him that their systems are mere branches grafted more or less scientifically on the great Kantian stem; and all of them derive their very subsistence from the root of the Kantian principles, which remain the while wholly undisturbed. Other attempts, too, have been made here and there to challenge Kant's claims on certain points. A sort of guerrilla warfare has been waged against his philosophy in certain quarters from the very outset. A deep philosopher now and then has endeavored to discover the vulnerable points in the gigantic edifice. An occasional roving band or an individual marksman has fired a few shots, usually ineffectual. The only portion of the mighty structure that seems to have at all suffered is the transcendental æsthetic. The great philosophical structure itself remains unshaken. There it stands, like a mighty German fortress, with its frowning battlements and mighty bulwarks. Here indeed a pinnacle is shot away. There a porthole is defaced so as to be useless. A flying buttress is met with, occasionally, utterly demolished; but the fortress itself, with its walls, its towers, its bastions, its engines of destruc-

tion, stand firm and intact. Its commanding position and complete mastery of the entire field remain the same. There has not been even the semblance of an effort, so far as we are aware, to overthrow the main structure or undermine the foundations. Some of the assailants end by becoming Kant's willing vassals; others seem to settle down to a sort of stolid submission in a sullen and mute despair.

Even among our Catholic philosophers we look in vain for anything like a vigorous or logical assault. They have indeed again and again challenged the transcendental æsthetic; but even their challenge has been a mere rejection rather than a refutation. Even so, they too frequently lose sight of the advantage of their position and forget to press their charge home to victory. The importance to Kant of the transcendental æsthetic seems to be greatly undervalued by them. The fact is that without it Kant would be often in a sorry plight. We have somewhere read of a fox whose den was on the face of a precipice, some feet below the upper surface. When hotly pursued he was wont to seize in his teeth some strong twigs which grew on the ledge and thus easily swing himself into safety, to the utter bewilderment of the hounds. The transcendental æsthetic is the Kantian twig. Over and over again when his case seems hopeless has he succeeded in extricating himself from an otherwise insurmountable difficulty by his theory of space and time, with their convenient definitions, but rotten philosophy. Perhaps no Catholic philosopher has made greater onslaughts on the Kantian "Critique" than our own late Dr. Brownson; but although he scored several minor victories, he left the foundations entirely untouched, while Kant's great central position, the deduction of the categories, he passed by altogether unnoticed. The categories themselves he indeed challenged. His argument that the subject can never be the object—as Kant attempts to make it—is clearly enough shown; but for the rest it seems to us that Brownson missed the main argument of Kant altogether and failed to grasp the system of Kant as one great whole. Indeed, the utter failure of all attempts to thoroughly refute Kant's teachings is one of the marvels of philosophy and is equaled only by that other astonishing phenomenon, viz., the marvellous ascendancy which that philosophy has acquired over the minds of men. This ascendancy deserves more than a passing word.

The influence which Kant's extraordinary work at once exercised not only over the mere student of philosophy, but also over men of acute and powerful intellect is one of the most striking episodes in the whole history of philosophy.

The instantaneous success of his work was nothing short of marvellous. Kant was, possibly, the worst writer imaginable. His style

was obscurity itself. His adverbs and particles even to-day drive scholars to despair. Several passages have been abandoned by his interpreters as utterly hopeless. Men of genius, famous themselves as profound philosophers, admit that it is only on the fourth or fifth reading they begin to understand his meaning. Add to this that metaphysic is not only the most unattractive, but even the most repellant of subjects, and we find ourselves face to face with the extraordinary fact that when men's minds had recovered from the stunning effect of the first edition and the second edition had appeared in 1787, three new editions were speedily added, so that before the century closed five editions in all seemed to be necessary to satisfy the demands of those who wanted to read what the most obscure of philosophical writers had to say on the most abstruse of philosophical subjects. The discussions which followed the publication of the *Critique* were endless; they continue even to this day. During the first ten years after the appearance of the *Critique*, according to Vaihinger, three hundred publications were counted for and against the new philosophy. These works were printed in every language of the world. And this state of things has continued advancing down to the present day, when the Kantian renaissance seems to out rival the original birth by the brilliancy and magnificence of the Neo-Kantian splendor.

The greatest marvel of all, however, is the ease and readiness with which the Kantian philosophy seems to have subjugated the minds of men who are well versed in logic and who have been able to boast of no mean intellectual strength. The encomiums passed on the work of Kant by such men would be startling if they were not so numerous as to be even common. Goethe—though he admitted that the feeling required repeated readings—regarded the impression produced by the philosophy of Kant somewhat like that “produced by the act of stepping into a lighted room.” To Jean Paul Richter, Kant was “not only as a light of the world, but as a whole solar system in one.” The great German poet, Schiller, declared that he was determined to master Kant's *Critique*, even though it were to cost him his whole life. He thought that “the fundamental ideas of Kant's ideal philosophy will remain a treasure forever, and for their sake alone we ought to be grateful to have been born in this age.”

If such is the adulation of the poets, we need not be surprised at the eulogies of the philosophers. Schopenhauer, savagely as he assailed Kant, nevertheless calls the “Critique of Pure Reason” “the highest achievement of human genius.” He styles Kant “the most philosophical head that nature has ever produced,” asserts that “he possessed such an amount of clear and quite peculiar thought-

fulness as has never been granted to any other mortal;" and he is of opinion that "never will a philosopher, without an independent, zealous and oft-repeated study of the principal works of Kant, gain any idea of the most important of all philosophical phenomena." Fichte, who opposed Kant on many important points, thought, nevertheless, that "Kant's philosophy will in time overshadow the whole human race and call to life a new, more noble and more worthy generation." Even the English Professor Caird thought that it was "not unfair to say that the speculations of all those who have not learned the lesson of Kant are beside the point."

But it is the historian of philosophy that proceeds to the utmost limit of laudatory extravagance. Vacherot pronounces the "Critique" "*un livre immortel*," comparable only to the "Organon" of Bacon and the "Discours de la Methode" of Descartes. Vaihinger devoted his life to the study of Kant and thus sums up his opinion of his work: "The 'Critique' is a work to which, whether we look to the grandeur of conception, or the accuracy of thought, or the weight of ideas, or the power of language, few only can be compared—possibly Plato's 'Republic,' Aristotle's 'Metaphysics,' Spinoza's 'Ethics'—none, if we consider their lasting effect, their penetrating and far-reaching influence, their wealth of thought and their variety of suggestions." Max Muller made Kant's "Critique," he tells us, his "constant companion through life." He proclaims that "whatever purpose or method there may have been in the work of his life was due to his beginning of life with Kant." From his professor's chair at Oxford he gave out: "I have often, in season and out of season, been preaching Kant," and as the Kant centenary drew near he determined "to carry out his long-cherished plan" of translating into English the 'Critik der reinen Vernunft,' for," he tells us, "I thought I was in honor bound not to delay any longer this tribute to the memory of the greatest philosopher of modern times." But all these tributes pale into insignificance alongside of the words of Ludwig Noiré, who tells us in repeated outbursts of enthusiasm that "the palm of valor belongs to the hero of thought who has plunged into the obscurest abysses of the human mind and, with almost superhuman calm, has succeeded in emerging with the key to the mystery in his hand." And not content with this rhapsody, he proceeds to tell us: "If, as no one has yet questioned, reason is the true and only tool and means to which man owes his high place, his successes and his inward nobility, Kant must be recognized with equal unreserve as the greatest benefactor of humanity." This is indeed a lofty pedestal upon which to place the Königsberg philosopher, but with Noiré it is no mere momentary outburst; it is a settled conviction. Once more he makes his oft-urged claim: "It is

therefore not too much to say that Kant is the greatest philosophical genius that has ever dwelt upon earth and the 'Critique of Pure Reason' the highest achievement of human wisdom."

We could duplicate these glowing eulogies from other writers equally famous, but enough has been said to show to even the uninitiated the rank which Kant holds among philosophers and the place assigned by the world to his famous "Critique." Indeed, when we find Kant the idol of his time, the worship of posterity, the praised of men who themselves merited the highest praise; when his genius has become the pride of a great and powerful nation and his name has been placed among—nay, even above—the greatest of earth's great ones, it seems like unparalleled temerity to question his conclusions or challenge his premises; and it sounds like daring folly or midsummer madness to venture the assertion that the name and philosophy of Kant are among the greatest of earth's illusions. When we find men of every intellectual rank and station, men who have been and are the leaders of thought in their own day, men whose names are revered in literature, in philosophy and in science, holding his name in veneration and his system of philosophy as supreme, we are at once impressed with the necessity of proceeding with caution and of risking no statement that cannot be backed by the strongest argument.

Nor is the belief in the supremacy of Kant confined to those who have adopted his philosophical conclusions. Even among Catholics the culture of Kantian ideas seems to be growing. There seems to be a notion in some quarters that sooner or later we must all come to Kant's terms. The modernists in many instances have been led into their vain and foolish speculations because they imagine that all philosophy must sooner or later capitulate to Kant, and that his estimate of the value of all human knowledge, and especially of its limitations, is really the true one. Even the late Orestes A. Brownson—whose ontologism was the direct antithesis of the whole Kantian position—freely admitted that Kant's analysis of reason was complete and final. Professor De Wulf in his recent very able work, "Scholasticism Old and New," tells us that there is a movement of recent date, which "is making rapid progress" by "a group of French Catholics—not merely lay, but clerical—who are enthusiastic supporters of Neo-Kantism." He truthfully says that not only is "the intellectual dictatorship of Kant nowadays officially proclaimed and acknowledged in most universities, especially in France and Germany," but that "from the calm heights of pure speculation, which are familiar to the philosopher alone, Kant's teaching and theories have also found their way into the prefaces of scientific works, and avowedly popularizing treatises; nay, they

have even percolated into our modern dramas and romances." In spite of the condemnation of Kantism by the Holy See, says a recent French writer, "there are Catholics, and even priests, who have, consciously or unconsciously, drawn their inspiration from Kant, and continue to do so, in the hope of building up in this wise a new philosophy that may serve as a basis for revealed faith."

The truth is that all modern philosophy is founded on Kant. The great fundamental questions of philosophy—the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, the freedom of the will—have all been colored with the rays that emanated from Kant's intellect, and those who have written about these subjects since his day have been completely laboring under the spell of Kant. The idealism of Fichte, Schelling and Hegel and the realism of Schopenhauer and Herbart were merely two branches shooting from the common stem of Kant. In France even Comté declared that Kant's metaphysic was a very effective instrument for preparing minds to accept the Positive philosophy. In Great Britain Hamilton and Manzel drew not only their inspiration, but even their thought, from Kant, in their discussion of the relative and the absolute; while John Stuart Mill's abstractions are evidently and everywhere swayed by the new doctrine which had just been introduced in the world of philosophy. Indignantly as he repudiated the charge, Herbert Spencer, throughout his philosophy of the unknowable, was nothing more or less than an echo of Kant. Whole chapters of the "Synthetic Philosophy" are mere developments of the Kantian principles, while the agnosticism of which Spencer and Huxley were the supreme pontiffs was, as has been said, a somewhat shrewd application of Kant's answer to the question: What can we know?

Nor, on second thought, should we, perhaps, be too greatly astonished at the marvelous encomiums which have been heaped on the name of Kant. The very conception of his philosophy was the boldness of genius itself. If we can manage to forget the flimsiness of the material from which it has been constructed, the vast, magnificent, imposing structure which Kant has erected in the philosophical arena rises up before us like a majestic temple, whose architectonics, by their overwhelming grandeur and colossal dimensions, inspire us with something almost akin to awe. There it stands like some mighty Gothic cathedral, with its wondrous apse, its gigantic columns, its magnificent, sweeping arches, its noble architraves. It forms one complete organic whole. As Kant himself has said, "the whole is there for the sake of every part, and every part for the sake of the whole." Indeed, it is only when we can take in the entire organic structure as one great whole, to which even the most important features are subsidiary, and to which even the most insignificant

is absolutely necessary, that we begin to understand the philosophy of Kant. And it is only when we have attained to a complete mastery of Kant that we can obtain a view of the entire structure and comprehend how all the different parts are united in one mighty edifice. Too many readers mistake a part for the whole, and have thus missed the whole force of the Kantian position. This doubtless, to some extent, explains why so many efforts to overthrow the structure have been ineffectual. Once we have grasped the Kantian problem and its alleged solution, however, it is, as Goethe has put it, "like going into a lighted room." The unity of the vast structure at once becomes apparent, and the relative value of its different parts are plainly seen. The architectonics—the scheme, the plan, the design, the details and their mutual relation and dependence, all—are apt to force themselves upon the mind as a production of real genius. The very orientation of the edifice is startling. It is not only a revolution in philosophy, but a complete *volte face* movement. Kant himself says: "The very object of the critique of pure speculative reason consists in this attempt at changing the old procedure of metaphysic and imparting to it the secure method of a science, after having completely revolutionized it." He took especial pride in comparing his work with that of Copernicus, and the parallelism is indeed undeniable. It is, however, when we come to examine the construction of the edifice that we become disillusioned. When to its lines and arches we apply the rules of sound philosophy, we soon discover that we have but come upon the glories of a subterranean cave. Its majestic pillars, its noble curves and dazzling ornaments of reason are no more substantial than the stalagmites of a grotto where every detail is weird and unnatural; the refracted light is strangely jarred and shattered, and the entire effect is bizarre and unreal. Some of his positions are so bewildering that it requires rare self-possession to withstand his sophistry. Like a swimmer in a deep, rough sea, whose safety depends as much on his constitutional powers of physical endurance as on his skill as an expert swimmer, the student of philosophy who embarks on the sea of Kantian speculation has need of rare powers of philosophical endurance. Woe betide the luckless wight who commits himself to the waves of Kant's deep-sea philosophy, to be buffeted by the cross-play of his bewildering arguments, unless he is deeply grounded in the principles of logic, possesses an acute logical perception, and is ever keenly alive to the necessity of guarding himself against the danger of being overwhelmed by the surging sea of sophistry which lies around him on all sides and beneath which lies the unfathomable abyss of Kant's metaphysics. A sure grasp of the principles of sound philosophy, a firm anchorage in the bedrock of logical require-

ment, a mind so constituted by nature that it is, in its keenness and insight, a touchstone of truth, so that it immediately detects the false ring in a philosophical statement and at once discovers the lurking-place of the flaw—these are the requisites for the student of Kant. With these equipments no one need fear to follow Kant, even to the very depths of his almost unfathomable metaphysics. Such an one will soon discover where the misapplied genius of Kant has led him from the path of true reason, involved him in difficulties and contradictions and betrayed him into fallacies so numerous, so entangling, so inextricable, that he is forced, at last, to take refuge in obscurity—where the mind finds no concept to correspond with his language—in order to carry out the self-deception which persuaded him that he was successfully deceiving the rest of mankind. With these equipments we soon perceive the value of Kant's labors. With these lights the eye begins to get accustomed to the twilight, and things begin to appear in their due relations and proportions. The weak points in the edifice are soon discovered. What appeared at first to be of impregnable strength is soon viewed in its true character. The foundations are soon discovered to be of quicksand, the walls of glass, the pillars of pipe clay, the whole a mere mass of illusion and artificial deception. Soon the conviction becomes overwhelming that the skill of the architect is but the cunning of a magician, the splendor of the achievement the mere trickery of a charlatan, the whole the art of the skillful conjuror. The mural splendors are perceived to be but a mass of tangled and deeply interwoven sophistry, which crumbles to pieces the moment we begin to apply to it the axe of sane philosophic thought and the hammer of sound logic. Indeed, when we begin to realize the nature of the structure and the wretched makeshift devices by which the different parts are barely held together to pass muster in the metaphysical twilight, we are apt to feel our indignation rise as we take down one after another the flimsy clasps of fallacy by which the whole is bound together and made to appear as a solid and substantial edifice. At times so intoxicated does Kant seem to have become from the fumes of his own logical opiates that he grows reckless, throws off all restraint and fairly revels and wantons in the luxury of specious sophisms and brilliant but transparent fallacies. Let us quote a single example. It is from his philosophy of nothing.

Of course, every metaphysician has regarded it his bounden duty to give us a philosophy of nothing; and this philosophy has been taken more or less for an explanation of that rather shadowy and intangible element, which in the long run proves to be merely the absence of element of every kind. Usually philosophers are content with limiting positive things to the actual, or the real and the possi-

ble. But Kant is not content with this, and here, as everywhere else, he must have his nothing "according to the categories." Accordingly, in all sober earnestness, and with no vestige of mock gravity, but in all due solemnity, he treats us to his categorical philosophy of nothing. He tells us it is not really necessary, but may seem to be requisite for the completeness of his system. Here are his own words:

"Before leaving this Transcendental Analytic we have to add something which, though in itself of no particular importance, may yet seem to be requisite for the completeness of the system."

This "something," which he "adds," though it is "of no particular importance in itself," is his philosophy of nothing.

"As the categories," he adds, "are the only concepts which apply to objects in general, the distinction whether an object is something or nothing must proceed according to the order and direction of the categories."

Accordingly he arranges his categories, and with all due ceremony passes before each of them the concept of nothing; and with all due precision proceeds formally and systematically to tabulate the results. Here is his own comment on the outcome:

"A table showing this division of the concept of nothing (the corresponding division of the concept of something follows by itself) would have to be arranged as follows." And this is his table:

Nothing,	
as	
I. Empty concept without an object.	
<i>Ens rationis.</i>	
II. Empty object of a	III. Empty intuition without an
concept.	object.
<i>Nihil privativum.</i>	<i>Ens imaginarium.</i>
IV. Empty object without a concept.	
<i>Nihil negativum.</i>	

Here, then, Kant treats us to four different kinds of nothing with all due philosophic solemnity. This, however, as he has just told us, is not an essential part of the edifice; it is a mere ornament placed there for our delectation and edification, as well as to show the art of the builder, and therefore it is unnecessary to make a formal analysis of it. It is merely necessary to call attention to the fact that stately and categorical as is this ostentatious tabulation of the concept of nothing, our knowledge of that impalpable non-entity is very far from being at all enlarged by it. All this classification and division of the concept brings us not one whit nearer to nothing itself. No doubt we can arrive at the idea of nothing

by means of "the categories;" but there are a million other ways in which we can reach it without asking ourselves under what class of concepts we are traveling. When "poor Mother Hubbard" arrived at her bare and boneless cupboard neither she nor her faithful but disappointed dog was obliged to await a classification before discovering the nature of the nothing that confronted them. It was there in all its appalling forcefulness. It mattered little whether it was the form of *nihil privativum* or *ens rationis* that the calamity assumed; awful nothing was there in almost positive realness. No doubt Kant's classification is as good as any other; but how is our acquaintance with the real state of the case at all improved? Are there grades or degrees in the concept of nothing or in that which the concept suggests? Have we a great, greater and greatest nothing? Is the nothing represented by the absence of five dollars as great as that which is represented by the absence of five millions? Is the concept of the latter greater than the concept of the former? And if so, is the concept correct? Would the nothing which resulted from the displacement of Theodore Roosevelt, for instance, be more extensive, more important or more vast in every way than that which would follow the annihilation of an African jungle, or the tall timbers in a Western forest fire, or the abolition of the tariff? These, no doubt, are foolish questions, but they are not one whit more so than the wisdom that underlies Kant's concept of four different kinds of nothing. Why should the notion of a difference between the nothing which would result from the abolition of the stock exchange and that which comes to a disappointed politician seeking a fat office be regarded as sheer folly, while the distinction of the four different kinds of nothing which the negation of the four categories introduces must be regarded as the highest achievement of human wisdom? What is there in the negation of a noumenon, a golden mountain, a square circle or any specific entity that these should be held as a privileged class—the titled aristocracy in the realm of nothing? What we protest against is the underlying suggestion that we are treated to real knowledge under cover of this vain babbling. No assumption of superior wisdom and no counterfeit structure—no matter how imposing—can be permitted totally to eclipse common sense. In the infinite sea of nothing there can be no degrees, no differences and no distinctions; for it is nothing. We cannot even say that all nothings are equal; for there is but one nothing, though the concept of it may be reached by many different routes. As all roads lead to Rome, or all rivers run to the sea, into the boundless ocean of nothing all negations finally lead. The moment we reach the shore-line of nothing, however, all actualities and all possibilities equally cease. The non-existence of the real

is not distinguishable from the non-existence of the logical. One nothing in that abyss is not greater than another nothing. The loftiest headlands, be they real or be they possible, cease when they reach the vast ocean. All Kant's concepts of nothing, "according to the order and direction of the categories," are simply his notions of something—although that something may be merely a fancy—transferred to the realm of nothing. His *ens rationis*, his *nihil privativum*, his *ens imaginarium*, his *nihil negativum* cannot with any semblance of truth be predicated of nothing; they are mere notions borrowed from the positive world which he has transferred to the negative realm or realm of nothing. He may pursue them in thought down to the border line of nothing; but the moment he embarks on that sea all his concepts vanish as if they never had been. What Kant sees, as he traces his categories down to negations and beyond, are the headlands of his own positive thoughts and conceptions; but when he undertakes to carry these out on the bosom of the ocean of nothingness he is simply deceiving himself. He mistakes the shadows which the headlands of his categories cast on the ocean of nothing for concepts of nothing itself. The matter itself, ocean of nothing for concepts of nothing itself. No one understood this better than Kant himself, and when it serves his purpose he is ready to admit it. Indeed, he quite explicitly admits that, "No one can definitely think a negation unless he founds it on the opposite affirmation." The matter itself, however, is, as Kant says, of little importance, and would hardly be worthy of notice were it not that it is a striking illustration of the pompous pretensions of Kant when he undertakes to dispense wisdom to the generations of mankind. We are forced to resent the insinuation that Kant is here teaching us something about nothing, when in reality all that he actually does is to follow his concepts of the positive to the very line of negation and then delude himself that he can carry these positive concepts beyond that line, and establish them beyond it, in all their force and efficacy.

We have been drawn away almost unwittingly, by the peculiarity of Kant's views on the subject of nothing, from the real scope of this article, which was to show from extrinsic evidence that Kant was a mere sophist. However, since we have pursued Kant thus far on this somewhat irrelevant subject, let us follow him still farther; for Kant again returns to the subject of nothing and again deals so peculiarly with this "manifold of nothing" that one is led to suspect that the philosophy of nothing was specially introduced in order that it might be of some future service.

Readers of the "Critique of Pure Reason" will remember how in his antinomies, to the utter dismay of the reader, and almost with

a sort of ghoulis glee, Kant, in imitation of the Eleatic sophist, was wont to bring forward irrefragable proofs for the existence of God, the freedom of the will, the simplicity of the soul and a limited universe; and how he then proceeded to demonstrate by what he calls "equally strong proofs" the exact contradictory of all these; that is, to show that there is no God, that the will is not free, that the soul is a compound substance, that the world is infinite. It is in his so-called disproof of the simplicity of the soul that he again introduces his conception of nothing. We are not here analyzing the argument of disproof—save only inasmuch as it is affected by his metaphysics of nothing.

The method of disproof is peculiarly Kant's own and consists in the attempt to show that "the existence of the absolutely simple cannot be proved from any experience or perception;" that the absolutely simple "is a mere idea;" that the objective reality of this idea "can never be shown in any possible experience;" that being without objective reality "it is without an object," and that consequently it can be nothing more than a mere idea. This is his proof in outline. But he undertakes to prove his minor premise, viz., that the idea of the absolutely simple is without objective reality, and this is how he does it:

"For if we assumed that an object of this transcendental idea might be found in experience, the empirical intuition of some one object would have to be such as to contain absolutely nothing manifold by the side of each other, and combined to a unity."

We are of opinion that the language which Kant here uses is quite a sufficient answer to the question at the head of this article. We believe that we might search the history of philosophy through and through without meeting a fitting parallel for this extraordinary statement and still more extraordinary language. But more follows. He immediately adds:

"But as, from our not being conscious of such a manifold, we cannot form any valid conclusion as to the entire impossibility of it in any objective intuition, and as without this no absolute simplicity can be established, it follows that such simplicity cannot be inferred from any perception whatsoever."

Here Kant makes the attempt to turn at least one of his four different kinds of nothing to good account; for "nothing manifold by the side of each other, and combined to a unity" is evidently that particular kind of nothing which "must proceed according to the order and direction of the categories." Specifically it is that kind which he places in the fourth division, viz., "an empty object without a concept," or negative nothing—"nihil negativum." This *nihil negativum* always implies a contradiction in terms, is identical

with the metaphysical impossibility of other philosophers, and of it Kant himself admits that we cannot form any concept. A square circle, a triangle composed of only two straight lines, two adjacent hills without an intervening valley—all these and several other contradictory ideas like them belong to Kant's fourth class of nothing. They are nothing objectively; we can form even no concept of them; and their very terms contradict each other. In other words, they are metaphysical impossibilities.

Now Kant's argument against the simplicity of the soul—as quoted above in the second extract from him—is, that since we are not conscious of this impossible concept—this “nothing manifold by the side of each other, and combined to a unity”—we cannot prove that it does not exist; or to use Kant's own verbiage given above, “we cannot form any valid conclusion as to the entire impossibility of it in any objective intuition;” therefore this absurd, contradictory and impossible concept may have somewhere an objective validity after all; this impossible may be possible. As we have never met with it, it may exist somewhere. It matters not that it implies a contradiction in terms; inasmuch as we have never seen it, we cannot declare it impossible. But as the utter removal of even its possibility is necessary—as he says—before we can have room for the simple, it follows that the simple does not exist. We have tried to simplify Kant's argument, which, to all appearance, he has wrapped up in terms as abstruse as possible, in order to avoid detection. But when brought out into open day and put in all its naked meaning its absurdity is clearly manifest. What would we think of a man who would base an argument on the proposition that because mankind had never within the range of human experience met with such a thing as the contradictory and impossible square circle—so long as he had not met with it—he could not pronounce it impossible, and that, therefore, the length of a line drawn from the centre of a square to one of its angles might, for aught we know, be precisely the same as the length of a line drawn from the same centre to the point of bisection of one of its sides? Certainly if the square circle be not an impossibility—and the falsity of the statement rests upon this impossibility—the statement may be true. Yet this is precisely the argument of Kant here against the simplicity of the soul. Or, again, supposing a carpenter should argue that “since we are not conscious” of two straight lines enclosing a space, “we cannot form any valid conclusion as to the entire impossibility of it in any objective intuition, that since we have never seen a space enclosed by merely two lines we are not in a position to say it cannot be done; and that, therefore, it would be perfectly proper for him to build you a house with merely two sides; he would be doing precisely

what Kant has undertaken to do when he drew his conclusion against the simplicity of the soul from the fact that we have never met with the "nothing manifold by the side of each other, and combined to a unity." The fact is that Kant has here unconsciously laid down an entirely new principle for the treatment of these contradictory concepts which are not only impossible, but unthinkable. Absurd, impossible and unthinkable though they be, he maintains that for that very reason we cannot regard them impossible.

This, however, is not the only way in which Kant's anthithetical argument is open to criticism or in which it can be convicted of mere sophistry. In the first of the two quotations from his argument given above he tells us that the transcendental object which corresponds to the transcendental idea of the absolutely simple cannot be found in experience, and proceeds to argue thus:

"For, if we assumed that an object of this transcendental idea might be found in experience, the empirical intuition of some one object would have to be such as to contain absolutely nothing manifold by the side of each other, and combined to a unity."

Now this is a most remarkable statement. Kant does not know what is meant by this "nothing manifold by the side of each other, and combined to a unity." It is an empty object; it is not even a concept. The very notion is in contradiction with itself. It is contradictory, impossible, unknowable, unthinkable. And yet such, he assures us, are the exigencies of the case that he finds himself forced into a recognition and an admittance of this wholly unthinkable thought. We never hear of any one being driven through the sheer force of logic into any of the other contradictory and unthinkable concepts which range themselves under the head of the *nihil negativum*. Why, if the objective reality of the absolutely simple should happen to be once admitted, should Kant be forcibly driven into this horror of horrors? This he does not explain. But is not Kant otherwise a trifle too definite? How does he know that it is precisely into this "nothing manifold" and nothing else that he is forced, since he does not even know what this strange "nothing manifold" is, and cannot have a concept of it which does not contradict itself? How does he know so definitely and accurately what he does not know at all? How does he know with such certainty that he must accept a thing whose existence is not only highly problematical, but logically impossible and wholly unthinkable? These are but a few of the questions which Kant must answer before his disproof of the absolutely simple can be admitted to the realm of philosophy at all, or lifted out of the sewer of wretched quibble.

But we are not yet done with this curious Kantian metaphysical

entity of an "absolutely nothing manifold by the side of each other, and combined to a unity." We have yet to do what we set out to do, viz., to analyze this twin brother to the square circle, which Kant used as a stalking horse to hide the wretched sophistry in which he revels so riotously. Let us now proceed to the task. What is really meant by this "nothing manifold by the side of each other, and combined to a unity?" It is very doubtful whether Kant, in his anxiety to emulate the historic Eleatic philosopher in his famous antinomies, stopped to ask himself whether or no it had any meaning. Indeed, it is very doubtful whether Kant understood the significance of his own words throughout this sophistry at all; and to all appearances his only anxiety was to throw dust enough to blur the vision of his readers. So earnest was he in this, that he seems to have forgotten the thread of his sophistical argument, for he has made the second half contradict the first. But that is not the question here, and we must hasten to the analysis of this extraordinary "nothing manifold by the side of each other, and combined to a unity." The expression is so absurd in every way that for the moment the reader is apt to regard it as a misprint, or at least to incline to the belief that Kant wrote it without at all adverting to its meaning. Such a conclusion would, however, be a grievous mistake; for throughout the remainder of the argument he shows very plainly that he used the term with full deliberation and intended that it should be enshrined with all due honor as a special adornment of his philosophy.

Now it is quite evident that "nothing manifold," if it represents an idea at all, must mean just one of two things. It must mean either nothing at all, or it must mean the simple. It cannot possibly have any other meaning. By "nothing manifold," then, we must understand either nothing or the simple. Nothing that is manifold can be simple and nothing that is simple can be manifold; consequently the simple equals nothing manifold and vice versa. If we take this "nothing manifold" as nothing, it makes little difference whether we take it as a manifold nothing or a nothing manifold; the result is the same—nothing—in either case. In a manifold nothing it is evident that there is the idea of just one single nothing—which is, of course, nothing; while in nothing manifold there may be implied the notion of more than one nothing and these nothings manifolded. But even in this case the final issue is nothing. For we may place one "nothing manifold" by the side of another "nothing manifold" and this again by the side of a third "nothing manifold," and go on repeating the process to the crack of doom, and it is evident that nothing will be the final result. All these nothings can never combine to make a unity. If, on the other hand, we take the simple

as the meaning of this "nothing manifold," we cannot, it is true, have this simple by the side of each other; for in the simple there is no each and there is no other, and consequently no "each other." Neither does this simple "combine to a unity;" for there are no parts to combine; and it is already unity. Now we have here a result that is absolutely startling. Kant has adopted this singular method of reasoning for the express purpose of demonstrating the impossibility of the simple; but he is merely hoist with his own petard. Here is his reasoning, as we have already seen: "But as we, from our not being conscious of such a manifold (nothing manifold), cannot form any valid conclusion as to the entire impossibility of it in objective intuition, and as without this no absolute simplicity can be established, it follows that such simplicity cannot be inferred from any perception whatsoever." Now, if "we cannot form any valid conclusion as to the entire impossibility" of this "nothing manifold" simply "from our not being conscious of it;" and as this "nothing manifold," about whose impossibility we can form no valid conclusion, is, as we have just seen, nothing else than the simple itself, it follows by an absolute necessity, according to Kant's own reasoning, that we cannot form any valid conclusion as to the entire impossibility of it; that is, of the simple. Now this is a result exactly opposite to that which Kant has undertaken to prove and which he thinks he has actually proved, viz., the impossibility of the simple. If we take the alternate meaning of "nothing manifold," viz., nothing, we shall find that several different conclusions can be arrived at according to the meaning we assign to "nothing," and among them Kant's conclusion; but it is not necessary to pursue it here. The fact is that Kant throughout juggles with thought, juggles with words, juggles with logic, juggles with metaphysic, juggles with definition, juggles with everything. Indeed, here—as the result of his jugglery—we have even a more startling condition than that on which he plumed himself when he announced the equal value of proof and disproof in his antinomies. In his theses and anti-theses he reaches his opposite conclusions by two different lines of thought, while here from one and the same argument we have two opposite conclusions exactly contradictory of each other. Kant started out to prove the impossibility of the simple, but the line of argument which he uses is such that he actually proves at the same time the impossibility of that impossibility.

Indeed, when we find an honored name like that of Kant linked with such evident sophistry, when we find men of otherwise acute intellect so easily duped by abstract reasoning, and when we find philosophical deception so easy that a plausible fallacy can impose upon the world for generations, we are strongly inclined to doubt

the value of all metaphysical speculation where, owing to the abstraction, the most audacious quibbles can escape the observation of even the keenest intellects. After reading Kant we are not surprised at the enormities of *Pragmatism*. It is indeed true that the instances to which we have called attention are to a certain extent exceptional in Kant; that is, not all his numberless fallacies are so bold and glaring. Ordinarily he takes pains to hide the sophistry even from himself. Here, however, he seems to have grown bold and daring and even utterly reckless. He seems to have a boundless faith in the utter gullibility of mankind, and treats his readers with such impudence and effrontery that he does not regard it necessary to conceal his quibbles. Elsewhere he is much more guarded, has a care for the amenities of logic, and at least makes an effort to maintain the forms and appearances of philosophical argument. Of this, however, we shall have ample opportunity to judge in future articles.

We have been drawn away from the original purpose of this article by these tempting follies of Kant, and we must return. That purpose was, as has been said, to show from extrinsic evidence that Kant was nothing more than a mere sophist. This it is easy to show:

1. From his deceptions;
2. From his contradictions;
3. From his deliberate obscurities;
4. From his juggling with the categories;
5. From his empirical psychology;
6. From his antinomies (of which we have already given a sample);
7. From his discrepancies of statement in the different editions.

By extrinsic evidence we mean not so much the testimony of others, as of Kant himself, where he betrays his mental processes; by intrinsic evidence we mean the arguments themselves in which the sophistry appears. Of evidence of both kinds there is enough and to spare, and we hope to furnish enough of each kind to satisfy our readers. In the present article the intrinsic proofs have trespassed on the territory of the extrinsic, and there is now barely room to introduce the latter. In future articles we hope to be able to keep each within its own domain.

By Kant's deceptions we mean the many ways in which he has tried to deceive his readers, whether by covering up the weakness of his own position; by making false and misleading statements; by pretending that he was following principles when he was merely experimenting with hypotheses; or by the omissions, additions and practical retractions which are to be met with in a comparison of his first edition with the second and subsequent ones.

We are of opinion that one of the most useful purposes to which a life could be devoted would be a complete expose of the Kantian humbug. And we believe that, for a complete exposition, a whole lifetime would be needed. But neither the most valuable life, nor the most shining talents, nor the most brilliant attainments devoted to a refutation of Kant could be regarded as wasted. Indeed, we believe that all these could not be dedicated to a nobler work or one more advantageous to philosophy, to theology, to physical science, than the dethronement of the false idol before whose altar men have so long superstitiously worshiped. The student of Kant who has read only the second or some subsequent edition of his works cannot be said to have an acquaintance with the real Kant. To get a clear view of the real Kant there must be a comparison of the first edition with the second. It is such a comparison that reveals to us the real man as well as the real merits of his philosophy.

We have little in common with Schopenhauer except, perhaps, a love of philosophy; but no one who has a complete knowledge of Kant can deny that on many points the father of German pessimism has laid bare the weaknesses of the Königsberg metaphysician. We are very far from being in agreement with Schopenhauer in his extravagant estimate of the value of the portions of Kant's work which were printed in the first edition, but omitted in the second; but there is little doubt that when he tells us that "Kant gives hollow, nay, untrue, excuses for the elimination of" these portions; that "he (Kant) does not confessedly wish that what was omitted should have been thought to have been retracted by him;" and that "the dishonesty of Kant's plea becomes clear if we compare the second with the first edition;" he has interpreted Kant correctly and penetrated not only beneath the surface of the philosophy, but the disguise of the philosopher as well. In perfect keeping with Schopenhauer's views is the palpable dishonesty manifest in Kant's dealing with the definition of his categories. We are not aware that any one has called attention to this bold bit of buccaneering, and we shall close this article with it.

The categories are the very corner-stone of Kant's philosophy. Take them away and his entire contention is left hanging in mid-air. Together with his transcendental æsthetic they constitute the entire foundation on which his whole philosophy is based. Kant himself tells us that "they have given him the greatest trouble." Without them there would never have been the new Copernican philosophy—as Kant prided himself in regarding it. Surely, if a new philosophy was to be founded in which all our old notions were to be reversed as completely as Copernicus reversed our notions in astronomy, the way should be made clear and nothing should be

covered up or concealed. Above and before all the basis of the new philosophical doctrine to which we were expected to subscribe should be sound and without cavil. If we were to have a new science of metaphysic, as Kant intended—nay, as he boasted of having given us—the foundations of that new science should not be suspicious or dubious; they should admit of clear explanation and full elucidation. Perhaps there is no philosopher who has insisted more than Kant on the importance and necessity of such explanation. His opinion was that if we are to have a science of anything we must begin with clear and accurate definition. He himself has pointed out that without adequate definition there can be nothing but confusion and misunderstanding. Quite naturally, therefore, the reader of Kant expects that, since the categories are the basis of his new science of metaphysic, the definition of the categories will be clear and unequivocal, and that at the proper time he will be furnished with an adequate explanation of them. Kant himself was evidently of the same opinion, for he hastens to anticipate the legitimate expectations of the reader on this point. But does he furnish him with the requisite explanation or supply the adequate definition? Far from it. Kant's deliberate deception here is the scandal of philosophy. Out of his own mouth he is convicted of falsehood. Sophistry might be pardonable; but what must be thought of plain lying? Fully comprehending that he could give no adequate explanation of his categories and finding himself powerless to define them, he resorts to the practices of the confidence man. When the proper time arrives for the definition of the categories, with all blithe and winning ingenuousness, Kant nonchalantly tells his reader:

"I intentionally omit here the definition of these categories, though I may be in possession of them. In the sequel I shall dissect these concepts so far as is sufficient for the purpose of the method which I am preparing."

Nothing could be more reassuring than these apparently straightforward words of promise, especially from one who has so high an estimate of the value of definitions; and the reader, thus assured, accepts the promise without question or misgiving. Indeed, he would be a mere churl to do otherwise with one who is as considerate and who has so lively a sense of the requirements of the case. Kant, however, does not let the matter rest here, but proceeds with the smooth address of the confidence man to give us the reason of the "intentional omission here." He adds:

"In a complete system of pure reason they (the definitions) might be justly demanded, but at present they would only make us lose sight of the principal object of our investigation by rousing doubts

and objections which, without injury to our essential object, may well be relegated to another time."

This explanation is not so reassuring, and a suspicion begins to dawn that everything is not exactly right, but all suspicions vanish before the words which follow:

"The little I have said ought to be sufficient to show clearly that a complete dictionary of these concepts, with all requisite explanations, is not only possible, but easy."

We begin to be ashamed of our suspicions as we read these words of confident assurance. Are we not dealing with a man of honor who knows the value—the importance—the necessity of definitions? Is he not preaching definitions and clearness in season and out of season? It is true "here," and now would be the proper place for these same definitions. But why give place to squeamishness? Have we not been assured that the "omission of the definitions" has been "intentional" and merely temporary? Have we not been assured that even "a complete dictionary" of them, "with all requisite explanations, is not only possible, but easy?" Ought not what Kant has said "be sufficient to show" that there is no difficulty in furnishing "a whole dictionary" of definitions of these categories if need be? With our suspicions thus set at rest, and confident that, in accordance with the promise, the missing definitions will turn up at the proper juncture, we pursue our acquaintance with the new philosophy on the Copernican plan—forgetful, perhaps, of definitions or their absence—when on reaching the third chapter of the "Transcendental Analytic" we are suddenly awakened with a rude shock as we read:

"When representing the table of the categories we dispensed with the definition of every one of them, because at that time it seemed unnecessary for our purpose, which concerned their synthetical use only, and because entailing responsibilities which we were not bound to incur."

This is somewhat startling. It has a different tone from the words of transparent candor which won us away from our suspicions. But there is something more. He continues:

"This was not a mere excuse, but a very important prudential rule, viz., not to rush into definitions and to attempt or pretend completeness or precision in the definition of a concept, when one or other of its characteristic marks is sufficient without a complete enumeration of all that constitute the whole concept."

Matters now begin to get serious. It now begins to look as though bruin had regarded the time as fully arrived when he may safely cast off his disguise; accordingly the shining ivory begins to appear. The soft, purring accents are dispensed with and we hear

instead the sharp gritting of teeth. It is evident that our leader through the quagmires of his deduction considers that he has sufficiently blinded us with his meaningless verbiage and so confused matters that it is now perfectly safe to disclose the true state of the case. He had taken pains previously to pave the way for his *finale*. He had already in his confidence-winning manner told us "the deduction of the categories is beset with so many difficulties and obliges us to enter so deeply into the first grounds of the possibility of our knowledge in general, that I thought it more expedient, in order to avoid the lengthiness of a complete theory to add the following four paragraphs with a view to *preparing* rather than *instructing* (italics ours) the reader. After that only, I shall in the third section proceed to a systematical discussion of these elements of the understanding. *Till then the reader must not be frightened by a certain amount of obscurity which at first is inevitable on a road never trodden before, but which, when we come to that section, will give way, I hope, to a complete comprehension.* (Italics ours.) It is quite evident, then, that the postponement of the definition beyond the due time was for a purpose. It is equally evident that that purpose was to temporize, to gain time, in order to befog and bewilder the reader. The path was "beset with difficulties." In the midnight darkness through which the reader was being led the guide keeps calling to him "not to be frightened by the obscurity." The leader has deliberately led him around by a circuitous and dangerous path, instead of going directly to the point and facing whatever difficulties may present themselves. All this is manifestly for the bewilderment of the reader—that he may forget all about the categories or their definitions, or that in the obscurity he may be persuaded that a sufficient substitute for them has been provided, and that, consequently, they may be dispensed with. All the while, however, the assurance has been held out that the definitions are "easy and possible"—close at hand, even by the dictionary—full. And now when we have reached the promised land of "the third section" where we are assured of "a complete comprehension" of everything, where the clouds will lift and darkness disperse, the author changes his tone. He regards himself as safely out of the woods and throws off the mask. He doubtless believes that the reader is so befogged and bewildered by the darkness and the bypaths that it is perfectly safe to reveal to him the true state of things; for he is so "frightened" by the obscurity that he has forgotten even the necessity of these definitions. The reader thus "prepared," as Kant himself has put it, but not "instructed," is supposed to be ready to accept anything. Thus "prepared" and arrived at the trysting place for the "systematical discussion" and "complete

comprehension" of these concepts and their definitions, the whole atmosphere changes, and we are told that Kant's cautious postponement was prudent, for:

"When representing the table of the categories we dispensed with the definition of every one of them, because at that time it seemed unnecessary for our purpose, which concerned their synthetical use only, and because entailing responsibilities which we were not bound to incur. This was not a mere excuse, but a very prudential rule, viz., not to rush into definitions and to attempt or pretend completeness or precision in the definition of a concept, when one or other of its characteristic marks is sufficient without a complete enumeration of all that constitute the whole concept. Now, however, we can perceive that this caution had a deeper ground, namely, *that we could not have defined them even if we had wished.*"

This, then, was the true state of the case from the outset, and Kant has simply been playing the part of the artful dodger and deceiving his readers. It is with something of a shock we discover that the great philosopher's plea for a postponement of the required definitions was but the wily strategy of a mere trickster. He has led his readers through the dark valley for the simple purpose of awing them into humble and unquestioning submission. His plea is a mere makeshift, and the entire scheme has been a clever contrivance—which has been more or less successful—for the introduction of a philosophy which, if advocated on its merits and without recourse to mystery, the world would be slow to accept. Once introduced, however, Kant becomes confident and dogmatical. An apologetic word or two is introduced, indeed, in order to quiet any qualms that might linger to trouble right reason; and, like all revolutions where the usurper has awed the citizens into a belief in his spurious claims, all is quiet again. "It seems to be something strange and even illogical," he condescendingly admits—by way of conciliation of those whose reason has been outraged—"that there should be a concept which must have a meaning and yet is incapable of any explanation. But," he adds, with a sort of forced resignation, "the case of these categories is peculiar"—a sentiment in which his readers can without any scruple heartily join. His conscience, however, seems still to trouble him, and he finds it necessary to offer some explanation to his reason which he has outraged and subdued. From time to time he returns to the subject in order to quiet the claims of reason, and so we find him explaining to himself rather than to his readers that "they (these categories) are needed to define an object and cannot therefore be defined themselves." At times he seems to assume the rôle of the spiritualistic medium in matters philosophical where special powers are necessary

in order to be admitted to the arcana of transcendental philosophy and where a special interpreter is needed to reveal the mysterious secrets to the rest of mankind. The mystic screen, the necessary darkened room, the vague and meaningless expressions which may mean anything or nothing—it is simply the spiritualistic methods introduced into philosophy and the science of metaphysics. Thus in the second edition, which was prepared with such care, he again reverts to the question and tells us: "In one word, none of these concepts (the categories) admit of being *authenticated* (italics Kant's own), nor can their real possibility be proved, if all sensuous intuition (the only one which we possess) is removed, and there remains in that case a *logical* possibility only, that is, that a concept (a thought) is possible." (Parentheses Kant's.)

We thus find that Kant, in his dealings with the definitions of his categories on which his whole philosophy is based, resorts to petty fraud of the most despicable kind in order to hoodwink his readers—possibly himself. He first pretends to postpone the definitions. Next he declares that, although postponed, these definitions are not only possible, but easy. Finally, when he thinks he has persuaded his readers that the definitions can be dispensed with, he admits—what he knew from the outset—that definitions of them are impossible; and finally he seeks to justify his absurd position by undertaking to explain why an explanation of them is impossible. The sewers of philosophy might be searched in vain for ranker sophistry than that which Kant thus seeks to impose on us in relation to the defaulting definitions of his categories.

Alas, for the honor of philosophy, that we should be obliged to conclude that no one could be more fully aware of this than Kant himself! And the damning proof of this lies in the fact that it was Kant himself who took the pains to conceal the contradiction in his second edition. The reader searches in vain throughout the whole second edition for the evidence which has been just laid before him. Manifestly Kant discovered how damaging to his contention was the appearance of this contradiction in his first edition. He, therefore, took especial pains to wholly eliminate from the second edition everything that sounded like an admission that a definition of the categories is impossible. All statements to this effect he rigidly excluded. The words of promise indeed remain; but, as far as Kant is concerned, the reader of the second and subsequent editions will never know why this promise has not been fulfilled. Truth and honesty never resort to deceitful measures. No philosophy with which we are acquainted has stooped to such tactics of deliberate fraud, duplicity and deceit, save and except the philosophy which claims to have revolutionized the world. The children of

deceit are wiser in their generation than the children of truth. In his second edition Kant retains, indeed, the words of promise of his forthcoming definitions; but he very sapiently omitted all allusion to the reasons why he failed to fulfill that promise.

Nor should the fact be overlooked here—although it belongs more properly to the intrinsic, rather the extrinsic, evidence—that from Kant's confessed inability to define his categories, there results not only an awkward, but a fatal situation for the Kantian philosophy. The fatal flaw invalidates the whole work; for it is fundamental and vital. The categories are the very corner-stone of the Kantian edifice. On them the whole structure rests. Without them the whole edifice crumbles to atoms. No one understood this better than Kant. He realized his difficulty when the time for definition arrived. He felt the necessity of a proper definition of them. He was well aware that unless he could furnish an explanation it could be retorted upon him that he did not understand the nature of the corner-stone on which he was building. Without such an understanding he was manifestly building at haphazard—for aught he knew on quicksand. If he himself could not understand his categories, how could he explain them to others? Definitions were, therefore, above and before all imperative. He is finally forced to confess, however, that they are likewise impossible. Consequently the categories may mean one thing or they mean just the opposite. The reader cannot explain them. The author cannot explain them. They are utterly inexplicable. And so the entire Kantian edifice is resting on a puffball. A beautiful basis for a new science, surely! The much-lauded "Critique of Pure Reason"—for all its imposing architectonics and airy transcendental grandeur—is but a swinging nest hanging by an unknown and indefinable thread—a somewhat strange support for a philosophy whose leading feature is the answer to the question: What can I know? It would seem like the irony of fate that its very foundation, as well as that of agnosticism, should be itself unknowable and indefinable.

In this article we have been merely introducing the subject of Kant's shortcomings. We have given but one instance of his duplicity—sophistry is too mild a term. His "Critique" teems, however, with instances of this kind; and this is but the extrinsic proof that Kant was a mere sophist. When we come to his arguments themselves—the intrinsic testimony—we shall find sophistry underlying every single argument. It is difficult to understand how the synthetic faculty should have such power over the minds of men that no matter how flimsy the edifice, how faulty the construction, or how tawdry the plan—provided it appears as one organic whole and has the semblance of novelty—it passes for the work of real

genius. The constructive faculty is indeed admirable. Synthetic power is eagerly to be desired; but the construction of a fool's paradise is a poor use to which to devote high gifts and talents, and the synthesis of a philosophy or a metaphysic which is either brimming over with fallacies or filled with obscurities—which not even the author can fathom—is sorry employment for a real or supposed genius. Certainly to construct a philosophy without being able to define the concepts on which it is based is the height of insanity. Without clear definition we cannot advance a single step in any science. Each step must blaze the way for the next; otherwise we are but as the blind leading the blind. Kant was fully aware of this. He made several vain attempts at definition of the categories, each time to be thrown back by the impossibilities of the task. He then resorts to sophistry, and even this failing to bring the desired result, he at last takes refuge in deception. Hence what he has given us as a philosophy has no more solid foundation than an empty air castle.

In the face of all this, what is to be thought of Kant's pompous manifesto in his second edition, where he speaks so egotistically of the magnificent bequest which he was leaving to posterity? The rich inheritance, the splendid treasure to be handed down to future generations, is a veritable golden mountain, an *ens imaginarium* or an *ens rationis*, as you may choose to take it—one of his four different kinds of nothing—a castle in the air—a philosophy without a foundation. Nevertheless, with a self-complacency which is exhilarating he says: "If, then, it may not be too difficult to leave a bequest to posterity, in the shape of a systematical metaphysic, carried out according to the critique of pure reason, such a bequest is not to be considered, therefore, as of little value, whether we regard the improvement received through the secure method of a science, in place of its groundless groping and uncritical vagaries, or whether we look to the better employment of the time of our inquiring youth"—and so on to the end of the chapter. If ever there was "groundless groping" or "uncritical vagary" in the realm of metaphysic, it surely is in the "Critique of Pure Reason," which is built on an unproved and unprovable hypothesis, instead of on sound and incontrovertible principles—a hypothesis so purely problematical that its author admits that he cannot define it, and then alarmed at the confession, takes pains to expunge every trace of the admission from all future editions. And yet in the face of all this—perhaps through ignorance of it—the schools have meekly accepted Kant's "bequest" and humbly admitted that they were grateful for the darkness in which they tried to persuade themselves that they were able to see, but in which they were only to enter

on a new era of "groundless groping" and "uncritical vagary." And this is "the secure method of a science" to which we are treated and for which we are expected to be thankful! We have merely glanced at one or two flaws in the foundation of the edifice; but these are not the only ones to be met with there. When we come to the superstructure we shall find that compared with it the foundation is sound and impregnable. Here we must stop for the present. We think, however, that we have said enough to show that if there be any pretentious work which stands in need of honest and just criticism it is that which to-day is made the basis of all the philosophy taught in our schools and colleges—the "Critique of Pure Reason."

SIMON FITZSIMONS.

Lima, New York.

LETTER OF OUR HOLY FATHER POPE PIUS X.

TO THE FRENCH ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS.

To our well-beloved sons Peter Hector Coullie, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, Archbishop of Lyons; Louis Henry Lucon, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, Archbishop of Rheims; Paulin Peter Andrieu, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, Archbishop of Bordeaux; and to all our other venerable brothers, the French Archbishops and Bishops.

PIUS X. POPE.

Venerable Brethren:

OUR apostolic office makes it a duty for us to watch over the purity of the faith and the integrity of Catholic discipline, and to preserve the faithful from the dangers of error and evil, especially when the error and evil are presented in attractive language, which, concealing vagueness of idea and equivocation of expression under the ardor of sentiment and the noise of loud-sounding words, may inflame hearts for seductive but fatal causes. Such were formerly the doctrines of the pretended philosophers of the eighteenth century, those of the Revolution and of liberalism, so often condemned; such are to-day also the theories of the Sillon, which, under brilliant and generous appearances, too often want clearness, logic and truth, and in this respect do not savor of the Catholic and French genius.

We have long hesitated, venerable brethren, to express our thoughts on the Sillon publicly and solemnly. Your anxieties had to swell ours to decide us to do so. For we love the courageous youth enrolled under the flag of the Sillon, and we believe them in many respects worthy of praise and admiration. We love their chiefs, in whom we are pleased to recognize elevated souls, superior to vulgar passions, and animated by the most noble enthusiasm for good. You have seen them, venerable brethren, penetrated by a lively sentiment of human fraternity, taking the lead of those who labor and suffer in order to lift them up, sustained in their devotion by their love for Jesus Christ and the exemplary practice of religion.

It was on the morning after the memorable encyclical of our predecessor, Leo XIII., of happy memory. The Church, through the mouth of her supreme head, had poured out on the humble and the lowly all the tenderness of her maternal heart and seemed to call earnestly for an ever-increasing number of champions of the restoration of order and justice in our distracted society. Did not the founders of the Sillon come at the opportune moment to place at

her service young and believing troops for the realization of her desires and her hopes? And as a matter of fact the Sillon raised amongst the working classes the standard of Jesus Christ, the sign of salvation for individuals and nations, nourishing its social activity at the sources of grace, imposing respect for religion upon classes the least favorable, accustoming the ignorant and the impious to hear the Word of God, and often, at controversial conferences, in the face of hostile audiences, rising up, provoked by a question or a sarcasm, to proclaim its faith proudly and determinedly. These were the happy times of the Sillon; this was its best side, which explains the encouragements and approbations it plentifully received from the Bishops and the Holy See, whilst the true character of the Sillonist movement was concealed by that religious fervor.

For it must be said, venerable brethren, our hopes have in great measure been deceived. A day came when the Sillon revealed to the eyes of those who could see clearly disquieting tendencies. The Sillon went astray. Could it have been otherwise? Its founders, young, enthusiastic and full of confidence in themselves, were not sufficiently armed with historic science, sound philosophy and solid theology to meet without danger the difficult social problems towards which they were drawn by their activity and their heart, and to fortify themselves on the ground of doctrine and obedience against liberal and Protestant infiltrations.

Counsels have not been wanting to them. Admonitions came after the counsels; but we have had the sorrow to see both advice and reproaches pass unnoticed and remain without result. Things came to this pitch that we should betray our duty if we kept silence any longer. We owe the truth to our dear children of the Sillon whom a generous ardor has carried away into a path as false as it is dangerous. We owe it to a great number of seminarists and priests whom the Sillon has drawn away, if not from authority, at least from the direction and influence of their Bishops; we owe it, in fine, to the Church in which the Sillon sows division and the interests of which it compromises.

First of all we must characterize severely the pretension of the Sillon to escape the direction of ecclesiastical authority. The leaders of the Sillon, in effect, maintain that they work upon a ground which is not that of the Church; that they pursue only interests of the temporal order and not those of the spiritual order; that the Sillonist is simply a Catholic devoted to the cause of the laboring classes, to democratic works, and drawing the energy of his devotion from the practice of his faith; but that he remains, neither more nor less than Catholic artisans, laborers, economists and politicians, subject to the rules of morality common to all without being bound

more or less than they are in any special manner by ecclesiastical authority.

The reply to these subterfuges is only too easy. For whom will they make believe that the Catholic Sillonists, that the priests and the seminarists enrolled in their ranks have in view in their social activity only the temporal interests of the working classes? In our opinion to maintain that would be to insult them. The truth is that the heads of the Sillon proclaim themselves unalterable idealists, that they pretend to raise up the laboring classes by first elevating the human conscience, that they have a social doctrine and religious and philosophic principles for the reconstruction of society upon a new plan, that they have a special conception of human dignity, liberty, justice and fraternity, and that in order to justify their social dreams they appeal to the Gospel interpreted in their own manner, and, what is still more serious, to a disfigured and diminished Christ. Moreover, they teach these ideas in their educational societies and inculcate them upon their comrades; they also transfer them to their works. They are, therefore, really professors of social, civic and religious morality; and whatever modifications they may introduce in the organization of the Sillonist movement we have the right to say that the object of the Sillon, its character and its action, belong to the moral domain, which is the proper domain of the Church, and that in consequence the Sillonists deceive themselves when they believe that they are working upon a ground on the limits of which expire the rights of the doctrinal and directive power of the ecclesiastical authority.

If their doctrines were free from error it would, nevertheless, be a grave failure in Catholic discipline to withdraw themselves obstinately from the direction of those who have received from heaven the mission to guide individuals and societies in the straight way of truth and of well-doing. But, as we have already said, the evil is more profound; the Sillon, impelled by an ill-understood love of the weak, has fallen into error.

In effect, the Sillon puts forward as a programme the elevation and regeneration of the working classes. But in this matter the principles of Catholic doctrine are fixed, and the history of Christian civilization attests their beneficent fruitfulness. Our predecessor of happy memory reminded them of this in masterly pages which Catholics occupied with social questions ought to study and keep always under their eyes. Notably he taught that Christian democracy ought "to maintain the diversity of classes which is assuredly a fitting characteristic of a well-constituted State, and to wish for human society the form and character that God, its Author, impressed upon it."¹ He denounced "a certain democracy which goes so far

in perversity as to attribute in society sovereignty to the people and to aim at the suppression and the leveling down of the classes." At the same time, Leo XIII. laid down for Catholics a programme of action, the only programme capable of replacing and maintaining society on secular Christian bases. But what have the leaders of the Sillon done? Not only have they adopted a programme and teaching different from that of Leo XIII. (which would of itself be a singularly audacious movement on the part of laymen thus taking up concurrent with the Sovereign Pontiff the attitude of directors of social activity in the Church), but they have openly rejected the programme traced by Leo XIII. and have adopted one diametrically opposed to it; moreover, they reject the doctrine set forth by Leo XIII. as to the essential principles of society, place the authority in the people, or gradually suppress it and strive, as their ideal, to realize the leveling down of the classes. In opposition to Catholic doctrine, therefore, they are proceeding towards a condemned ideal.

We know well that they flatter themselves with the idea of raising human dignity and the too despised condition of the working classes, of rendering the labor laws and the relations between employers and the employed just and perfect; in a word, of causing more complete justice and more charity to prevail on earth and of promoting in humanity, by profound and fruitful social movements, an unexpected progress. Certainly we do not blame these efforts, which would be excellent from every point of view if the Sillonists did not forget that a person's progress consists in his having strengthened his natural faculties by new energies and in his facilitating the play of their activities in the scale of and in conformity with the laws of his constitution; and that, on the contrary, in injuring their essential organs and in destroying the scale of their activity one moves him not towards progress, but towards death. This, nevertheless, is what they want to do with human society; it is their dream to change its natural and traditional bases and to hold out the promise of a future State built on other principles, which they venture to declare more fruitful and more beneficent than the principles upon which the actual Christian State rests.

No, venerable brethren—it is necessary to recall the fact energetically in these times of social and intellectual anarchy, when every one poses as a teacher and a legislator—they cannot build the State otherwise than God has built it; they will not build society if the Church does not lay its bases and does not direct the work; no, civilization has not yet to be found, nor has the new State to be built

¹ *Disparet tueatur ordinis, sane proprios bene constitutae civitatis; eam demum humano convictui velit formam atque indolem esse, qualem Deus auctor indidit.* (Encyclical "Graves de communi.")

in the clouds. It has been in existence; it is so; it is Christian civilization; it is the Catholic State. The only question is that of reëstablishing it and restoring it without delay on its natural and divine foundations against the continually repeated attacks of wicked folly, revolt and impiety: "omnia instaurare in Christo."

In order not to be accused of judging too hastily and with unjustifiable rigor the social theories of the Sillon, we wish to review their essential points.

The Sillon is nobly solicitous for human dignity, but it understands that dignity in the manner of certain philosophers of whom the Church does not at all feel proud. The first element of that dignity is liberty, understood in the sense that, except in the matter of religion, each man is autonomous. From this fundamental principle it draws the following conclusions: to-day the people are in tutelage under an authority distinct from themselves; they ought to free themselves from it: *political emancipation*. They are dependent upon employers who hold their instruments of labor, exploit them, oppress them and degrade them; they ought to shake off the yoke: *economic emancipation*. Finally, they are ruled by a caste, called the directing caste, to whom their intellectual development gives an undue preponderance in the direction of affairs; they must break away from their domination: *intellectual emancipation*. The leveling down of conditions from this triple point of view will establish equality amongst men, and this equality is true human justice. A political and social organization founded upon this double basis, liberty and legality (to which will soon be added fraternity)—this is what they call democracy.

Still liberty and legality constitute only its negative side, so to speak. What properly and positively constitutes democracy is the largest possible participation in the government of public affairs. And this embraces a triple element, political, economical and moral.

First of all, in politics the Sillon does not abolish authority; on the contrary, it considers it necessary; but it wishes to divide it, or rather to multiply it in such a way that each citizen will become a kind of king. Authority, it is true, emanates from God, but it resides first of all in the people and is obtained from them by means of election, or, better still, selection, without at the same time leaving the people and becoming independent of them; it will be external but in appearance only; in reality it will be internal, because it will be an accepted authority.

Proportions being preserved, it will be the same in the economic order. Taken away from a particular class, the mastership will be so well multiplied that each workingman will himself become a sort of master. The system by which it is intended to realize this eco-

conomic ideal is not that of Socialism; it is the system of coöperation sufficiently multiplied to provoke a fruitful competition and to safeguard the independence of the workingmen who will not be bound down to any single one of the coöperative forces.

We come now to the principal element, the moral element. Since, as we have seen, authority is much reduced, another force is necessary to take its place and to supply a permanent reaction to individual egotism. This new principle, this force, is the love of professional interest and of public interest, that is to say, the very end of the profession and of society. Imagine a society in which in each one's soul, with the innate love of individual and family welfare, reigns the love of professional and public welfare, in which in each one's conscience these loves are so subordinate that the welfare of a superior character always takes its place before the welfare of an inferior—could not such a society almost do without authority and does it not offer the ideal of human dignity, each citizen having the soul of a king, each worker the soul of a master? Snatched away from the narrowness of private interests, and raised up to the interests of the profession, and, even higher, to those of the whole nation, nay, higher still, to those of humanity (for the horizon of the Sillon is not bounded by the frontiers of the country, it extends to all men, even to the ends of the earth), the human heart, enlarged by the love of the common welfare, would embrace all comrades of the same profession, all compatriots, all men. Here is human greatness and nobility, the idea realized by the celebrated trilogy, liberty, equality, fraternity.

These three elements, political, economic and moral, are subordinated one to the other, and, as we have said, the moral element is the principle. In effect, no political democracy can exist if it has not profound points of connection in economic democracy. In their turn, neither one nor the other is possible if they have not mutually their roots in a state of mind in which the conscience is invested with proportionate moral responsibilities and energies. But supposing the existence of this state of mind, so created by conscious responsibility and moral forces, economic democracy will naturally arise out of it by overt acts of that conscience and those energies; and, similarly and by the same way, out of the coöperative régime will arise political democracy: and political and economic democracy, the latter bearing the other, will find themselves fixed in the very conscience of the people on unshakable bases.

Such, in short, is the theory—we might say the dream—of the Sillon, and it is towards this that its teaching and what it calls the democratic education of the people tends, that is to say, towards raising to its maximum the conscience and the civic responsibility

of each one, whence will result economic and political democracy and the reign of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity.

This rapid explanation, venerable brethren, shows you clearly how much reason we have to say that the Sillon opposes doctrine to doctrine, that it builds its State on a theory contrary to Catholic truths, and that it falsifies the essential and fundamental notions which regulate social relations in all human society. This opposition will be still more evident from the following considerations.

The Sillon places public authority first of all in the people, from whom it then flows to rulers in such a manner, however, that it continues to reside in the people. But Leo XIII. formally condemned this doctrine of political government in his encyclical "Diuturnum illud," in which he says: "Modern writers in great number, following in the footsteps of those who called themselves philosophers in the last century, declare that all power comes from the people; that consequently those who exercise power in society do not exercise it from their own authority, but from an authority delegated to them by the people and on the condition that it can be revoked by the will of the people from whom they hold it. Quite contrary is the sentiment of Catholics who hold that the right of governing comes from God as its natural and necessary principle."² No doubt the Sillon holds that that authority, which it places first of all in the people, descends from God, but it holds that it descends in such a way "as to return from below upwards, whilst in the organization of the Church power descends from above downwards."³ But besides its being abnormal for the delegation of power to ascend, since it is natural to it to descend, Leo XIII. refuted in advance this attempt to reconcile Catholic doctrine with the error of philosophism. "For," he continues, "it is necessary to remark here, those who preside over the government of the State may, no doubt, in certain cases be chosen by the will and the judgment of the multitude without repugnance or opposition to Catholic doctrine. But if this choice marks out the governor, it does not confer upon him the authority to govern; it does not delegate the power, it designates the person who will be invested with it."⁴

² Imo recentiores perplures, eorum vestigiis ingredientibus qui sibi superiore saeculo philosophorum nomen inscripserunt, omnem inquit potestatem a populo esse; quare qui eam in civitate gerunt, ab his non uti suam geri, sed ut a populo sibi mandatam, et hac quidem lege, ut populi ipsius voluntate a quo mandata est revocari possit. Ab his vero dissentiunt catholici homines, qui ius imperandi a Deo repunt veluti a naturali necessarioque principio.

³ Marc Sangnier, "Discours de Rouen," 1907.

⁴ Interest autem attendere hoc loco eos qui reipublicae praefuturi sint posse in quibusdam causis voluntate iudicioque deligi multitudinis, non adversante neque repugnante doctrina catholica. Quo sane deluctu designatur princeps, non conferentur iura principatus, neque mandatur imperium, sed statuitur a quo sit gerendum.

For the rest, if the people are the holders of power, what becomes of authority? It is a shadow, a myth; there is no more law properly so called, no more obedience. The Sillon has recognized this; for in effect it demands, in the name of human dignity, triple emancipation, political, economic and intellectual; the future State in the formation of which it is engaged will have no masters or servants; the citizens will be all free, all comrades, all kings. An order, a command, would be an attack upon liberty; subordination to any superior power whatever would be a diminution of human rights; obedience would be a forfeiture of right. Is it in that way, venerable brethren, that the traditional doctrine of the Church represents to us social relations in even the most perfect State possible? Has not every society of creatures, independent and unequal by nature, need of an authority to direct their activity towards the common welfare and to impose upon it its law?

And if in society there are to be found perverse individuals (there will always be such), should not authority be all the stronger in proportion as the egotism of the wicked is more menacing? Can one believe, then, with a shadow of reason that there is incompatibility between authority and liberty, unless one greatly deceives oneself in the conception of liberty? Can one teach that obedience is contrary to human dignity and that the ideal would be to replace it by "accepted authority?" Had not the Apostle St. Paul in view human society in all its possible conditions when he bade the faithful be subject to every authority? Does obedience to men as the legitimate representatives of God, that is to say, in a word, obedience to God, degrade man and reduce him to a level beneath himself? Can the religious State, founded upon obedience, be contrary to the ideal of human nature? Were the saints, who were the most obedient of men, slaves and degenerates? Finally, can one imagine a social state in which Jesus Christ if he returned to the earth, would not give an example of obedience, and, further, would not say: Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's?

The Sillon, which teaches such doctrines and puts them in practice in its internal life, therefore, sows amongst your Catholic youth erroneous and fatal notions upon authority, liberty and obedience. The same is to be said with regard to justice and equality. It strives, it says, to attain an era of equality, which, owing to that fact alone, would be an era of greater justice. Thus to it every inequality of condition is an injustice, or at least a diminution of justice! A principle supremely contrary to the nature of things, productive of jealousy and injustice and subversive of all social order. Thus democracy alone will inaugurate the reign of perfect justice! Is it not an

insult to other forms of government which are thus degraded to the rank of wretched incapables? Moreover, the Sillon goes contrary to this point in the teaching of Leo XIII. It could have read in the encyclical on political government already quoted that "*justice safeguards*; it is not forbidden to the people to choose for themselves the government which corresponds best with their character or the institutions and customs that they have received from their ancestors;"⁸ and the encyclical alludes to the well-known triple form of government. It supposes, then, that justice is compatible with each of them. And does not the encyclical on the condition of the workers affirm clearly the possibility of restoring justice in the actual organization of society, inasmuch as it indicates the means of doing so? Without any doubt Leo XIII. meant to speak not of any injustice, but of perfect justice. Therefore, in teaching that justice is compatible with the three forms of government referred to, it taught that in this respect democracy does not enjoy a special privilege. The Sillonists who contend to the contrary either refuse to hear the Church or form to themselves a conception which is not Catholic with regard to justice and equality.

The case is the same with respect to fraternity, the basis of which they lay in the love of the common interest or, beyond all philosophies and all religions, in the simple notion of humanity, encircling thus in the same love and an equal tolerance all men with all their miseries, intellectual, moral, physical and temporal. Now, Catholic doctrine teaches us that the first duty of charity does not lie in the toleration of erroneous convictions, however sincere they may be, or in indifference, theoretical or practical, regarding error or vice in which we see our brethren plunged, but in zeal for their intellectual and moral improvement not less than for their material well-being. This same Catholic doctrine teaches us also that the source of the love of our neighbor is to be found in the love of God, the common Father and the common end of the whole human family and in the love of Jesus Christ whose members we are, so that to comfort an unfortunate person is to do good to Jesus Christ Himself. Every other love is an illusion or a sterile and transient sentiment.

Assuredly we have human experience in pagan and lay society of all times to prove that at certain periods the consideration of the common interests or of the natural affinities has little weight in the face of the passions and the covetousness of the heart. No, venerable brethren, there is no true fraternity outside Christian charity, which true love for God and His Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour, embraces all men, consoling them all and leading them to the same

⁸ Quamobrem, salva iustitia, non prohibentur populi illud sibi genus comparare reipublicae, quod aut ipsorum ingenio aut maiorum institutis moribusque magis respondeat.

faith and the same heavenly happiness. In separating fraternity from Christian charity thus understood democracy, far from constituting progress, would constitute rather a disastrous retrogression in civilization. For if one wishes to reach—and we desire to do so with all our heart—the highest possible summit of well-being for society and for each of its members by means of fraternity or, as it is called, by universal solidarity, there is needed the union of minds in the truth, the union of wills in morality, the union of hearts in the love of God and of His Son Jesus Christ. But this union is only attainable by Catholic charity, which alone, consequently, can lead the people in the march of progress towards the ideal of civilization.

Finally, at the base of all the falsifications of fundamental social views the Sillon places a false idea of human dignity. According to it, man will not be truly man, worthy of that name, except on the day when he shall have acquired a conscience enlightened, strong, independent, autonomous, able to do without a master, obeying only itself and capable of assuming and discharging the greatest responsibilities without any forfeiture of title. These are the big words by which the sentiment of human pride is exalted; this is the dream which draws man without light, without guide and without help into the way of illusion, where, whilst awaiting the illumination of the full conscience, he will be destroyed by error and passions. And when will this illumination come? Unless we change human nature (which even the Sillon cannot do), will it ever come? Had the saints, who carried human dignity to its highest point, that dignity to which we have referred? And would not the lowly of this earth—who cannot rise so high and who are content to plough their furrow modestly in the rank that Providence has assigned to them, energetically discharging their duties in humility, obedience and Christian patience—would they not be worthy of the name of men—they whom the Saviour will take one day out of their obscure state to place them in heaven amongst the princes of His people?

We close here our consideration of the errors of the Sillon. Not that we have exhausted the subject, for there are other points equally erroneous and dangerous, to which your attention should be drawn, such as its way of understanding the coercive power of the Church. But we must now go on to observe the influence of these errors on the practical conduct and social action of the Sillon.

The doctrines of the Sillon do not keep within the domain of abstract philosophy. They are taught to Catholic young people and efforts are made to make them live. The Sillon regards itself as the nucleus of the State of the future and accordingly reflects it as closely as possible. Thus, there is no hierarchy of government in

the Sillon. The elite by whom it is directed emerge from the rank and file by selection, that is to say, they make their position by their moral authority and their qualities. People enter its ranks freely and leave them freely. Studies are carried on without a master, at the very most with an adviser. The study clubs are veritable intellectual coöperative societies, in which each member is at once both master and pupil. The most absolute fellowship reigns amongst the members and places their minds in the closest contact—hence the common soul of the Sillon. It has been defined as “friendship.” Even the priest, on entering, lowers the eminent dignity of his priesthood, and by a strange reversal of roles becomes a scholar, placing himself on a level with his young friends, so that he is no more than a comrade.

In these democratic customs and the theories on the ideal State inspired by them, you will see, venerable brethren, the secret cause of the lack of discipline with which you have so often had to reproach the Sillon. It is not surprising that we do not find among the leaders or their members, whether seminarists or priests, trained on these lines, the respect, docility and obedience which are due to your persons and authority; that you are conscious of an underlying opposition on their part, and that, to your sorrow, you see them withdraw themselves altogether from, or, if compelled under obedience, give themselves with distaste to works which are not those of the Sillon. You are the past; they are the pioneers of the civilization of the future. You represent the hierarchy, social inequalities, authority, obedience—worn-out institutions to which their minds, captured by another ideal, can no longer bow themselves. On this state of mind we have to witness facts so sad as to bring tears to the eyes; and we cannot, with all our patience, keep down a just feeling of anger. It has come to this: Our Catholic young people are inspired with distrust of the Church their Mother; they are told that for nineteen centuries she has failed to build up society on its true foundations; that she has not understood the social notions of authority, liberty, equality, fraternity and human dignity; that the great Bishops and Kings who have created and governed France so gloriously have not been able to provide their people with real justice or happiness because they had not the same ideal as the Sillon.

The breath of the Revolution has passed this way, and we may conclude that if the social doctrines of the Sillon are erroneous, its spirit is dangerous and its education disastrous.

And then what are we to think of its action in the Church—this organization whose Catholicism is so punctilious that a little more—unless care is taken not to embarrass its cause—and one would be

in its eyes an internal enemy of Catholicism and would understand nothing of the Gospel and of Jesus' Christ? We think it well to insist upon this question because it is precisely its Catholic ardor which has secured for the Sillon until lately precious encouragements and distinguished support. Well, in the presence of words and facts, we are obliged to say that in its action as in its doctrine the Sillon does not give satisfaction to the Church.

In the first place, its Catholicism accommodates itself only to the democratic form of government which it considers the most favorable to the Church and, so to speak, confounds with her; it therefore binds down its religion in subjection to a political party. We have not to point out that the future of universal democracy does not concern the action of the Church in the world; we have already recalled the fact that the Church has always left to the nations the choice of the government they think most suited to their interests. What we wish to affirm once again, after our predecessor, is that it is an error and a danger to bind down Catholicism, by principle, to a form of government, an error and a danger which are all the greater when one associates religion with a kind of democracy the doctrines of which are erroneous. But this is the case with the Sillon, which, in fact and for a special political form, compromising the Church, divides Catholics, withdraws the youth and even priests and seminarists from purely Catholic action and wastes as a dead loss the living forces of a part of the nation.

And, behold, venerable brethren, an astounding contradiction. It is precisely because religion ought to dominate all parties—it is in invoking this principle—that the Sillon abstains from defending the assailed Church. Undoubtedly it is not the Church that has gone down into the political arena. They have dragged her down there to mutilate and despoil her. Is it not the duty, then, of every Catholic to use the political arms which he possesses to defend her and thus to compel politics to remain in their own domain and not to occupy themselves with the Church, except to give her that which is her due? Well, in presence of the Church thus attacked, one is often pained to see the Sillonists folding their arms, if they do not find it to their advantage to defend her; one often sees them dictate or maintain a programme which nowhere and in no degree savors of Catholic principle, a fact which does not prevent the same men, when fully engaged in political strife, from publicly proclaiming their faith in response to provocation. What does it mean if not that there are two men in the Sillonist: the individual who is a Catholic and the Sillonist, the man of action, who is neutral?

There was a time when the Sillon as such was formally Catholic. In the matter of moral force it recognized but one force, the Catholic

force, and it was wont to proclaim that democracy would be Catholic or would not exist at all. A moment came when it changed its mind. It left to each one his religion or his philosophy. It ceased to call itself Catholic, and for the formula "the democracy will be Catholic" it substituted this other, "the democracy will not be anti-Catholic," any more than it will be anti-Jewish or anti-Buddhist. It was the period at which the Sillon attained its highest influence. For the construction of the future State they appealed to all the workers of all the religions and all the sects. They asked them only to embrace the same social ideal, to respect all beliefs, and to bring with them a certain supply of moral force. Undoubtedly, they declared, "the leaders of the Sillon put their religious faith above everything. But can they deprive others of the right to draw their moral energy whence they can? They, on their part, wish that others should respect their right to draw their moral energy from the Catholic faith. They, therefore, ask all those who wish to transform present society in the democratic sense not to oppose one another on account of the philosophic or religious convictions which may separate them, but to march hand in hand, not renouncing their convictions, but trying to afford, on the ground of practical realities, proof of the excellence of their personal convictions. Perhaps on this ground of emulation between souls holding different religious or philosophic convictions union can be effected."⁶

These declarations and this new organization of the Sillonist action suggest very grave reflections.

Here we have founded by Catholics an interdenominational association to labor for the reform of civilization, a religious work first of all; for there is no true civilization without moral civilization and no true moral civilization without true religion: this is a demonstrated truth, a fact of history. And the Sillonists cannot pretend that they are only working "on the ground of practical realities," where differences of belief do not matter. Their chief feels so strongly this influence of mental conviction on the result of action that he invites them, whatever religion they may belong to, to "supply on the ground of practical realities proof of the excellence of their personal convictions." And rightly so. For practical results assume the character of the religious convictions, just as the members of the body, to their ultimate extremities, receive their form from the vital principle which animates them.

This being said, what must be thought of the promiscuousness in which young Catholics will be mixed up with heterodox and unbelieving folk of every kind in a work of this nature? Is it not a thousand times more dangerous for them than a neutral association?

⁶ Marc Sangnier, "Discours de Rouen," 1907.

What must we think of this appeal to all the heterodox and to all the unbelievers to prove the excellence of their convictions in the social sphere in a sort of apologetic competition, as if this competition had not lasted for nineteen centuries in conditions less dangerous for the faith of the faithful and was not all in honor of the Catholic Church? What must we think of this respect for all errors and of the strange indication addressed by a Catholic to all dissidents to strengthen their convictions by study and to make them sources, more and more abundant, of new forces? What must we think of an association in which all religions and even free thought can manifest themselves openly and at their ease, for the Sillonists, who, at their public conferences and elsewhere, proudly proclaim their individual faith, do not certainly know how to close the mouth of others and to prevent the Protestant from affirming his Protestantism and the skeptic from affirming his skepticism? Finally, what are we to think of a Catholic who in entering his educational club leaves his Catholicism at the door in order not to alarm his comrades, who, "dreaming of disinterested social action, are disinclined to make it safe for the triumph of interests, coteries, proven convictions, whatever they be." Such is the profession of faith of the new democratic committee of social action which has inherited the greatest task of ancient civilization, and which, it says, "removing the misunderstanding that arose respecting the Sillon in its greatest period both in reactionary and in clerical circles, is open to all men who respect moral and religious forces and who are convinced that no true social emancipation is possible without the leaven of a 'generous liberalism.'"

Alas! the misunderstanding is removed; the social action of the Sillon is no longer Catholic; the Sillonist, as such, does not work for a coterie, and "the Church," he says, "cannot in any sense benefit by the sympathies that his action may excite." Truly a strange insinuation! They fear lest the Church should profit by the social action of the Sillon for a selfish and interested end, as if everything that benefited the Church did not benefit humanity! A curious reversal of ideas! It is the Church which would benefit by social action! As if the greatest economists had not recognized and proved that it is social action which, if serious and fruitful, must benefit by the Church.

But, stranger still, alarming and saddening at the same time are the audacity and frivolity of men who call themselves Catholics and dream of reëstablishing society under such conditions and founding on the earth, over and beyond the pale of the Catholic Church, "the reign of justice and of love," with workers come from all parts, of all religions and of no religion, with or without beliefs, provided

they forget what divides them—their religious and philosophic convictions—and that they share what unites them—a *generous idealism* and moral forces drawn “whence they can.” When we consider all the forces, science and supernatural virtues which were necessary to establish the Christian State, the sufferings of millions of martyrs, the light given by fathers and doctors of the Church, the devotion of all the heroes of charity, the powerful hierarchy, ordained of heaven, and the streams of divine grace—the whole built up, bound together, penetrated by the life and the Spirit of Jesus Christ, the wisdom of God, the Word made man—when we think, I say, of all this, one is dismayed to see new apostles eagerly attempting to do better by a common interchange of vague idealism and civic virtues. What are they going to produce? What is to come out of this collaboration? A mere verbal and chimerical construction in which we shall see mirrored, pell mell and in seductive confusion the words liberty, justice, fraternity, love, equality and human exaltation all based upon an ill-understood human dignity. It will be a tumultuous agitation which will be sterile for the end proposed and which will benefit the exploiters of the less Utopian masses. Yes, we can truly say that the Sillon escorts Socialism, having its eye fixed on a chimera.

We fear that there is still worse. The result of this promiscuousness and labor, the beneficiary of this cosmopolitan social action, can only be a democracy which will be neither Catholic nor Protestant, nor Jewish; a religion (for Sillonism, its chiefs state, is a religion) more universal than the Catholic Church, uniting all men, become brothers at last and comrades in the “Kingdom of God.” “One works for the Church; one works for humanity.”

And now, penetrated by the deepest sadness, we ask, venerable brethren, where is the Catholicism of the Sillon? Alas! this organization which formerly afforded such excellent hopes, this limpid and impetuous stream, has been mastered in its course by the modern enemies of the Church and now forms only a miserable affluent of the great movement of apostasy organized in all countries for the establishment of a universal Church which shall have neither dogmas nor hierarchy, neither rule for the mind nor curb for the passions, and which, under the pretext of liberty and human dignity, would bring back to the world, if it could triumph, the legal reign of cunning and of force, of the oppression of the weak—of those who suffer and toil.

We know only too well the dark workshops in which these mischievous doctrines, which ought not to seduce clear-seeing minds, are elaborated. The leaders of the Sillon have not been able to protect themselves against them; the exaltation of their sentiments, the

inconsiderate goodness of their hearts, their philosophic mysticism, partly mixed with illuminism, have drawn them towards a new Gospel in which they think they see the veritable Gospel of the Saviour, so that they dare to treat our Lord Jesus Christ with a familiarity supremely disrespectful, and their ideal being of the same type with that of the Revolution, they fear not to create between the Gospel and the Revolution blasphemous points of contact for which the excuse cannot be offered that they are due to some confused *ex-tempore* idea.

We wish to direct your attention, venerable brethren, to this distortion of the Gospel and of the sacred character of our Lord Jesus Christ, God and man, customary in the Sillon and elsewhere. When the social question is considered it is the fashion in certain quarters to put aside first of all the divinity of Jesus Christ, and then to speak only of His sovereign clemency, of His compassion for all human miseries, of His pressing exhortations to the love of the neighbor and the brotherhood. Certainly Jesus has loved us with an immense, infinite love, and He came on earth to suffer and die in order that, united around Him in justice and love, animated by the same sentiments of mutual charity, all men should live in peace and happiness. But for the realization of this temporal and eternal happiness He has laid down, with supreme authority, the condition that one must belong to His flock, that one must accept His doctrine, that one must practice virtue and that one must allow oneself to be taught and guided by Peter and his successors.

Then, if Jesus was kind to those who went astray and to sinners, He did not respect their erroneous convictions, however sincere they might have appeared. He loved them all to instruct them, to convert them and to save them. If He called to Himself, in order to comfort them, those who were in trouble and suffering, it was not to preach to them jealousy of a chimerical equality. If He lifted up the humble, it was not to inspire them with the sentiment of a dignity independent and rebellious against the duty of obedience. If His heart overflowed with gentleness for the souls of those who were of good will, He also knew how to arm Himself with a holy indignation against the profaners of the house of God, against those miserable persons who scandalized the little ones, against the authorities who oppressed the people with heavy burdens without putting out a hand to lift them. He was as strong as He was gentle. He reproved, threatened, punished, knowing and teaching us that often fear is the beginning of wisdom and that sometimes it is well to cut off a member in order to save the body. Finally, He did not announce for future society the reign of an ideal happiness from which suffering would be banished; but by His lessons and by His example

He traced the path of happiness possible on earth and of perfect happiness in heaven: the royal way of the Cross. These are teachings that it would be wrong to apply only to individual life in view of eternal salvation; they are teachings which are eminently social, and they show in our Lord Jesus Christ something else besides a humanitarianism without consistency and without authority.

As for you, venerable brethren, continue actively the work of the Saviour of men by the imitation of His gentleness and His strength. Incline towards the wretched; let no sorrow escape your pastoral solicitude; let no plaint find you indifferent. But also preach their duties boldly to great and little; it is your business to form the conscience of the people and of the public authorities. The social question will be much nearer a solution when the one and the other, less exacting with regard to their mutual rights, shall fulfill their duties exactly.

Moreover, as in the conflict of interests and especially in the struggle with forces wanting in moral rectitude, a man's virtue, his sanctity even, does not always suffice to assure him daily bread, and as the social ranks ought to be organized in such a way that by the natural play of forces they should paralyze the efforts of the wicked and should enable every one of good will to gain a legitimate share of temporal happiness, we earnestly desire that you should take an active part in the organization of society for this object. And to this end, whilst your priests will devote themselves with ardor to the work of the sanctification of souls and the defense of the Church and also to works of charity properly so called, you will choose some of them who are active and of thoughtful disposition who possess doctors' degrees in philosophy and theology and who are thoroughly acquainted with the history of ancient and modern civilization, and you will set them to the study, less elevated, but more practical, of social science, so that you can place them at the proper time in charge of your Catholic social movement. But let not those priests allow themselves to be led astray in the maze of contemporary opinions by the mirage of a false democracy; let them not borrow from the rhetoric of the worst enemies of the Church and of the people an emphatic language full of promises as high-sounding as they are unattainable. Let them be convinced that the social question and social science did not arise yesterday, that at all times the Church and the State in happy concert have raised up fruitful organizations for this end, that the Church, which has never betrayed the happiness of the people by compromising alliances, has not to free herself from the past, and that it is enough for her to take up again, with the aid of true workers in social restoration, the organisms broken by the Revolution and to adapt them, in the

same Christian spirit that inspired them, to the new situation created by the material evolution of contemporary society: for the true friends of the people are neither revolutionaries nor innovators, but traditionalists.

We desire that the Sillonist youth, freed from their errors, far from offering any obstacle to this work, which is eminently worthy of your pastoral zeal, should bring to it a loyal and efficacious assistance in the proper way and with befitting submission.

We turn then towards the leaders of the Sillon with the confidence of a father who speaks to his children, and we ask them, for their own welfare and for the good of the Church and of France, to yield their place to you. We are aware of the extent of the sacrifice we demand of them, but we know they are generous enough to make it, and in advance, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose unworthy representative we are, we bless them for it. As to the members of the Sillon, we desire that they should be divided according to the dioceses, in order to work, under the direction of their respective Bishops, for the Christian and Catholic regeneration of the people at the same time that they work for the improvement of their own lot. These diocesan groups will for the moment be independent of one another; and in order to show clearly that they have broken with the errors of the past, they will take the name of *Catholic Sillons* and each of their members will add to his title as *Sillonist* the qualification *Catholic*. It is needless to say that every Catholic Sillonist will remain free to entertain his political preferences, provided they are purified of everything that is not in this respect entirely conformable to the doctrine of the Church. Should groups refuse, venerable brethren, to submit to these conditions, you should consider them as refusing in fact to submit to your direction; and then you will have to consider whether they confine themselves purely to politics or economy, or persevere in their former errors. In the former case, it is clear you will have no more to do with them than with the general body of the faithful; in the second place, you ought to take measures accordingly, with prudence, but with firmness.

The priests will have to keep themselves entirely outside dissident groups and shall content themselves with lending the aid of the sacred ministry individually to their members, applying to them in the tribunal of penance the common rules of morality relative to doctrine and conduct. As to the Catholic groups, the priests and the seminarists, whilst favoring and helping them, shall abstain from becoming members; for it is fitting that the Church's clerical troops should remain above the lay associations even when these are most useful and animated by the best spirit.

Such are the practical measures which we have deemed it necessary to embody in this letter on the Sillon and the Sillonists. From the bottom of our heart we pray that God may cause these men and these young people to understand the grave reasons which have called it forth, that He may give them docility of heart, with the courage to prove to the Church the sincerity of their Catholic fervor, and that He may inspire you, venerable brethren—since for the future they are to be yours—with sentiments of a quite paternal affection.

It is in this hope and to obtain these results, which are so desirable, that with all our heart we grant the Apostolic Benediction to you, your clergy and your people.

Given at St. Peter's, Rome, on the 25th August, 1910, the eighth year of our pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

MOTU PROPRIO
OF
OUR HOLY FATHER
POPE PIUS X.

ESTABLISHING CERTAIN LAWS FOR THE DRIVING OUT OF THE
DANGER OF MODERNISM.

NONE of the Bishops, we believe, can have failed to observe how that most cunning class of persons, the Modernists, though unmasked by the encyclical letter "*Pascendi dominici gregis*," have not abandoned their designs on the peace of the Church. For they continue to enroll new associates and to band them together in a secret alliance, and with these they are now engaged in inoculating into the veins of the Christian people the poison of their opinions by means of books and pamphlets published anonymously or under false names. To those who read again and more closely the document just mentioned, it will be clear that this climax of audacity, which has caused us such grief, proves that these men are really as we described them, and enemies all the more to be feared by reason of their proximity, and who abuse their ministry to catch by their poisoned bait those who are not on their guard and who are liable to be led astray by a semblance of science which contains the germs of all errors.

But as this pest is spreading in a part of the field of the Lord from which the fairest fruits were to be expected if it is the duty of all the pastors to labor for the defense of the Catholic faith, and to use the utmost vigilance that the Divine deposit suffer no hurt, upon us especially rests the charge of realizing the commands of Christ the Saviour, who said to Peter, whose supreme authority we, unworthy though we are, have received: "*Confirm thy brethren*." And this is why we deem it well in the present conflict to recall to memory the following teachings and rulings contained in our letter above mentioned:

"We beg and conjure you to see to it that in this most grave matter nobody will ever be able to say that you have been in the slightest degree wanting in vigilance or zeal or firmness. And what we ask of you and expect of you we ask and expect also of all other pastors of souls, of all educators and professors of clerics and in a very special way of the superiors of religious institutions.

"I. In the first place, with regard to studies, we will and ordain that scholastic philosophy be made the basis of the sacred sciences.

It goes without saying that 'if anything is met with among the scholastic doctors which may be regarded as an excess of subtlety, or which does not square with later discoveries, or which is altogether destitute of probability, we have no desire whatever to propose it for the imitation of present generations.¹ And let it be clearly understood above all things that the scholastic philosophy we prescribe is that which the Angelic Doctor has bequeathed to us, and we, therefore, declare that all the ordinances of our predecessor on this subject continue fully in force, and, as far as may be necessary, we do decree anew, and confirm, and ordain that they be by all strictly observed. In seminaries where they may have been neglected let the Bishops impose them and require their observance, and let this apply also to the superiors of religious institutions. Further, let professors remember that they cannot set St. Thomas aside, especially in metaphysical questions, without grave detriment. 'A small error at the beginning,' to use the words of Aquinas, 'becomes great in the end.'

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"On this philosophical foundation the theological edifice is to be solidly raised. Promote the study of theology, venerable brothers, by all means in your power, so that your clerics on leaving the seminaries may admire and love it and always find their delight in it. 'For in the vast and varied abundance of studies opening before the mind desirous of truth, everybody knows how the old maxim describes theology as so far in front of all others that every science and art should serve it and be to it as handmaidens.'² We will add that we deem as worthy of praise those who with full respect for tradition, the Holy Fathers, the ecclesiastical magisterium, undertake, with well-balanced judgment and guided by Catholic principles (which is not always the case), seek to illuminate positive theology by throwing the light of true history upon it. Certainly more attention must be paid to positive theology than in the past, but this must be done without detriment to scholastic theology, and those are to be disapproved as of modernist tendencies who exalt positive theology in such a way as to seem to despise the scholastic.

"With regard to profane studies suffice it to recall here what our predecessor has admirably said: 'Apply yourselves energetically to the study of natural sciences: the brilliant discoveries and the bold and useful applications of them made in our times, which have won such applause from our contemporaries, will be an object of perpetual praise for those that come after us.'³ But do this without interfering with sacred studies, as our predecessor urges in these

¹ Leo XIII., *Enc. Aeterni Patris*.

² Leo XIII., *Lett. In magna*, 10 December, 1889.

³ Leo XIII., *Alloc. ap.*, 7 March, 1890.

most grave words: 'If you carefully search for the cause of these errors you will find that it lies in the fact that these days, when the natural sciences absorb so much study, the more severe and lofty studies have been proportionately neglected—some of them have almost passed into oblivion, some of them are pursued in a half-hearted or superficial way, and, sad to say, now that they are fallen from their old estate, they have been disfigured by perverse doctrines and monstrous errors.'⁴ We ordain therefore that the study of natural science in the seminaries be carried on under this law.

"II. All these prescriptions and those of our predecessor are to be borne in mind whenever there is question of choosing directors and professors for seminaries and Catholic universities. Anybody who in any way is found to be imbued with modernism is to be excluded without compunction from these offices and those who already occupy them are to be removed. The same policy is to be adopted towards those who favor modernism either by extolling the Modernists or excusing their culpable conduct, or by criticizing scholasticism and the Holy Fathers, or by refusing obedience to ecclesiastical authority in any of its depositaries; and towards those who show a love of novelty in history, archæology, Biblical exegesis, and finally towards those who neglect the sacred sciences or appear to prefer to them the profane. In all this question of studies, venerable brothers, you cannot be too watchful or too constant, but most of all in the choice of professors, for as a rule the students are modeled after the pattern of their masters. Strong in the consciousness of your duty, act always prudently but vigorously.

"Equal diligence and severity are to be used in examining and selecting candidates for holy orders. Far, far from the clergy be the love of novelty! God hates the proud and the obstinate. For the future the doctorate of theology and canon law must never be conferred on anybody who has not made the regular course of scholastic philosophy; if conferred, it shall be held as null and void. The rules laid down in 1896 by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars for the clerics, both secular and regular, of Italy concerning the frequenting of the universities we now decree to be extended to all nations. Clerics and priests inscribed in a Catholic institute or university must not in the future follow in civil universities those courses for which there are chairs in the Catholic institutes to which they belong. If this have been permitted anywhere in the past, we ordain that it be not allowed for the future. Let the Bishops who form the governing board of such Catholic institutes or universities watch with all care that these our commands be constantly observed.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

"III. It is also the duty of the Bishops to prevent writings infected with modernism or favorable to it from being read when they have been published, and to hinder their publication when they have not. No book or paper or periodical of this kind must ever be permitted to seminarists or university students. The injury to them would be equal to that caused by immoral reading; nay, it would be greater, for such writings poison Christian life at its very fount. The same decision is to be taken concerning the writings of some Catholics, who though not badly disposed themselves, but ill-instructed in theological studies and imbued with modern philosophy, strive to make this harmonize with the faith, and, as they say, to turn it to the account of the faith. The name and reputation of these authors causes them to be read without suspicion, and they are therefore all the more dangerous in preparing the way for modernism.

"To give you some more general directions, venerable brothers, in a matter of such moment, we bid you do everything in your power to drive out of your dioceses, even by solemn interdict, any pernicious books that may be in circulation there. The Holy See neglects no means to put down writings of this kind, but the number of them has now grown to such an extent that it is impossible to censure them all. Hence it happens that the medicine sometimes arrives too late, for the disease has taken root during the delay. We will, therefore, that the Bishops, putting aside all fear and the prudence of the flesh, despising the outcries of the wicked, gently by all means, but constantly, do each his own share of this work, remembering the injunctions of Leo XIII. in the Apostolic Constitution '*Officiorum*:' Let the Ordinaries, acting in this also as delegates of the Apostolic See, exert themselves to proscribe and to put out of reach of the faithful injurious books or other writings printed or circulated in their dioceses.' In this passage the Bishops, it is true, receive a right, but they have also a duty imposed on them. Let no Bishop think that he fulfills this duty by denouncing to us one or two books, while a great many others of the same kind are being published and circulated. Nor are you to be deterred by the fact that a book has obtained the '*imprimatur*' elsewhere, both because this may be merely simulated and because it may have been granted through carelessness, or easiness, or excessive confidence in the author, as may sometimes happen in religious orders. Besides, just as the same food does not agree equally with everybody, it may happen that a book, harmless in one place, may on account of the different circumstances be hurtful in another. Should a Bishop, therefore, after having taken the advice of prudent persons, deem it right to condemn any of such books in his diocese, we not only

give him ample faculty to do so, but we impose it upon him as a duty to do so. Of course, it is our wish that in such cases the proper regards be used, and sometimes it will suffice to restrict the prohibition to the clergy; but even in such cases it will be obligatory on Catholic booksellers not to put on sale the books condemned by the Bishop. And while we are on this subject of booksellers, we wish the Bishops to see to it that they do not through desire for gain put on sale unsound books. It is certain that in the catalogues of some of them the books of the Modernists are not unfrequently announced with no small praise. If they refuse obedience, let the Bishops have no hesitation in depriving them of the title of Catholic booksellers; so, too, and with more reason, if they have the title of Episcopal booksellers, and if they have that of Pontifical, let them be denounced to the Apostolic See. Finally, we remind all of the XXVI. article of the above-mentioned Constitution 'Officiorum.' All those who have obtained an apostolic faculty to read and keep forbidden books are not thereby authorized to read books and periodicals forbidden by the local Ordinaries, unless the apostolic faculty expressly concedes permission to read and keep books condemned by anybody.'

"IV. But it is not enough to hinder the reading and the sale of bad books—it is also necessary to prevent them from being printed. Hence let the Bishops use the utmost severity in granting permission to print. Under the rules of the Constitution 'Officiorum' a great many publications require the authorization of the Ordinary, and in some dioceses it has been made the custom to have a suitable number of official censors for the examination of writings. We have the highest praise for this institution, and we not only exhort, but we order that it be extended to all dioceses. In all episcopal Curias, therefore, let censors be appointed for the revision of works intended for publication, and let the censors, to be chosen from both ranks of the clergy, be men of age, knowledge and prudence, who will know how to follow the golden mean in their judgments. It shall be their office to examine everything which requires permission for publication according to Articles XLI. and XLII. of the above-mentioned Constitution. The censor shall give his verdict in writing. If it be favorable, the Bishop will give the permission for publication by the word 'Imprimatur,' which must always be preceded by the 'Nihil obstat' and the name of the censor. In the Curia of Rome official censors shall be appointed just as elsewhere, and the appointment of them shall appertain to the Master of the Sacred Palaces, after they have been proposed to the Cardinal Vicar and accepted by the Sovereign Pontiff. It shall also be the office of the Master of the Sacred Palaces to select the censor for each writing. Per-

mission for publication shall be granted by him as well as by the Cardinal Vicar or his vicegerent, and this permission, as above prescribed, must always be preceded by the 'Nihil obstat' and the name of the censor. Only on very rare and exceptional occasions, and on the prudent decision of the Bishop, shall it be permissible to omit mention of the censor. The name of the censor shall never be made known to the authors until he have given a favorable decision, so that he may not have to suffer annoyance either while he is engaged in the examination of a writing or in case he should deny his approval. Censors shall never be chosen from the religious orders until the opinion of the provincial, or in Rome of the general, have been privately obtained, and the provincial or the general must give a conscientious account of the character, knowledge and orthodoxy of the candidate. We admonish religious superiors of their solemn duty never to allow anything to be published by any of their subjects without permission from themselves and from the Ordinary. Finally, we affirm and declare that the title of censor has no value and can never be adduced to give credit to the private opinions of the person who holds it.

"Having said this much in general, we now ordain in particular a more careful observance of Article XLII. of the above-mentioned Constitution 'Officiorum.' It is 'forbidden to secular priests, without the previous consent of the Ordinary, to undertake the direction of papers or periodicals.' This permission shall be withdrawn from any priest who makes a wrong use of it, after having been admonished. With regard to priests who are 'correspondents' or 'collaborators' of periodicals, as it happens not unfrequently that they write matter infected with modernism for their papers or periodicals, let the Bishops see to it that this is not permitted to happen, and should it happen, let them warn the writers or prevent them from writing. The superiors of religious orders, too, we admonish with all authority to do the same, and should they fail in this duty, let the Bishops make due provision with authority delegated by the Supreme Pontiff. Let there be, as far this is possible, a special censor for newspapers and periodicals printed by Catholics. It shall be his office to read in due time each number after it has been published, and if he find anything dangerous in it, let him order that it be corrected. The Bishop shall have the same right even when the censor has seen nothing objectionable in a publication.

"V. We have already mentioned congresses and public gatherings as among the means used by the Modernists to defend and propagate their opinions. In the future Bishops shall not permit congresses of priests except on very rare occasions. When they do permit them, it shall only be on condition that matters appertaining to

the Bishop or the Apostolic See be not treated in them, and that no motions or postulates be allowed that would imply a usurpation of sacred authority, and that no mention be made in them of modernism, presbyterianism or laicism. At congresses of this kind, which can only be held after permission in writing has been obtained in due time and for each case, it shall not be lawful for priests from other dioceses to take part without the written permission of their Ordinary. Further, no priest must lose sight of the solemn recommendation of Leo XIII.: 'Let priests hold as sacred the authority of their pastors, let them take it for certain that the sacerdotal ministry, if not exercised under the guidance of the Bishops, can never be either holy, or very fruitful, or respectable.'⁵

"V. But of what avail, venerable brothers, will be all our commands and prescriptions, if they be not dutifully and firmly carried out? And in order that this may be done, it has seemed expedient to us to extend to all dioceses the regulations laid down with great wisdom many years ago by the Bishops of Umbria for theirs:

"'In order, they say,' 'to extirpate the errors already propagated and to prevent their further diffusion and to remove those teachers of impiety through whom the pernicious effects of such diffusion are being perpetuated, this sacred assembly, following the example of St. Charles Borromeo, has decided to establish in each of the dioceses a council consisting of approved members of both branches of the clergy, which shall be charged with the task of noting the existence of errors and the devices by which new ones are introduced and propagated, and to inform the Bishop of the whole, so that he may take counsel with them as to the best means for nipping the evil in the bud and preventing it spreading for the ruin of souls, or, worse still, gaining strength and growth.'⁶ We decree therefore that in every diocese a council of this kind, which we are pleased to name 'The Council of Vigilance,' be instituted without delay. The priests called to form part of it shall be chosen somewhat after the manner above prescribed for the censors, and they shall meet every two months on an appointed day under the presidency of the Bishop. They shall be bound to secrecy as to their deliberations and decisions, and their function shall be as follows: They shall watch most carefully for every trace and sign of modernism, both in publications and in teaching, and, to preserve from it the clergy and the young, they shall take all prudent, prompt and efficacious measures. Let them combat novelties of words, remembering the admonitions of Leo XIII.:⁷ 'It is impossible to approve in Catholic publications

⁵ Lett. Encyc. Nobilissima Gallorum, 10 February, 1884.

⁶ Acts of the Congress of the Bishops of Umbria, November, 1849, Tit. 2, Art. 6.

⁷ Instruct. S. C. NN. EE. EF., 27 January, 1902.

of a style inspired by unsound novelty which seems to deride the piety of the faithful and dwells on the introduction of a new order of Christian life, on new directions of the Church, on new aspirations of the modern soul, on a new vocation of the clergy, on a new Christian civilization.' Language of this kind is not to be tolerated either in books or from chairs of learning. The councils must not neglect the books treating of the pious traditions of different places or of sacred relics. Let them not permit such questions to be discussed in periodicals destined to stimulate piety, neither with expressions that savor of mockery or contempt, nor by dogmatic pronouncements, especially when, as is often the case, what is stated as a certainty either does not pass the limits of probability or is merely based on prejudiced opinions. Concerning sacred relics, let this be the rule: When the Bishops, who alone are judges in these matters, know for certain that a relic is not genuine, let them remove it at once from the veneration of the faithful; if the authentications of a relic happen to have been lost through political disturbances or in some other way, let it not be exposed for public veneration until the Bishop has verified it. The argument of prescription or well-founded presumption is to have weight only when devotion to a relic is commendable by reason of its antiquity, according to the sense of the decree issued in 1896 by the Congregation of Indulgences and Sacred Relics; 'Ancient relics are to enjoy the veneration they have always enjoyed except in those individual instances when there are clear arguments that they are false or supposititious.' In passing judgment on pious traditions be it always be borne in mind that in this matter the Church uses such prudence that she does not permit traditions of this kind to be narrated in books except with the utmost caution and with the insertion of the declaration imposed by Urban VIII.; and even then she does not guarantee the truth of the fact narrated: she simply does not forbid belief in things for which human arguments are not wanting. On this matter the Sacred Congregation of Rites thirty years ago decreed as follows: "These apparitions have neither been approved nor condemned by the Holy See, which has simply allowed that they be believed on purely human faith, on the traditions that relate them, corroborated by testimonies and documents 'worthy of credence.'" Anybody who follows this rule has no cause for fear. For the devotion based on any apparition, in as far as it regards the fact itself, that is to say, in as far as it is 'relative,' always implies the hypothesis of the truth of the fact; while in as far as it is 'absolute,' it must always be based on the truth, seeing that its object is the persons of the saints who are honored. The same is true of relics. Finally, we entrust to the

* Decree, May 2, 1877.

Councils of Vigilance the duty of overlooking assiduously and diligently social institutions as well as writings on social questions, so that they may harbor no trace of modernism, but obey the prescriptions of the Roman Pontiffs.

"VII. Lest what we have laid down thus far should fall into oblivion, we will and ordain that the Bishops of all dioceses a year after this publication and every three years thenceforward furnish the Holy See with a diligent and sworn report on all the prescriptions contained in them, and on the doctrines that find currency among the clergy, and especially in the seminaries and other Catholic institutions, and we impose the like obligation on the generals of religious orders with regard to those under them."

To all this, which we fully confirm under pain of temerarious conscience upon those who refuse to hearken to our words, we now add some special instruction concerning ecclesiastical students in the seminaries and aspirants in religious institutes. In the seminaries all the parts of the institutions must be directed to the formation of priests worthy of the name. For it must not be thought that such institutions are destined merely for study or for piety—they combine both these; they are the training schools in which the army of Christ is built up by a long course of preparation. In order that a host thoroughly equipped may come forth from them, two things are fundamentally necessary: doctrine for the culture of the mind, virtue for the perfection of the soul. The former of these demands that ecclesiastical students be highly enlightened in those branches which are closely connected with the studies of divine things; the latter demands a special degree of virtue and constancy. Let the superiors of discipline and piety, therefore, note what promise the individual students give of themselves and study their characters—whether they give themselves up unduly to their natural bent, whether they show worldly tendencies; whether they are docile to obey, given to piety, not having an exalted idea of themselves, observant of discipline; whether they are led to aspire to the priesthood by a right aim or by human motives; whether their lives are marked by the holiness and doctrine suitable to their state, or at least, if there be any defect in this respect, do they endeavor sincerely and willingly to acquire it. Nor does this investigation present excessive difficulties; for the lack of virtue referred to is speedily produced by a hypocritical performance of the offices of religion and by the observance of discipline through fear rather than at the dictates of conscience, and the person who observes discipline through servile fear, or violates it through levity of mind or through contempt is very far from offering a guarantee of living worthily in the priesthood. For it is not easy to believe that he who despises

domestic discipline will not fall away from the public laws of the Church. When a superior of sacred youth finds one of them in this frame of mind and after warning him once or twice notes no change for the better after a year of trial, he should expel him in such a way as to render it impossible for such a student to be again received either by himself or by any Bishop.

Two things, therefore, are primarily necessary in promoting clerics: innocence of life joined with soundness of doctrine. Nor must it be forgotten that the precepts and admonitions addressed by the Bishops to those whom they are initiating in sacred orders are meant as much for themselves as for the candidates; as, for instance, when it is laid down: "Care must be taken that heavenly wisdom, upright life and long observance of justice commend the elect for this office. . . . Let them be upright and ripe at once in knowledge and in works . . . let the form of all justice shine forth in them."

With regard to probity of life it would not be necessary to say more were it possible to separate this easily from the doctrines and opinions which a man takes it upon him to defend. But, as we read in the Book of Proverbs: "A man shall be known by his doctrine," and as the Apostle teaches: "Whosoever continueth not in the doctrine of Christ hath not God." How much of effort is to be spent in acquiring knowledge of many and various things may be seen from the very conditions of the age which proclaims that the light of progressing humanity is the most glorious of achievements. All the clergy, therefore, who wish to perform their duties in a manner worthy of the time, fruitfully "to exhort in sound doctrine and to convince the gainsayers" to devote the resources of intellect to the utility of the Church, must acquire a knowledge of things beyond the common and approach as closely as possible to the perfection of doctrine. For the fight is one with enemies not lacking in skill, whose polished studies are not unfrequently united with a science full of wiles and whose specious and vibrant sentences are made up of impetuous and sounding phrases, so as to make it appear that they contain something entirely new. Hence we must carefully prepare our arms, that is, a rich fund of doctrine is to be acquired by all those who are preparing themselves in retirement for the holiest and most arduous of tasks.

But since the life of man is circumscribed within such limits that it is barely possible for one to learn cursorily something of the immense fund of things that are to be known, the thirst for knowledge must be regulated and the sentence of Paul be acted upon "not to be more wise than it behooveth to be wise, but to be wise unto sobriety." Hence as clerics are already sufficiently burdened with the

many important studies imposed upon them relating to sacred literature, to the points of faith, morals, the science of piety and offices known as ascetics, to the history of the Church, canon law and sacred eloquence, in order that the students may not waste their time in the pursuit of other questions and be distracted from the main objects of their studies, we absolutely forbid that any journals or periodicals, however excellent, be read by them, binding the consciences of the superiors to take care scrupulously that this does not happen.

To remove all suspicion of the secret introduction of Modernism, we not only will the absolute observance of the prescriptions contained in No. 2 above, but we ordain, moreover, that the individual professors before inaugurating their lectures at the beginning of the year shall present to the Bishop the text they propose to use in teaching or the questions or theses which are to be treated; then that the teaching of each of them be examined during the year, and should it appear that this is not in harmony with sound doctrine, the fact shall be held sufficient to have the professor removed there and then. Finally, in addition to the profession of faith, each professor shall take an oath according to the formula given below before his Bishop and shall sign his name to it.

This oath, after the profession of faith, in the form prescribed by our predecessor, Pius IV., of holy memory, has been made, together with accompanying definitions of the Vatican Council, shall be taken in presence of the Bishop by:

I. Clerics who are to be initiated in major orders: to each of whom a copy shall be previously presented both of the profession of faith and of the form of oath, so that they may know accurately what they are, and with them the penalties incurred by violation of the oath.

II. Priests appointed for hearing confessions and sacred preachers, before they receive faculties for exercising these sacred offices.

III. Parish priests, canons, holders of livings, before they enter on possession of their benefices.

IV. Officials in the episcopal curias and ecclesiastical tribunals, not excepting the vicar general and the judges.

V. Lenten preachers.

VI. All officials in the Roman Congregations or Tribunals before the Cardinal Prefect or Cardinal Secretary of the same.

VII. The superiors and professors of religious families and congregations, before they enter on office.

The formula of the profession of faith, mentioned above, and of the oath are to be kept in special frames in all episcopal curias as well as in the different offices of the Roman congregations. And

should anybody dare, which may God forbid, to violate the oath, he is to be delated at once to the Holy Office.

"I . . . firmly hold and accept each and every definition of the unerring teaching of the Church, with all she has maintained and declared, but especially those points of doctrine which expressly combat the errors of our time. In the first place, I profess my belief that God, the beginning and end of all, can be surely known and also proved to exist by the natural light of reason from the things that are made, that is, from the visible works of the creation as a cause from its effects. Next I recognize and acknowledge the external arguments of revelation, that is, divine facts, especially miracles and prophecies, as the surest signs of the divine origin of the Christian religion, and I hold that these are specially suited to the understanding of every age and of all men, even of our times. Thirdly, I likewise hold with firm faith that the Church, the guardian and exponent of the revealed Word, was proximately and directly founded by Christ Himself, the true person of history, while He dwelt amongst us, and that she was also built upon Peter, the Prince of the Apostolic Hierarchy, and upon his successors to the end of time. Fourthly, I sincerely receive the teaching of faith as transmitted in the same sense and meaning right down to us; and, therefore, I wholly reject the heretical notion of the evolution of dogmas, which pass from one sense to another alien to that the Church held from the start; and I likewise condemn every error whereby is substituted for the divine deposit, entrusted by Christ to His spouse and by her to be faithfully guarded, a philosophic system or a creation of the human conscience, gradually refined by the striving of men and finally to be perfected hereafter by indefinite progress. Fifthly, I hold for certain and sincerely profess that faith is not a blind religious sense making its way out of the hidden regions of the subliminal consciousness, morally tinged by the influence of heart and will, but is a true assent of the intellect to truth received from without by hearing, an assent whereby we believe to be true, because of the authority of the all true God, whatever by the personal God, our Creator and Lord, has been spoken, testified and revealed.

"I further, with all due reverence, submit and with my whole mind adhere to all the condemnations, declarations and directions contained in the encyclical letter 'Pascendi' and in the decree 'Lamentabili,' particularly regarding what is called the history of dogma.

"I also reject the error of those who allege that the faith proposed by the Church may be in conflict with history and that Catholic dogmas in the sense in which they are now understood cannot be harmonized with the more truthful 'origins' of Chris-

oath

tianity. Moreover, I condemn and reject the opinion which declares that a Christian man of better culture can assume a dual personality, one as believer and another as historian, thus taking it to be permissible for the historian to hold fast what his faith as a believer contradicts, or to lay down premises from which there follows the falsity or the uncertainty of dogmas, provided only that these are not directly denied. Likewise I reject that method of estimating and interpreting Holy Writ which, setting aside the Church's tradition and the analogy of faith and the rules of the Apostolic See, adopts the rationalists' principles and with equal arbitrariness and rashness considers criticism of the text the one only supreme rule. In like manner I reprobate the opinion of those who hold that a teacher of the science of historical theology or the writer on the subject must first put aside the notions previously conceived about the supernatural origin of Catholic tradition or about the divine aid promised for the perpetual preservation of each revealed truth; then that the writings of individual fathers must be interpreted solely by the data of science, without any reference to sacred authority, and with the freedom of judgment wherewith every profane record is usually examined.

"Finally and in general, I declare myself to be far removed from the error of the modernists who hold that in sacred tradition there is nothing inherently divine; or who—far worse still—admit it in a pantheistic sense: thus there would remain only a bare simple fact equal to the ordinary facts of history, viz., that the school started by Christ and His Apostles still finds men to support it by their energy, their shrewdness, their ability. Wherefore most firmly I retain and to my last breath will I retain the faith of the Fathers of the Church concerning the sure endowment of truth, which is, has been and ever will be in the succession of the episcopate from the Apostles (St. Irenæus IV., c. 26); not in such a way that we may hold what seems best and most fitting according to the refinement of each age, but that we never in any different wise understand the absolute and unchangeable truth preached from the beginning by the Apostles. (Præscript, c. 28.)

"All this I promise that I will faithfully, entirely and sincerely keep and inviolably guard, and from this never in teaching or howsoever by word or writing in the least depart. So I promise, so I swear, so help me God, etc."

Since long experience has taught us that the zeal of the Bishops in providing for the preaching of the Divine Word has not produced its proper fruit, not, we think, on account of the negligence of the hearers, but on account of the vanity of preachers whose words are the words of men rather than of God, we deem it well

to reproduce here in Latin and to recommend to the Ordinaries the document issued at the command of our predecessor, Leo XIII., of happy memory, by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars on July 31, 1894, and sent to the Ordinaries of Italy and to the superiors of religious families and congregations:

1. "And in the first place as regards the ornament of virtue, which should above all distinguish sacred orators, let the Ordinaries and the superiors of religious families take good care never to entrust this holy and salutary mission of the Divine Word to those whose piety towards God and love of His Son Christ our Lord does not shine forth. For if the preachers of Catholic doctrine be lacking in these qualities, they will never be anything but 'a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal' (I. Cor. xiii., 1), and they will always be destitute of that which forms the whole strength and efficacy of evangelical preaching, that is, zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

"And this piety, so necessary for sacred orators, must shine forth even in their external conduct in order that their lives may not be in opposition with the Christian precepts and institutions which they extol in their discourses and that they may not destroy by their acts what they build up by their words. Again, there must be nothing profane in this piety, but rather let it be instinct with that gravity which reveals them as 'the ministers of Christ and the dispensers of the Divine mysteries.' (I. Cor. iv., 1.) For otherwise, as the Angelic Doctor well says, 'if the doctrine is good and the preacher bad, the latter is an occasion of blasphemy against the doctrine of God.'

"But piety and the other Christian virtues must have knowledge as their inseparable companion, since it is obvious and clearly proved by long experience that the Word cannot be suitably and fruitfully preached by men destitute of knowledge, especially sacred knowledge, who, trusting to a certain natural facility in elocution, boldly ascend the pulpit without any preparation. Such as they beat the air, and all unconsciously expose Divine revelation to derision and contempt and put themselves on a level with those of whom the Divine words were spoken: 'Because thou has rejected knowledge, I will reject thee, that thou shalt not do the office of priesthood to me.' (Os. iv., 6.)

2. "Therefore Bishops and superiors of religious communities must not entrust the ministry of the Divine Word to any priest who has not proved himself to be sufficiently endowed with piety and knowledge. They are to take great care, too, that only subjects worthy of sacred eloquence be treated in the pulpit. These have been indicted by our Lord when He said: 'Preach the Gospel.'

(Mark xvi., 15.) Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you' (Matt. xxviii., 20), words which are thus suitably explained by St. Thomas: 'Preachers must enlighten in faith, direct in works, point out what is to be avoided, and by threats and promises lead men to truth and goodness.'⁹ And the Council of Trent adds: 'Let them preach the extirpation of vice and the practice of virtue to avoid eternal punishment and gain the glory of heaven,'¹⁰ in development of which Pius IX., of happy memory, has written: 'They must preach not themselves, but Christ crucified; let them, then, announce to the people, clearly and simply, with grave and persuasive eloquence and according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church and of the Fathers, the dogmas and precepts of our most holy religion; let them carefully explain to the people the special duties of each, turn them from vice and kindle them in charity, so that the faithful, healthily strengthened by the Word of God, may abandon vice, practice virtue and thus be enabled to avoid eternal punishment and win the glory of heaven.'¹¹

"From all this it will be clear that the proper subjects for preaching are the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the precepts of the Church, the sacraments, the virtues and vices, the duties of one's state of life, the four last things and other eternal truths of the same kind.

3. "But to-day the ministers of the Divine Word only too often pay but small attention to this rich and important mine of subjects; they neglect it and almost reject it as something useless and superannuated. Knowing well as they do that the topics we have just enumerated are little calculated to win popular applause, for which they are so eager, and 'seeking their own interests and not those of Jesus Christ' (Philip. ii., 21), they thrust aside these topics even during Lent and the most solemn seasons of the year. And changing names as well as things, they substitute for the old instructions a new and not very intelligible kind of discourse, which they call 'conferences,' far better adapted to flatter intellect and thought than to control the will and reform conduct. They do not reflect that while moral instructions are useful for all, conferences are so only to a few, and that even these few, if the orator occupied himself more with their conduct by frequently inculcating chastity, humility of heart, obedience to the authority of the Church, would thus be freed from their prejudices against the faith and receive the light of truth with better dispositions. For if there are many, especially in Catholic countries, who have false ideas regarding re-

⁹ Comm. in Matt. v.

¹⁰ Sess. V., cap. 2, De Reform.

¹¹ Lit. Enc., IX November, MDCCCXLVI.

ligion, the fact is to be attributed to the unchecked passions of the heart rather than to aberration of the mind, according to the Divine sentence: 'From the heart come forth evil thoughts . . . blasphemies.' (Matt. xv., 19.) Thus St. Augustine, referring to the words of the Psalmist: 'The fool hath said in his heart: There is no God' (Psalms xiii., 1) says: 'It is the heart, not the mind, that speaks here.'

4. "This does not imply, however, that discourses of this kind are to be absolutely condemned, for when they are well done they may often prove very useful and even necessary to refute errors contrary to religion. But it is necessary to banish absolutely from the pulpit that elaborate style of address which concerns theory more than practice, which concerns the civil more closely than the religious order and which is more notable for its external show than for the fruit that follows from it. All that elaboration which is better suited for meetings or learned gatherings is quite out of touch with the majesty of the house of God. As regards lectures or conferences which aim at the defense of religion against attack, very necessary as they are in certain cases, they are not within the capacity of all, but only of the best equipped; and even the best speakers should not hold these conferences except when time and place and the condition of the hearers render them necessary and there is some hope of their doing good—and this, it will be clear to all, is a point which must be left to the legitimate verdict of the Ordinary. In these discourses, too, the power of conviction should be based rather on sacred doctrine than on the words of human wisdom, and that the exposition should be made with force and clearness, so that error may not make a deeper impression than truth on the minds of the hearers and objections be not stronger than the answers given to them. But above all things, care must be taken that the frequency of such discourses shall not diminish that of moral instructions, and that the importance of the latter be not minimized as though, being of an inferior order, they were less worthy of respect than the others and were therefore to be left to ordinary preachers and hearers; for the truth is, on the contrary, that moral instructions are absolutely necessary for the majority of the faithful and are not less in dignity than apologetic dissertations, so that even the best orators, at least from time to time, and before the best classes of hearers should devote themselves with the greatest care to this kind of sermons. If a contrary practice is followed, the faithful are forever being obliged to listen to discourses about errors from which the majority of them are immune and never of the faults and vices they really possess.

5. "But if there is reason to complain about the choice of subjects,

there are other reasons and grave ones as regards the style and form of the sermons preached. St. Thomas well teaches that to be really 'the light of the world' the preacher of the Divine Word must possess three things: first, solidity, so that he may not fall away from the truth; second, clearness, so that he may not teach it obscurely; third, a useful aim, so that he may seek God's glory and not his own.¹²

"Too often the style of contemporary eloquence is not only at variance with the clearness of that evangelical simplicity which it should possess, but is mostly made up of clashing words and recondite thoughts beyond the grasp of the people. This is deplorable and to be lamented in the words of the Prophet: 'The little ones asked for bread and there was no one to break it for them.' (Thren. iv., 4.) But even more lamentable still is the fact that so many sermons are destitute of the religious spirit, the atmosphere of Christian piety, that Divine force and virtue of the Holy Spirit which appeals to the soul and leads it gently to what is right—a force and virtue which should always assimilate preaching to the words of the Apostle: 'My speech and my preaching was not in the persuasive words of human wisdom, but in showing of the Spirit and power.' (I. Cor. ii., 4.)

"But those who place their reliance in the persuasive words of human wisdom rarely if ever have recourse to the Divine sources and to the Sacred Scriptures, that contain those living waters which are the most fruitful and abundant matter for sacred preaching, as His Holiness Leo XIII. eloquently explained recently in these grave words: 'Herein is to be found the proper and special virtues of the Scriptures, from the Divine breath of the Holy Spirit, who confers authority on the preacher, endows him with apostolic liberty of speech and inspires him with forceful and triumphant eloquence. Such a speaker reproduces the spirit and force of the Divine Word, his preaching "is not in word only, but in power also, and in the Holy Ghost and in much fullness." (I. Thess. i., 5.) Hence it must be said that inconsistent and thoughtless is the conduct of those who deliver addresses on religion and announce the Divine commandments in the mere words of human science and prudence instead of availing themselves of the only means that are divine. Their language, empty of the fire of the Word of God, necessarily languishes and grows cold and possesses nothing of that divine virtue which shines forth in the Divine Word. "The Word of God is living and effectual and more piercing than any two-edged sword, and reaching unto the division of the soul and the spirit." (Heb. iv., 12.) Thinking men must recognize that there is in the sacred writings

¹² *Loc. cit.*

an eloquence truly wonderful and varied and worthy of the great things it expresses. Augustine understood this and expatiated on it with skill; and experience shows that the greatest sacred orators, and they have recognized it themselves, owe their reputation to their assiduous use and pious meditation of the Bible.¹³

"The Bible is, therefore, the chief source of sacred eloquence. But preachers eager after new models instead of going to the 'living source,' turn deplorably to 'the broken cisterns of human wisdom,' and neglecting the divinely inspired doctrine of the Fathers of the Church and the councils, lose themselves entirely in quoting the names and phrases of modern and still living profane writers—phrases which very often give rise to very dangerous interpretations or misunderstandings.

"They offend again by speaking of religion as if they wished to measure everything according to the standard of the goods and advantages of this ephemeral life, with hardly any reference to a future and eternal life; but dilating on the fruits which the Christian religion has brought to human society, but omitting to dwell on the duties which it imposes; by exalting the charity of Christ the Saviour, but without speaking of His justice. Hence the small fruit derived from such preaching, from which the profane hearer rises with the impression that he can, without changing his conduct, be a Christian merely by saying: 'I believe in Jesus Christ.' But what care they for the fruits of their preaching—it is not of these they are thinking. Their one great care is to flatter their hearers by tickling their ears. It is enough for them that the churches are full, even if the hearts of the people in them are empty. Hence they never make any mention of the remission of sins, of the four last things and of other capital questions; they speak only to please and they think only of extracting cries of admiration and applause by a profane eloquence better fitted for speech-makers than for those engaged in the apostolic and sacred ministry. Against such as these St. Jerome writes: 'When you teach in the church, let the people utter not exclamations, but groans; let the tears of your hearers be your praise.'¹⁴ Hence it happens that these instructions, both within and without the precincts of the church, take on a theatrical appearance and lose all efficacy and all semblance of holiness; hence, too, the ears of the people and even of many of the clergy no longer find the pleasure which the Divine Word would give; hence a source of scandal for the good, little or no profit for the erring, who even when they crowd to hear fine language, drawn especially

¹³ *De Doctr. Christ.* iv., 6, 7.

¹⁴ *Ad Nepotian.*

by big words about human progress, patriotism, recent discoveries of science, a hundred times repeated, punctuate the periods of the orator with prolonged applause, but leave the temple no better than they entered it, like those 'who admired, but were not converted.'¹⁵

"This Sacred Congregation, therefore, wishing, by order of the Holy Father, to remove all these deadly abuses, obliges all the Bishops and superiors general of religious communities and ecclesiastical institutes to employ all their apostolic zeal and energy to extirpate them. Remembering the prescription of the Council of Trent, 'they are to select men suitable for this office of preaching.'¹⁶ Let them perform this duty with the utmost zeal. In the case of priests of their own dioceses the Ordinaries must not admit them to this office until they have received a certificate of good life, knowledge and conduct,¹⁷ that is, until their capacity has been tested by an examination or in some other way. And in the case of priests from other dioceses, they must not allow them into the pulpit, especially on the principal solemnities, until they receive from their Ordinary or religious superior a written attestation of their good conduct and of a sufficient preparation.

"The superiors of all religious orders, societies and congregations must not admit to the office of preaching, still less recommend to the Ordinaries, any of their subjects until they have assured themselves of the upright life and suitable preparation for sacred oratory of the candidates. And if after having given letters of recommendation to a preacher, they find that his sermons are not in harmony with the directions given in this letter, they must at once call him to a sense of his duty, and if he refuse to obey, they must interdict him from the pulpit, even using, when necessary, the canonical penalties which the circumstances may require."

If we have thought it necessary to repeat and reproduce these prescriptions, ordering them to be religiously observed, the reason is that we are forced to it by the gravity of an evil which is increasing every day and which it would be extremely dangerous not to arrest immediately. For we have not now, as in the beginning, to deal with contradictors who present themselves in sheep's clothing, but with open and declared enemies—and in addition internal enemies, who in alliance with the chief enemies of the Church are aiming at the ruin of the faith. The audacity of these rises up each day against the wisdom which comes from heaven, arrogating to themselves the right to amend it as though it had become cor-

¹⁵ *Ex Aug. in Matth. xix., 25.*

¹⁶ *Sess. V., c. 2, De Reform.*

¹⁷ *Sess. V., c. 2, De Reform.*

rupted, to rejuvenate it as though it had become effete, to enlarge it and adapt it to the tendencies, progress and interests of the age, as though it were opposed not to some superficial minds, but to the welfare of society. Against these attacks on the teaching of the Gospel and sacred ecclesiastical tradition those who have received the sacred deposit of faith can never offer too vigilant and severe an opposition.

As to the admonitions and prescriptions which, with certain knowledge, we have laid down in the present "*Motu proprio*," we will and ordain that they be religiously observed, both by all the Ordinaries of the whole Catholic Church and by the superiors general of the regular orders and ecclesiastical institutes and that they be efficaciously applied, all things to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's, September 1, 1910, in the eighth year of our pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

DECREE

ON THE AGE OF ADMITTANCE OF CHILDREN TO FIRST HOLY COMMUNION.

THE pages of the Gospels plainly testify to the special love which Christ showed whilst on earth to the little ones. It was His delight to be in their midst. He laid His hands upon them. He embraced and blessed them. He was indignant when they were repulsed by His disciples and reprimanded the latter in the following words: "Suffer the little children to come unto Me and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God" (Mark x., 13, 16). How highly He prized their innocence and simplicity of soul He shows when calling a little one He said to His disciples: "Amen I say to you, unless you be converted and become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, he is the greater in the kingdom of heaven. And he that shall receive one such little child in My name, receiveth Me" (Math. xviii., 3, 4, 5).

Bearing this in mind, the Catholic Church from the beginning took care to bring Christ to the little ones through Eucharistic Communion, which was given even to the sucklings. This, as was prescribed in almost all the ancient rituals till the thirteenth century, was done at baptism, and the same custom prevailed for a long time in some places; it is still in vogue with the Greeks and Orientals. But to avoid all danger, lest the children should spit out the consecrated Host, the custom obtained from the beginning of giving the Holy Eucharist under the species of wine alone.

The infants did not, however, receive Holy Communion only at baptism, but they frequently afterwards partook of the divine repast. For it was the custom in many churches to give Communion to the children immediately after the clergy, in others to dispense to them the small fragments left over after the Communion of the adults.

Later on this custom became obsolete in the Latin Church, neither were children permitted to approach the Holy Table before the dawn of the use of reason and before having some knowledge of the August Sacrament. This new discipline, already accepted by several particular councils, was solemnly confirmed in the Fourth Lateran Œcumenical Council by promulgating the celebrated XXI. Canon, in which the reception of the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion is prescribed to all the faithful having arrived at the use of reason in the following words: "All the faithful of both sexes, after coming to the use of reason, shall confess all their

sins alone to their proper priest at least once a year, strive to fulfill the enjoined penance as far as possible, devoutly receiving Holy Communion at least at Easter time, unless by the advice of the priest and for some reasonable cause he should deem it well to abstain for a while."

The Council of Trent, in no way disapproving of the ancient discipline of giving Holy Communion to children before they have attained the use of reason confirmed the decree of the Lateran Council and pronounced anathema on those who hold a contrary opinion. (Sess. XXI. de Communionem, c. 4. Sess. XIII. de Eucharistia, c. 8, can. 9.) "If any one shall deny that all the faithful of both sexes, who have attained the use of reason, are obliged to receive Communion every year, at least at Easter time, according to the precepts of Holy Mother Church, let him be anathema."

Therefore, in virtue of the aforesaid decree of the Lateran Council still in force, the faithful as soon as they arrive at the years of discretion are obliged to receive the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion at least once a year.

But in establishing the year when children come to the use of reason many errors and deplorable abuses have crept in in the course of time. There were those who considered one age necessary for the Sacrament of Penance, another for Holy Eucharist. For the Sacrament of Penance they judged that age necessary in which one can distinguish right from wrong, hence can commit sin; for Holy Eucharist, however, they require a greater age in which a deeper knowledge of matters of faith and a better preparation of the soul can be had. And thus, according to the various customs of places and opinions of men, the age of ten years was fixed for receiving First Holy Communion in some places, in others fourteen years and even more were required, in the meanwhile forbidding all those children under the required age from receiving Holy Communion.

This custom, by which, under the plea of safeguarding the August Sacrament, the faithful were kept away from the same, was the cause of many evils. It happened that the innocence of childhood, torn away from the embraces of Christ, was deprived of the sap of interior life; from which it also followed that youth destitute of this strong help, surrounded by so many snares, having lost its candor, fell into vice before ever tasting of the sacred mysteries. Even though a more thorough preparation and an accurate sacramental confession should precede First Holy Communion, which does not happen everywhere, yet the loss of first innocence is always to be deplored and might have been avoided by receiving the Holy Eucharist in more tender years.

Not less is the custom, which exists in many places, to be con-

demned, according to which children are not allowed to receive the Sacrament of Penance before they are admitted to Communion, or else absolution is not given to them; thus it happens that burdened perhaps with mortal sins they remain a long time in great danger.

But the worst of all is that, in some places children not yet admitted to First Holy Communion are not permitted to receive the Sacred Viaticum, even when in danger of death, and thus, dying and being buried as infants, they are not helped by the prayers of the Church.

Such injury is caused by those who insist on an extraordinary preparation for First Holy Communion, more than is reasonable, not realizing that this kind of precaution proceeds from the errors of the Jansenists, who maintain that Holy Eucharist is a reward, not a remedy for human frailty. The Council of Trent holds a different opinion when it teaches that it is "an antidote by which we are freed from daily faults and preserved from mortal sins" (Sess. XIII. de Eucharistia, c. 2), which doctrine has lately been inculcated by a decree given on the 26th day of December, 1905, in which daily approach to Communion is opened to all, both old and young, two conditions only being required, the state of grace and a right intention. Neither does it appear reasonable that whilst formerly even sucklings received the remnant of the sacred particles, at present an extraordinary preparation should be required from the children, who are in the happy state of innocence and candor, and greatly need this heavenly food on account of the many temptations and dangers of our times.

The abuses which we condemn may be traced to the fact that those who demand a certain age for penance and another for Holy Eucharist have neither wisely nor rightly defined the required age. The Lateran Council requires one and the same age for both sacraments, since it imposes a joint obligation of penance and Communion. Therefore, since the age of discretion required for penance is that at which right can be distinguished from wrong—namely, when one comes to the use of reason—so also for Communion that age is required which can distinguish the Eucharistic Bread from the common, which in turn is the age at which a child attains the use of reason.

Nor did the principal interpreters of the Lateran Council and those who lived at that time think differently. From the history of the Church it is evident that many synods and Episcopal decrees, beginning with the twelfth century, shortly after the Lateran Council, admitted children of seven years of age to Holy Communion. There is, moreover, a testimony of the greatest authority, St. Thomas Aquinas, which reads: "When children begin to have some use of

reason so that they can conceive some devotion towards the sacrament (Eucharist), then this sacrament can be given to them." The same is explained by Ledesma as follows: "I say with the consent of all, that Holy Eucharist should be given to all having the use of reason, no matter how soon they may acquire the same; even though the child should have but a confused idea of what it is doing." Vasquez explains the same passage in the following words: "As soon as a child attains the use of reason it is obliged by divine law so that not even the Church can dispense it from the same." The same is taught by St. Antoninus, writing: "But when a child is capable of wrongdoing—that is, of committing mortal sin—then he is subject to the precept of confession and consequently Communion" (P. III., tit. XIV., c. 2, p. 5). The Council of Trent also forces us to the same conclusion. For whilst it declares that "infants, lacking the use of reason, are not obliged to receive Holy Communion," it assigns as the only reason, because they cannot commit sin (Sess. XXI., c. 4): "Since," it says, "at that age they cannot lose the acquired grace of the children of God." From which it is evident that the Council believed the children obliged to receive Communion as soon as they could lose grace by sin. The words of the Roman Council, held under Benedict XIII., agree with this teaching that the obligation of receiving Holy Eucharist begins "after the boys and girls have come to the use of reason, to that age, namely, in which they are capable of distinguishing this sacramental food, which is no other than the true Body of Jesus Christ, from common and profane bread, and know how to approach the same with the proper devotion and religion." (*Istruzione per quei che debbono la prima volta ammettersi alla S. Comunione*, Append. XXX., p. 2.) The Roman catechism, however, says: "At what age Holy Communion should be given to children, no one can judge better than the father or the priest to whom they confess their sins. For theirs is the duty to find out and to inquire of the children if they have acquired some knowledge of this admirable sacrament and a taste for the same."

From all this it follows that the age of discretion required for Holy Communion is that at which the child can distinguish the Eucharistic from common material bread and knows how to approach the altar with proper devotion.

A perfect knowledge of the articles of faith is, therefore, not necessary, as a few elements alone are sufficient; nor is the full use of reason required since the beginning of the use of reason, that is, some kind of use of reason, suffices. Wherefore, to put off Communion any longer or to exact a riper age for the reception of the same is to be rejected absolutely, and the same has been repeatedly

condemned by the Holy See. Thus Pius IX., of happy memory, in the letters of Cardinal Antonelli to the Bishops of France given on the 12th day of March, 1866, severely condemned the growing custom existing in some dioceses of putting off Holy Communion to a maturer age and rejected the number of years as fixed by them.

The Sacred Congregation of the Council, on the 15th of March, 1851, corrected a chapter of the Provincial Council of Rouen, in which children under twelve years of age were forbidden to receive Holy Communion. This same Congregation on the Discipline of Sacraments, acting in a similar manner in a case proposed to it from Strassburg on March 25, 1910, in which it being asked whether children of twelve or fourteen years could be admitted to Holy Communion, answered: "Boys and girls are to be admitted to Holy Communion when they arrive at the age of discretion or attain the use of reason."

Having seriously considered all these things, the Sacred Congregation on the Discipline of Sacraments at a general meeting held on the 15th of July, 1910, in order that the above mentioned abuses might be removed and the children of tender years become attached to Jesus, live His life and obtain assistance against the dangers of corruption, has judged it opportune to lay down the following norm for admitting children to First Holy Communion to be observed everywhere:

I. The age of discretion required both for confession and Communion is the time when the child begins to reason, that is, about the seventh year, more or less. From this time on the obligation of satisfying the precept of both confession and Communion begins.

II. Both for first confession and First Communion a complete and perfect knowledge of Christian doctrine is not necessary. The child will, however, be obliged to gradually learn the whole catechism according to its ability.

III. The knowledge of Christian doctrine required in children in order to be properly prepared for First Holy Communion is that they understand according to their capacity those mysteries of faith which are necessary as a means of salvation, that they be able to distinguish the Eucharist from common and material bread, and also approach the Sacred Table with the devotion becoming their age.

IV. The obligation of the precept of confession and Communion which rests upon the child falls back principally upon those in whose care they are, that is, parents, confessors, teachers and their pastor. It belongs to the father, however, or to the person taking his place, as also to the pastor, to admit the child to First Holy Communion.

V. The pastors shall take care to announce and distribute general Communion once or several times a year to the children, and on these occasions they shall admit not only first communicants, but also

others who, with the consent of their parents and the pastor, have already been admitted to the Sacred Table before. For both classes several days of instruction and preparation shall precede.

VI. Those who have the care of children should use all diligence so that after First Communion the children shall often approach the Holy Table, even daily if possible, as Jesus Christ and Mother Church desire, and that they do it with a devotion becoming their age. They should bear in mind their most important duty, by which they are obliged to have the children present at the public instructions in catechism, otherwise they must supply this religious instruction in some other way.

VII. The custom of not admitting children to confession, or of not absolving them, is absolutely condemned. Wherefore the Ordinaries of places using those means which the law gives them shall see that it is done away with.

VIII. It is an utterly detestable abuse not to administer Viaticum and Extreme Unction to children having attained the use of reason and to bury them according to the manner of infants. The Ordinaries of places shall proceed severely against those who do not abandon this custom.

These resolutions of the eminent fathers, the Cardinals of this Sacred Congregation, have been approved by our Most Holy Lord Pope Pius X. in an audience given on the 7th day of the current month, and he has commanded the present decree to be edited and promulgated. He has commanded all the Ordinaries that the present decree should be made known not only to the pastors and the clergy, but also to the people, to whom it shall be read yearly at Easter time in the vernacular language.

The Ordinaries themselves will be obliged at the end of every five years (together with the other affairs of their diocese) to give an account of the observance of this decree to the Holy See, together with the other affairs of their diocese.

Everything else to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given in Rome at the residence of the same Sacred Congregation on the 8th day of August, 1910.

D. CARD. FERRATA, Prefect.

PH. GIUSTINI, Secretary.

HOW THE BATTLE OF JENA AFFECTED PRUSSIAN EDUCATION.

FROM time to time speculative philosophy amuses itself with inquiries as to the most decisive of the world's great battles, in regard to the religious, the political or the commercial destinies of our planet. It is comparatively useless to pursue such a line of inquiry in regard to the remote past, save in cases wherein great migrations of defeated peoples or vast outpourings of the conquering ones have altered territorial configurations or displaced the centres of political gravity of ancient growth. Our more modern era has been productives of results easily followed and readily understood, when some titanic war closes with a decisive victory which effaces a dynasty or changes the features of a continental chart. Waterloo was one of these momentous strokes of overmastering destiny, in the realm of European hegemony; Sedan was not less so politically as well as territorially. But no great conflict of the Napoleonic era was so fraught with consequences of high import to the cause of advancement, in many directions, as the disastrous battle of Jena—the humiliation that awakened the latent energies and genius of rulers and people in the kingdom of Prussia.

For many centuries previous to the invasion of Prussia by Napoleon's armies, feudalism, in the shape of serfdom and crippling limitations on trade and personal freedom, prevailed in Prussia. The barbarous system known as the junker privilege—i. e., the predominance of the military caste in all public and even private affairs of the people at large—had brought about a sullen and unpatriotic spirit among the population, and the soldiers who went forth to fight for the defense of the territory had no heart for the task, but rather hatred of those who led them in the field of battle, in very many cases. Ignorance, discontent and bitter hatred of the junker system were the characteristics of the mass of the people from whose ranks the conscripts for military service were drawn. It was the existence of such conditions that made the twin disasters of Jena and Auerstadt possible. Those disasters were so frightful in their extent as to be almost equivalent to national extinction. This was perhaps fortunate, for the terms of peace announced by Talleyrand to the unhappy Prussian King (Frederick William III) were so ruinous as to drive him to seek what he had for years sought to avoid—an alliance with the Czar. This was the step which in the ultimate result brought ruin to the haughty conqueror and chained him to the rock of St. Helena. The catastrophe of Jena had the effect, likewise, of awakening the Prussian King to the frightful condition of his own people, and the intimate relation which that condition

had to the misfortunes which had overtaken himself and the great heritage which his renowned father, Frederick the Second, had handed down to him.

Fortunately there were in Prussia at that painful crisis men who were able to perceive and had the courage to point out to the King the real causes of the great collapse. The rottenness, they saw, began at the top, and percolated thence through all the strata below. They advised him that serfdom must go if the nation was to be saved from death; that the people, to be reliable, must be not only free, but educated and taught the nobility of self-respect; that the peasant that toiled in the field and the mechanic at his bench must have the feeling that he was safe from dishonor and insult in his home; that the shackles must be stricken from the limbs of trade and labor, and that justice, not the will of the junker, but the law of the kingdom must prevail. The men who gave this counsel were the two able Cabinet Ministers, Stein and Hardenberg, who successively held the office of Minister of State during the decade which followed the defeat of the Prussian armies in the frightful period of the French invasion. The result of their advice was the abolition of the system of serfdom, the compulsory expropriation of the landholders and the creation of a system of peasant proprietary which makes the kingdom rest on a basis of security to the monarchy and to the social fabric as a whole that cannot be disastrously shaken by either external or internal convulsion.

It is useful for the student to read of the causes which brought about disasters like that of Jena and Sedan. It is still more useful for statesmen and men in power and charged with the responsibility of high office to read them and ponder on them well and often. Long success in conquest is apt to dazzle and make blind the most self-contained imitator of Alexander; brutal abuse of the advantage obtained by superior force in war is certain to arouse in the breasts of a despairing people the fierce spirit of the man who has lost all but life, and is reckless of that. The Prussian people were in just such a mood when Bonaparte attempted to destroy their power once for all. Blücher was one of those who had been taken prisoner in the war, and he said to Bourienne, Napoleon's confidant: "I reckon much on the public spirit of Germany, on the enthusiasm which reigns in our universities. Success in war is ephemeral, but defeat itself contributes to nourish in a people the principles of honor and a passion for national glory. Be assured when a whole people are resolved to emancipate themselves from foreign domination they will never fail to succeed. I have no fears for the result. We shall end by having a Landwehr such as the slavish spirit of the French could never produce. . . . The population of

Prussia makes the common cause with its government; the safety of our hearths is at stake; and reverses, when such a spirit is abroad, destroy armies without breaking the spirit of a nation." The speaker was himself one of the instruments, under Providence, of bringing about a realization of his keen-sighted forecast. His arrival on the field, at the crucial moment of Waterloo, was the death blow to the career of the man who had so dismally humiliated his country nine years before.

No nation in Europe had ever fallen so low as Prussia did when it was obliged to pass under the yoke of the conqueror. Before the beginning of hostilities against Bonaparte it had a population of nine millions and an army of a quarter of a million. Its annual revenue was estimated at \$36,000,000 (about \$27,000,000 of present American money); and it had in the treasury a reserve fund of \$17,000,000. The material condition of the country had been so prosperous that the people had become demoralized, in a great measure, like the soldiers of Hannibal by the pleasures and luxuries of Capua. The decline of a martial spirit had been accompanied, it was remarked, by a weakened sense of national honor, so that the majority were strongly in favor of a policy of peace at any price. Thus, Austria had been left to continue the war against France, undertaken by the allied powers because of the frightful excesses of the Revolution, unaided, so far as Prussia was concerned. Under the sinister influence of Count Haugwitz, the most trusted of his Cabinet Ministers, the King declined to enter into the new coalition against Bonaparte which Austria, Russia and Britain found it necessary for their self-preservation to form. This was fatal to Prussia's progress, and, soon afterward, almost brought about her extinction. Public opinion, however, at the time, supported the King and his adviser, Haugwitz, in the mistake. The great English statesman, Charles James Fox, denounced Prussia's refusal, and her acceptance of the treaty of Schoenbrunn, in terms of scathing scorn. It is said that even Napoleon himself regarded it as contemptible. The punishment of Prussia for that mistake was dreadful, for the conqueror who had despised soon showed that he was as merciless as he was scornful, and Jena and Auerstadt drove home to the weak Frederick William the tremendous folly of listening to the counsels of dishonor and cowardice. It was at such a melancholy juncture that the Prussian monarch—a monarch almost without either crown or territory then—summoned Count Stein to his counsels and gave a congé to Prince Hardenberg, who had been carrying on the languid affairs of the dismembered kingdom as best he might. The dismissal of Hardenberg was not owing, however, to any fault which the distracted monarch had to find with

his efforts to straighten the tangle, but was mainly owing to the pressure of the French autocrat, who hated the Minister because of his persistent opposition to his political scheming in regard to the other Continental powers. Stein was no less antagonistic to the Corsican's ideals of aggrandizement than Hardenberg, but inasmuch as he had acquiesced in the game of duplicity by means of which Holland was transferred to Prussia as a makeweight for Prussia's neutrality during the coalition war, he was less objectionable to Bonaparte. It was on his shoulders the titanic task of putting the mangled country into something like orderly shape, after the overthrow of Jena and Auerstadt, ultimately devolved. He was perhaps the very ablest statesman of his age. He came of an illustrious and gifted race, who had been settled from the beginning of the thirteenth century on the lands of Nassau, on the Lahn, and fought in the battles of the Fatherland, as well as the internecine feudal quarrels, down to the period of the Reformation (to which they adhered) and the Thirty Years' War. In the final outcome of this long conflict they lost so much of their wide landed possessions that young Stein had been obliged to seek employment in civil life, while his elder brothers entered on the easy task of dissipating the meagre remnant of the family possessions, in the manner so picturesquely described by Thackeray in two of his lectures on "The Four Georges." He was only twenty-seven years old when he was dispatched by the King to negotiate with the Elector of Mayence with a view to the adhesion of that powerful prince to the Confederation of the German Principalities. In this delicate business he was so successful that his future career was assured. When the *débatte* of 1805 came he was the one man whom the King could look to for a solution of the dreadful problem of a ruined country, a drained exchequer and a moral collapse unprecedented. Hardenberg had been in power for some time. He was a statesman of equal genius and experience, but he was inimical to Napoleon, and no business could be transacted with that haughty despot unless by means of having a *persona grata* in the Prussian Cabinet. It was a frightful task that Stein was called upon to begin—something similar to that which Thiers undertook more than sixty years later when the Prussians had turned the tables and gained their revenge for Jena by conquering the French armies under another but a different sort of Napoleon and overrunning all the French territory between the Vosges and the Loire. By the treaty of Tilsit the richest provinces of Prussia had been torn from the kingdom, and those remaining to her had been so desolated by war as to be next to worthless. While her seaports had been closed to the commerce of England by the decree of a blockade of Napoleon,

she was compelled to pay a heavy contribution to France, while all the time maintaining a large French army. The money exacted from the unhappy monarchy during the frightful period of French occupation was no less in amount than twenty-five millions of pounds English—equal to five times the entire annual revenue of Prussia at the time of its greatest prosperity. The Crown lands were the first resources which presented themselves to Stein. On the security of these, on the monarch's consent, he established a system of "territorial banks," similar to that of the "Credit Foncier" in France later on. The agrarian laws had been so modified by the legislation introduced and carried by his predecessor, Hardenberg, that the peasants became possessors of the lands on which they had formerly drudged as serfs or feudal tenants, the landlords being compelled to assent to the change, with a guarantee of monetary compensation spread over a long period of years. This great measure had converted a horde of sullen, dumb-driven, mutinous-minded clods into an army of *men*, filled with the ambitions of men and the determination of men to defend their firesides and their Fatherland against all invaders, be they whomsoever they might.

The reforms inaugurated by those far-seeing and progressive statesmen, Stein and Hardenberg, were the most comprehensive and sweeping that were even entered upon. The history of reforms in other countries is one of gradual and even timid advance. In Prussia, however, it was that of reform *per saltum*. So desperate was the case there, however, that there was no hope for the patient unless by heroic surgery, and Stein did not balk at the application of the knife. His first step was the reorganization of the army. A summons to arms was served upon the whole male population of an age capable of carrying the musket. Military instruction was made compulsory in all the schools. The greatest honors were paid to the military profession. Thorough instruction in the science of war was insisted on in every case where officers were receiving their education. The profession of arms, and promotion for merit, was thrown open to every man, while formerly these were the privileges of the junker class. The duty and the nobility of patriotism was inculcated in all the schools. The poetry and the literature of the time rang with the praises of the patriot and the soldier. Körner, the minstrel warrior, wrote his famous "Song of the Sword," and it fired all hearts as he sang it on the march, the refrain being taken up all over the extent of the Fatherland. The thoroughness of the rejuvenation was such that in a few years the army that had been pulverized at Jena and Auerstadt was on its feet again, ready to spring at its old antagonist and be in at the death when the day of retribution came around.

Napoleon by no means was pleased with the regeneration of Prussia under the guidance of her two great statesmen. He denounced the course of Stein as that of an enemy of France and demanded that he be arrested and his estates confiscated. Stein fled from the kingdom and took refuge in Austria, but he became more formidable to the Corsican while in exile than he had been in his freedom. He guided the action of Russia, with the aid of the Emperor Alexander, in such a way as to prepare for the terrible coup of 1812 which reddened the skies of Moscow and strewed the snow-covered plains with the corpses of a magnificent French host.

The most important step taken by Germany under the advice of her statesmen, at this time, was the formation of a great political confederation of the various Rhenish States, as well as Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony and Hanover, the Emperor of Austria being the President. This was an alliance offensive and defensive, directed chiefly against France. This confederation, which at the beginning looked most promising for the welfare of the various component States, did not eventuate as anticipated, for the spirit of unrest and revolution was abroad very soon after its formation, and it culminated in 1848, simultaneously in France and Germany, and the monarchs who held out against it were compelled to capitulate and grant the political reforms which the proletariat in either country demanded.

In the means taken by Baron Stein for the resuscitation and reorganization of Prussia the university and the school were the foremost agencies upon which he relied. The broad and perspicuous mind of Stein clearly recognized that without education an army is only a mob, and without freedom a nation is no better than a Tartar horde. His views on these points are forcibly developed in a paper laid by him before the Ministerial Council. The following passage from this document is characteristic of the man: "The legislation of a nation is defective so long as it is founded only on the views and ideas of its officials and of scholars. The first of these classes are so much occupied with details that they become unable to take a comprehensive view of affairs, and they are so attached to routine and matter of fact that they are unable to fulfill the necessities of common business. When a nation has risen above the condition of barbarism, when it has acquired a considerable mass of information and enjoys a moderate degree of the liberty of thought, it should naturally turn its attention toward its own internal and local affairs. A share in the management of these affairs will produce the most beneficial manifestation of patriotism and public spirit; but if every participation in them is refused to it, discontent

will spread, which must either break out in dangerous manifestations or else be suppressed by violent and discouraging measures. The character of the working and middle classes must become lowered, as their activity is exclusively devoted toward gain and enjoyment; and the upper classes must sink in public esteem by their idle and dissipated manner of life. Speculative sciences must acquire an undue value, and subjects of public utility be neglected."

Sound and far-seeing as were the measures taken for securing an educational system which would in a short time put Prussia on her feet again, it was not until a good many years had elapsed that the pedagogue was enabled to coöperate effectively with the drillmaster in the formation of a scientific fighting machine. The brave and clear-headed Queen, Marie Louise, at once fell in with the ideas of Stein as to the relations of the school to the victorious army, and she lost no time in the endeavor to bring them into practical effect, so far as she could see her way. So soon as the decree placing the large cities under autonomous rule went forth, and the schools were thus placed under local control, the Queen introduced the famous system of teaching laid down by Pestalozzi into the schools of all the kingdom. This step was taken two years after the defeat of Jena. Eleven years later on there was issued a Ministerial order making school attendance compulsory and decreeing uniformity in regulations for attendance and discipline for all the schools. A subsequent decree provided for the abolition of tuition fees in the ordinary schools; and in 1850 this was followed by the adoption of the Constitution of King William IV. regarding schools and colleges and the teaching of religion therein. Under this famous instrument the following laws were put into effect throughout Prussia:

"Article 20: Science and the teaching of science are free.

"Article 21: For the education of the young, public schools shall be established and maintained. Parents and guardians must not leave their children or wards without that instruction which is prescribed for the public schools.

"Article 22: To give instruction and to establish schools is allowed to every one who can prove to the State authorities moral, scientific and technical capability.

"Article 23: All public and private educational institutions are under the supervision of the State authorities. Teachers of public schools have the rights and duties of officers of the State.

"Article 24: Religious instruction is left to the respective religious societies. [This passage was amended subsequently so as to intrust the school teachers with that duty.] The external management of schools is left to the civil communities, while the State employs

the teachers and provides for the necessary number and training of teachers.

"Article 25: The means for establishing, maintaining and extending the public school system are furnished by the communities, and only in cases of inability does the State furnish the means. [This was subsequently amended. The State now bears from 25 to 33½ per cent. of the cost of maintaining the public elementary schools and about 50 per cent. of that of the secondary schools.] Rights acquired by private grants in behalf of education shall be inviolate. The State guarantees public school teachers a fixed income. Instruction in the public schools is free of charge."

It is comparatively easy to issue decrees and codes of rules, but the general adoption of them in so large a State as Prussia is quite a different matter. Many difficulties arose, and many fierce party battles were fought in the Diet and the House of Deputies ere the system which now prevails was finally agreed upon and installed all over the kingdom. There had been a protracted struggle over the question of ecclesiastical supervision versus the supervision of the lay professorial element. The Falck Laws, passed in the heat of the Bismarckian Kulturkampf, under the "blood and iron" pressure of Bismarck, marked the triumph of the university professors over the clergy; but after a few years the great Bismarck had to "go to Canossa" and sue for peace.

In 1905 political conditions were so altered by reason of the failure of the Kulturkampf and other Bismarckian policies that Doctor Studt, the Minister of Instruction, had not much difficulty in pressing a new school bill toward its passage—first, because the liberal parties were hopelessly in the minority, and, moreover, divided; and, secondly, because he could rely upon the steadfast adherence to the bill of all the Catholic members, it being in harmony with the aspirations of the clergy. Still another reason was the fact that he did not attempt in the bill to cover every feature of school education, the course of study and the inner working being left, as previously, in the hands of the Minister, but he submitted the bill as only partial school legislation. The bill received the assent of the two Houses of Parliament in July of the following year and the royal assent immediately. One of its most remarkable provisions is that where a given locality is unable from local causes to maintain its local schools, the State comes to its aid with the amount that is found, on examination of the case, to be really necessary. This provision is also embodied in the present English school law. This is the most interesting feature of the Prussian law, from a financial point of view; but from a religious one the chapter which deals with the denominational difficulty is far more absorbing.

The provisions seem to have been drawn up with the most painstaking care to do justice, both in cases which are clear and cases that are open to uncertainty. The chapter is fourth on the list, and it were well indeed that all who regard the religious problem as one which must be evaded in the United States, because of its apparent impossibility of solution, should be enabled to see what has been done by a State which has been made to know that a solution on equitable terms to all parties was an absolute necessity in the case, and that "where there's a will there's a way." Hence we make bold to reproduce the leading provisions of this remarkable specimen of the art of real statesmanship, as contradistinguished from our own slipshod substitute for solid work:

"DENOMINATIONAL CONDITIONS.

"Sec. 33. The public elementary schools shall, as a rule, be so organized that Protestant children shall be taught by Protestant teachers and Catholic children by Catholic teachers.

"Sec. 34. No child shall be denied admission to the public elementary school of his home place solely on account of denominational confession.

"Sec. 35. In public elementary schools of only one school-room [ungraded schools] the teacher shall always be a Protestant if his predecessor was a Protestant, or a Catholic if his predecessor was a Catholic.

"In place of a Protestant teacher, should his position become vacant, a Catholic teacher shall, as a rule, be appointed if for five successive years at least two-thirds of the children attending the school, exclusive of guest children, have been of the Catholic faith, and if during that time the number of Protestant children has been less than twenty. Under similar circumstances, as a rule, a Catholic teacher shall be replaced by a Protestant. The change requires the sanction of the Minister of Instruction.

"Sec. 36. In a school in which, according to its particular organization, both Protestant and Catholic teachers have been simultaneously employed, the practice may be continued. In a school district which has had only schools of this kind, new schools can be established only upon the same principle. A change may be made for sufficient reasons by the authorities of the school district only with the sanction of the supervisory authority.

"If in any school district there have been heretofore, besides schools of the kind described in paragraph 1, also such as have had only Protestant or only Catholic teachers, the establishment of new schools shall be according to the principle of separate denominational schools as far as possible.

"The preceding rule is not applicable to schools in which the difference in the denomination of the teachers is caused solely by making it possible that pupils of one denomination be offered religious instruction.

"If a school has had during the last five successive years more than 60, or in cities and rural communities of over 5,000 inhabitants more than 120 pupils of the Protestant or of the Catholic denomination, the parents or guardians of these 60 or 120 pupils, respectively, may petition the supervisory authority to arrange the schools so as to make them denominational, *i. e.*, have teachers employed who are either Protestant or Catholic, as the case may be, provided there is not in that district any school of denominational character to which such children might be sent.

"Sec. 37. If in any public elementary school staffed exclusively with Protestant or with Catholic teachers there are found twelve pupils, residents of the district, of a different denomination, separate religious instruction shall be provided for them.

"With reference to the pecuniary demands made according to Section 1 of the law of May 26, 1887, the necessity of providing pupils with separate religious instruction shall not be denied from considerations of the needs of the school, nor from considerations of the ability to pay of those who support the school.

"Whenever any such provision for extra religious instruction is met with great difficulties, a Protestant or a Catholic teacher may be employed for that purpose, who may also be entrusted with the instruction in other branches.

"Sec. 38. For all other elementary schools requiring several teachers only Protestants or only Catholics shall be employed. In employing additional teachers in schools hitherto taught by only one teacher, only candidates of the same denomination shall be considered.

"Protestant teachers in schools of several grades shall be replaced by Catholics if during five consecutive years at least two-thirds of the pupils residing in the district (exclusive of guest children) have been of the Catholic faith, and if during that period the number of Protestant children has been less than forty. Under similar conditions Catholic teachers shall be replaced by Protestants. The change requires the sanction of the Minister of Public Instruction.

"Sec. 39. If in a school district containing schools staffed exclusively with Catholic teachers the number of Protestant children obliged to attend school has been, during five consecutive years, more than 60, or in towns and rural districts of over 5,000 inhabitants more than 120, the parents and guardians of these 60 or 120 children, respectively, may petition the supervisory authority to provide schools exclusively with Protestant teachers.

"Sec. 40. For the establishment, maintenance and management of public schools for Jewish children, staffed exclusively with Jewish teachers, the regulations heretofore followed shall continue in force, only that Section 67, No. 3, of the law of July 23, 1847, concerning Jews, shall henceforth be applicable for the whole monarchy.

"If the public schools mentioned in Sections 35 and 39 are attended by Jewish children, the present regulations concerning the expenditures for Jewish religious instruction, and those concerning the employment of Jewish teachers in such schools for both purposes, *i. e.*, to give religious instruction and to teach other branches, shall remain in force. If in any school, staffed with Protestant or Catholic teachers, as many as twelve Jewish children belonging to the district are in attendance, a teacher shall be appointed to give religious instruction to these twelve."

The passing of such a sweeping law as this was a fact of deeper significance than might appear on the surface. It was not only a political event of the highest moment, but a moral victory of transcendent importance as well. It meant a triumph of the religious ideal over the secularist one. The National Teachers' Association—a body with a membership of 110,000—had fought hard to have its view of the means and the aim of the pedagogue impressed on the bill as it was being hammered into shape in Parliament. But the Government, thoroughly aroused over the growing power of Socialism, threw all its influence into the scales, and the outcome was a junction of the National Liberals with the different groups of the Conservatives to produce a law which was deemed necessary to create an impassable rampart against Socialism in the future. The Government succeeded, but not without arousing a feeling so bitter that it may yet work out in some subtle mischief and achieve the objects of the secularists by devious and subterranean ways. The rancor of the liberalist teachers was forcibly expressed in their press and on their platforms and in the university halls. One of the leading Berlin journals, the "*Pädagogische Zeitung*," gave the keynote, saying, *inter alia*:

"It is plain that the new regulation of school support was planned to submit public school education to extensive changes, for the question of financial support alone might have been solved in a law of a few paragraphs. But through the medium of this law the Government, safely supported by a majority of Conservatives and orthodox elements, intended to make the Church again, as in former centuries, the teacher of the people and the clergyman of the parish the general school superintendent. The aspirations of the laboring classes, their material demands, their claims upon equal political rights and other currents of thought and action in modern times

had awakened the conviction among the privileged classes of the nation that a dam should be erected against these ever-increasing claims from below. This, it was thought, could be done by having the road that leads to education regulated by the Church. In the highest layers of the social fabric of the Prussian State the belief in the social-political importance of the Church was reawakened. Police and criminal court, as experience showed, could not avail against increasing criminality, hence religion should aid to strengthen the moral stamina of the nation. Upon this background of social politics the essential features of the new school law became plainly visible."

Those chagrined secular teachers had fought hard to have a pet idea of their own, the "Simultan-Schule," or common school, set up in place of the denominational one, but against this proposal the whole weight of the Catholic clergy was exerted. They published a general protest, drawn up by the pastors of Bavaria, and got it published in many of the German religious papers. It was a document that largely influenced the final decision, it may well be conjectured, so well arranged were the reasons it advanced for the acceptance of the Government's bill. Here are a few of its points:

"The opposition to the Christian school is getting fiercer and more general. In late years it is advocated to separate the Church entirely from the school by establishing schools common to all denominations, in which temporarily religious instruction is to be given in separate classes, but from which religion will disappear in future. The abolishment of the denominational school will, as in France, result in the establishment of schools completely without religion, and even hostile to religion. School is not only to instruct, but also to educate the young to become not merely men and citizens, but also Christians and members of the Church; not only for the present fleeting life, but also for the future eternal life. In education, therefore, religion must occupy the first place as the most important and most effective means. That is not possible in the common school. The arguments advanced in favor of the common school are spurious. . . .

"The adherents of the common school are, partly at least, people who have broken off connection with Christianity, and who reject all revealed religion; people who are declared enemies of Christianity, outspoken freethinkers and infidels. Hence all faithful Christians, Catholics and Protestants, clergymen and laymen, should firmly adhere to the denominational school, and the thousands who demand the common school should be met by hundred thousands and millions with the demand for denominational schools. . . .

"In closest connection with the question of common schools is

that of professional supervision. He who combats the Christian school must necessarily oppose ecclesiastical school supervision. The friends of the common school have heretofore raised the demand that the Church should be excluded entirely from supervision of the schools, and that only members of the teaching profession, *i. e.*, laymen, be entrusted with that supervision. In some countries this has already been carried into effect, at great cost, without gain to instruction and with great loss to education. However much believing Christians, and especially priests, desire the promotion of the school system, since good instruction will aid the material and moral welfare of the people, the demand for professional supervision must be rejected at all times. All the arguments in favor of denominational schools are applicable to the participation of the Church and its representatives in the direction and supervision of the schools."

In considering the significance of the provisions of the new school law it should be borne in mind that the conditions of the teaching profession in that forceful country differ vastly from those which are the rule in the United States to-day. Men are largely in preponderance in the personnel of the teaching staffs. As much as 85 per cent. of the elementary schools are members of the sterner sex, and nearly 100 per cent. of those of the secondary schools also. These teachers are men of standing and influence in nearly every case. They are men of thought and political leading. They are voters, and men who can influence voters—not corruptly, as too often is the rule here, but by force of reason, coolness of procedure and good conduct in life. They have to play a great part in making of the new law a success, and their own individual success depends largely on the sincerity and thoroughness which they show in the discharge of the honorable trust given them now by the new law. Their conduct will be closely scanned as the scheme develops, and it is highly improbable that any considerable number of them will fail to recognize what they owe to the State and the society of the future in a very grave crisis in the moral position of the entire world.

It must be borne in mind that to-day Germany is, in every department of modern life, by far the most powerful nation in the European family. It possesses, in the solidarity of its various States, a combination as irrefragable as that of the bank safe which is the despair of scientific burglars and boldest cracksmen. The political instinct of its ruler and his advisers seems to be as unerring as that of the highest type of the intuitive animal in creation in pursuit of its natural and peculiar enemy. It is feared and it is at the same time imitated, which proves that it is no less admired than feared. To us

here in the United States it has given of its best in intellect, but for the most part that of its wrongly best—its materialistic and its falsely speculative. Will it now set us thinking whether its example in raising dams and fortifications, when the tide is rising all along the far-stretching coast line of civilization, ought to inspire us with monition rather than fill us with mere wonder?

A French observer of the German system of education and its results ("Q. V.") has summarized his conclusions in the issue of *America* of the 10th October last. He compares the influence of the respective school systems in France and Germany on the teaching staffs, to the disadvantage of his compatriots. He says:

"Our teachers are more concerned with politics than with teaching. In Germany there is none of that. The teacher, conscious of the dignity of his work, is concerned solely with his school, and leaves politics for the few hours of leisure that are at his disposal. When he is assigned to a post, he has to continue to work. He has to pass two examinations, on which his advancement and his proportionate increase of salary depends. His examinations call for continual study, and while keeping him, so to speak, breathless, they encourage him to acquire a more profound respect for his profession.

"What struck me most in German teachers was their patriotism. You never meet among them any followers of d'Herve, or even Socialists. For the most part they are very patriotic. As regards military life, they are obliged to only one year's service (formerly it was six months). Most of them endeavor to become officers of the Reserves, and in Germany that costs a good deal, both in money and in work. Whereas the simple reservist has to serve twenty-eight days, the man who is striving to be an officer is assigned fifty-six days, part of which is spent in camp.

"This ardent patriotism is not superficial. It is down deep in their hearts, and in the schools they communicate it to their pupils. They teach them songs where the words God, Kaiser and Fatherland recur at each moment, and in which the patriotic sentiments seemed to me were somewhat excessive."

Is there not food for thought in this survey?

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Book Reviews

LA RESURRECTION DE JESUS, suivie de deux Appendices sur la Crucifixion et l'Ascension, par l'Abbé E. Mangelot, consultant de la commission biblique, professeur d'Exégèse du Nouveau Testament à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. In 16 double couronne de 404 pp. 3 fr. 50. Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie, Rue de Rennes 117, Paris.

In this admirable volume M. Mangelot has grouped together in an improved and complete form the eight articles which he had published on the all-important subject of the Resurrection of Jesus and which appeared in the *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique* in the course of the years 1908 and 1909. He has inserted also in their proper place the two articles on the burial of our Saviour, which had appeared in the same review in 1907. All the articles were carefully reviewed and improved by the author before being republished in the present volume. His work is more on the lines of criticism than on those of exegesis, the author having followed his adversaries along the ground of literary and historical criticism occupied by them in making their attacks upon the dogma. Hence he has in the first part exposed the teaching of St. Paul upon the resurrection before studying in the second part those parts of the Gospel narrative which are particularly discussed and attacked. The Apostle's teaching, as given in his epistles admitted as authentic by all serious critics, has an incontestable historic value. It bears not only on the very fact itself of the resurrection of the Saviour on the third day after His death and burial, which fact is, moreover, confirmed by the testimony of the Scriptures, but also on six apparitions of the risen Christ, the last of which effected the conversion of Saul near Damascus, and on the corporeal reality of the transformed and spiritualized body of the risen Saviour. Thus the testimony of St. Paul, taken alone, suffices to establish historically the resurrection of the Saviour, which is the solid basis of Christian faith. The Gospel narratives attest it also. They successfully withstand all the attacks of rationalistic and modernistic criticism and they furnish two historic proofs of the resurrection of the Divine Master. The first proof is the discovery of the empty tomb, which is of value, although it be only an indirect proof, since the narrative of St. Mark is no more a legend than is that of our Lord's burial in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, and since all attempts hitherto made to explain the event by natural causes have miserably failed. The second proof, which is direct, is derived from the apparition of the risen Saviour to His disciples both in Jerusalem and in Galilee. These two traditions, the one of Jerusalem, the other of Galilee, far from excluding each other, as is alleged, only tend to support and complete each other admirably. The Gospel accounts

finally contain precise details upon the nature and qualities of the glorified body of our Lord, and this doctrine is not borrowed from those popular ideas which are said to have prevailed amongst our Lord's contemporaries. The work of M. Mangelot treats in masterly style all these questions and is assuredly more than any other book of the time in close touch with all modern objections against the resurrection of Jesus, which it refutes directly and victoriously. It is an apologetic work of the first class. Two unedited appendixes are inserted, which prove respectively the reality of the crucifixion of Jesus under Pontius Pilate, which had recently been denied by M. Salomon Reinach in his *Orpheus*, and the fact, circumstances and nature of our Saviour's ascension.

LECONS DE PHILOSOPHIE SOCIALE, par le R. P. Schwalm, des Frères Prêcheurs.
I. Introduction. La famille ouvrière. Préface de M. Gabriel Mellin, chargé du cours de Science Sociale à l'Université de Nancy. 1 vol. in 12, xx. + 427 pages. Prix, 4 francs. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

To-day every one desires to become familiar with the science of social problems. To satisfy this most reasonable demand until the present time, we have been unable to find a text-book which was at once clear, simple, well informed and containing sure doctrine with wide and well established information. Just such a book is now furnished in this new publication of the Rev. P. Schwalm. What must captivate the student in the study and perusal of this work is the solidity of the principles combined with the largeness of view, which characterizes its teaching and which is due to the author's exact knowledge of social facts. Closely intermingled and crossing one another at every page, as it were, we find the data of social science, whose methods L. Schwalm thoroughly possessed, and those of St. Thomas' philosophy, drawn from their very sources—commentaries on ethics and politics, "De Regimine Principum," various works on social ethics, the two Summas, the "Disputed Questions," etc. The book contains a masterly study of all those questions which preoccupy public opinion in our day, such as the family, education, labor, property, wages, associations, syndicates, the State, socialism, etc. This extensive study displays such a talent for exposition and such an ease of style as to render these subjects accessible to the most unprepared students.

The work will render valuable service to young priests who seek enlightenment before undertaking the apostolic work to which their zeal urges them. Numbers of laymen, too, will be directed by it in the great work of fulfilling well their part in the social world and protected by its maxims from many a false step and from disad-

vantageous methods. Courses of study especially find here a guide that will prove secure, well informed and of a scientific and practical character. In a word, the book is on the whole an original and solid work, where social science, being brought back to its principles, appears to be completely transformed and rejuvenated.

LA VERITE DU CATHOLICISME, par *J. Briout* (de la collection *Etudes de philosophie et de critique religieuse*). Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

In this volume the author does not pretend to furnish a complete course of apologetics with such an entirety and in such a style as might recall even distantly such works as the "Discours Sur l'Histoire les Pensées," or "l'Essai Sur l'Indifference." What it aims at is to offer a collection of articles, which appeared for the first time in the *Revue du Clergé Français*, and which are here reproduced in such a modified or improved form as to make them appear as parts of a whole, members as it were of one body, or chapters of one book. Such questions are handled as the following: What are the difficulties of belief chiefly found by our contemporaries? What was the system of apologetics followed by the late regretted Mgr. d'Hulst in the pulpit of Notre Dame? What is the historic value of the Gospels, on which our apologetics chiefly rely? How may we victoriously answer the challenge offered us by M. Loisy to defend Catholicism on the ground of history? What conception of dogmatic development may be reconciled at once with historic science and with the teaching of the Church? Finally, in what way a man can love his century and his country without being an "Americanist" or "Modernist" and without ceasing to be scrupulously orthodox. In the study of these questions one by one, as presented in this volume, the reader will not experience the painful impression caused by the sight of a badly constructed house or of a picture done up in incongruous colors. Its pages will assuredly furnish or suggest excellent material to the Catholic apologist and will serve to restore quiet to many a restless mind, a twofold fruit most devoutly to be wished by every sincere reader.

L'ENSEIGNEMENT CATHOLIQUE DANS LA FRANCE CONTEMPORAINE. Etudes et discours, par *Mgr. Baudrillart*, recteur de l'Institut catholique de Paris. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris. 1 vol. in 8—de VIII.—704 pages. Prix, 7 fr. 50.

Under this general title and under the three following headings—"Le Réveil des Etudes: Apologistes et Maitres Chrétiens," "Les Principes Chrétiens dans l'Enseignement et l'Education: Nécessité de l'Enseignement Libre," "La Viè, le Rôle et l'Œuvre des Uni-

versités Catholiques"—Mgr. Baudrillart presents to the world nearly forty essays and lectures, whose object is to remind both friends and foes of what the French Catholics have aimed at and accomplished for the past century in their public and private teaching. Though the volume is not a history of Catholic teaching, it is indispensable to any one who wishes to write a history. Of this sufficient proof is found in the alphabetical index (men, institutions, works), containing no less than one thousand five hundred names. Almost all the great educators and professors of the last century—Abbé Bautain, Frédéric Ozanam, Père Gratry, Mgr. Perrand, l'Abbé de Broglie, Mgr. d'Hulst, M. de Lapparent, Père Olivaint, Père Joubert, Père Didon, Abbé Thenon, Abbé de Lagarde, etc., etc.—are passed in careful review and studied, together with the various types of Christian educational houses, including Catholic universities.

Though not a theoretical or didactic work, the book leaves untouched not one of those questions whose principles provoke discussion in nearly all degrees of ecclesiastical and lay teaching of the present time. The most contemporaneous problems, such as modernism, intellectual crisis now rife amongst both clergy and laity, etc., are boldly and fearlessly met by the author. A genuine service has been rendered to many classes of men—educators, orators, public men in the political world—by the laborious efforts of Mgr. Baudrillart, which have successfully brought together and classified in one volume so many studies, essays and lectures which would otherwise have remained scattered far and wide in a vast number of small pamphlets.

LE POSITIVISME CHRÉTIEN, par *André Godard*. Édition augmentée et entièrement revue. Prix, 3 fr. 50. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

M. André Godard's works are destined to occupy henceforth a preëminent place in the apologetics of the day; the author has succeeded in avoiding the two shoals of modernism and of routine. His pamphlet on *Progrès actuels de l'Eglise* offers a résumé of his ideas on religious philosophy, and in its Italian edition has been privileged with the approbation of two consultants of the Index. Moreover, he has opened out new perspectives on those problems which still block the way before unbelievers or disconcert some Catholics; for instance, what is the spiritual destiny of non-Christians, how can we harmonize free-will with divine foreknowledge or the dogma of the Incarnation with the plurality of inhabited stars. On the ground of exegesis the author of "*Le Positivisme chrétien*" proves the exact parallelism of archæological and philological discoveries with the authenticity of the Holy Books. In other works he refutes the transformist hypothesis on the strength of biology. On the

first appearance of "Positivisme chrétien," M. Charles Vincent pointed out this new volume as having indicated the greatest degree of progress in apologetics which had been achieved for the last fifty years. M. Brunetière made mention of it in a lecture and François Coppeé devoted to it a long article, which ended as follows: "Every reader hungering for truth will find himself carried away by conviction in turning over these luminous pages, in which the author, whilst never desisting from a course of reasoning of inflexible rigor, sometimes seizes upon the favorite weapon of his adversaries, viz., that sparkling and cold irony in the use of which he is a consummate master." This new edition has been reinforced by the addition of striking studies on recent supernatural events, and will excite the most keen interest not only in the clergy, but in all laymen who are zealous for the defense of Christian truth.

LA RELIGION DE L'ANCIENNE EGYPTE, par *Philippe Virey*. Beauchesne et Cie, rue de Rennes 117, Paris.

This volume is the grouping together in one publication of seven conferences delivered in 1909, at the Catholic Institute of Paris, on different subjects relating to the ancient religion of Egypt.

It does not pretend to offer an outline or systematic exposition of Egyptian religion under all its manifestations, but rather aims at presenting a general survey of the religious ideas of ancient Egypt, such as the author apprehends them.

The most interesting problems of this religion—namely, the questions relating to the unity or to the multiplicity of the Divine Being, to the meaning and the virtue of sacrifice, to the origin of animal-worship, of polytheism, etc.—are surely not the least easy of solution. These questions, however, are not evaded by the author. For each of them he has proposed such solutions as he considers probable or, at least, acceptable, though not always as certain, since the handling of the subject does not admit of a claim to infallible authoritativeness on the part of the lecturer.

The chief part of the author's attention was directed to the dogmatic question and the religious thought of the Egyptians rather than the outward manifestations of it. But little is said of the temples, the priesthood and the ceremonial details of the worship. The general signification of these ceremonies is dwelt upon. In regard to religious literature, also, but little is said. Frequent mention, however, is made of the most important and most ancient books, especially the Book of the Dead and the texts of the Pyramids.

The book comprises in all seven chapters, as follows: I., "Ancienneté de la Religion Egyptienne—L'Adam Egyptien, Etc." II., "Com-

ment les Egyptiens Conçurent et Définirent la Divinité, Etc." III., "L'Union du Ciel and de la Terre, Etc." IV., "Quelques-unes des Divinités, Etc." V., "Mythologie Panthéistique, Etc." VI., "Idées de l'Ancienne Egypte sur la Survivance de la Personnalité Après la Mort." VII., "Caractère des Cérémonies, Etc."

LA DIFESA DEL CRISTIANESIMO per l'Unione delle chiese—*Nicola Franco*, Sacerdote di Rito Greco. Prezzo L. 250. Roma, M. Bretschneider, Via del Fritone 60.

This able volume in 227 pages forms a powerful appeal for the union of the churches, in order thereby to secure the defense of Christianity. After a general survey of the world-wide war waged upon the Christian religion, the author lays down in strong argument the necessity of the uniting of the Eastern and Western Churches for the defense of Christianity. He proves from the very institution of the Church by its Divine Founder the necessity of a central direction in matters of dogma and government. He then points out where, according to the intentions of Christ and by His appointment this central direction of the Universal Church must reside.

The author shows how the Oriental Churches may join in unity of faith and government with the Catholic Church without changing the rites and the discipline consecrated by the venerable traditions of the holy fathers of the East, who are venerated in the Western as well as the Eastern churches. In advocating the reunion of the West and East the author deals largely with the difficulties to be met with from various sources, such as the peculiar characteristics of the orthodox churches, the preoccupations inevitable in dealing with the orthodox church of Russia, the question of the sovereignty of the Church, Latinism, nationalism, etc., etc. The publication is certainly a most valuable contribution to all those whose zeal prompts them to unite their efforts in the attainment of this grand object, viz., the reunion of all nations under one shepherd and in one fold.

LES IDEES MORALES DE MADAME DE STAEL, par *Maurice Souriau*, professeur à l'Université de Caen. 1 vol. in 16. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

To appreciate the ideas of any writer on questions of morality it is very useful to question his or her life and to place side by side the doctrines taught and the practice followed. Especially is this comparative study indispensable in the case of a woman writer, and above all, when the writer is no other than Madame de Staël. Her opinions have varied with her friendships; her heart always supplied more powerful reasons than did her intelligence and judgment for such

variations. Michelet refuses to her the rare attribute, genius, but grants her the possession of a great and immense talent, whose source lay in her heart. The two characteristics of genius, profound naivete and powerful invention are never to be found in her. Her moral standards are not well balanced and her ideas seem to manifest the effects of those troubles and agitations which she underwent in her private life and of those political storms which caused the upheaval of everything around her.

Her history presents a powerful character, which was essentially good and honest and earnest in the pursuit of righteousness and which appeared better at the end than at the beginning of her career, but still showing no regularity in its moral progress. M. Souriau's book comprises five chapters, embracing the successive stages of her life before 1789, during the Revolution, under the Directory, under the empire and finally after the Restoration. A succession of the most interesting pictures are presented by the author in the numberless passages quoted from her writings and in the exciting variety of events which he is obliged to pass in review.

UN EPISODE DE LA FIN DU PAGANISME. La Correspondance d'Ausone, et de Paulin de Nole, avec une étude critique, des Notes et un Appendice sur la question du christianisme d'Ausone, par *Pierre de Labriolle*, professeur à l'Université de Fribourg. 1 vol. in 16 de la collection chefs d'oeuvre de la littérature religieuse, No. 561. Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

It can be said that no one was more sadly astonished than Ausonius at the news of the striking conversion of Paulinus. Ausonius had been the teacher of Paulinus at the University of Bordeaux. In him the eminent professor had found his chief satisfaction, his best hopes, and he had ever remained bound to him by an affectionate interchange of letters, of poetry and of presents. And now came the time so little expected, so little dreamt of, when this beloved Paulinus abdicated the worldly life, abandoned Aquitaine, to bury himself in Spain, and sold his vast possessions for the relief of the poor. But what more? Did he also renounce the intellectual delights hitherto enjoyed—the task of resuming Suetonius, writing poetry, turning over the masterpieces of the classic authors, cultivating his mind and fancy with the literature of the Latins and Greeks? Ausonius was unable to bear up against the feeling of suspense, doubt and uneasiness he endured, aggravated as they were by the silence of Paulinus. He decided to write to him and beseech him to speak, to explain and to retrace his steps. Such was the starting point of the correspondence which was carried on between these two famous men. It possesses incontestably the greatest degree of psychological and historical interest. The delight experienced in

its perusal is vastly enhanced by the fine and erudite commentaries of M. de Labriolle.

L'ÉTAT MODERNE ET LA NEUTRALITÉ SCOLAIRE, par *George Fonsegrive*, 1 vol. in 16. Bloud et Cie, édit, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

Is the State of the present day, whose organ is the school teacher, duly qualified for giving a moral education? Is it bound to give it? Can it give it? Such is the important problem taken up and attempted to be solved by M. Fonsegrive. Needless to say that the eminent philosopher remains within the domain of ideas in discussing his point and makes his whole appeal to logic alone. Nevertheless his verdict on the question is in the negative. He establishes the spiritual incompetence of the State. The business of the State is to protect and to promote the interests of the economic and material order in human affairs, but outside of this domain it has no authority, and it should leave untouched what belongs to the spiritual order. Consequently if we wish to maintain the moral rights of the family and of the Church, we have only one line of conduct to follow, and this is to accept or take for granted the fact of neutrality and of laicization and to ascertain clearly what that fact implies, viz.: First, the avowal of the powerlessness of the State in educational matters; second, the consequent necessity of confining the State within the limits of its acknowledged incompetence; third, draw out of that incompetence all the fruits of liberty, whose germ it contains. Such is the conclusion reached by the author. It remains for Catholics to study it in all its bearings and to establish on this strong foundation the whole plan of their just claims.

LA PHILOSOPHIE MINÉRALE par *A. de Lapparent*. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1910. Pp. vi. + 316.

The fame of the eminent savant, some of whose miscellaneous essays are unified under the above title, rests, of course, on his researches in the field of geology. But no great scientist can confine himself to a single department of knowledge. The natural force of his intelligence, as well as the very demands of his specialty impel him beyond its borders. The results of this urgency were embodied in the present case in various scientific periodicals, and out of these the editors of the volume at hand have gathered them and given them permanent shape. The title is sufficiently comprehensive to embrace essays that deal not only with the subject-matter to which it specially belongs—covering as it does the opening paper—but also the allied topics—theories on the constitution of matter, crystallography, vicissitudes of speculations on prehistoric subjects,

the antiquity of man and the glacial period. Upon all these subjects the distinguished savant discourses, it need hardly be said, with his wonted fecundity of thought and masterly control of facts and theories. The book is one which will appeal almost equally to the philosopher and the scientist, while the apologist will find in it effective arguments. The treatment is not so technical but that the average intelligent reader can profit by it, aided as he will find himself by the author's characteristically lucid style and method.

HEAVENWARDS. By *Mother Mary Loyola*, of the Bar Convent, York. Edited by Father Thurston, S. J. 12mo., pp. 292, with illustrations. P. J. Kenedy, New York and Philadelphia.

The list of devotional works by Mother Loyola has been growing for several years, until now it occupies a page of the book before us. They have all been warmly welcomed because they exhale the simple faith that fills them and communicates it to those who use them. More books of devotion and fewer books of controversy would spread the true faith faster. We probably make the mistake too often of presuming that people in general are antagonistic to the eternal truths and that we must fight with them. We should probably be nearer the truth if we assumed that almost all those who are trying to lead good lives have faith, though perhaps not clearly defined, and that they wish to know the truth. For such persons generally the mere statement of the truth with a description of the beauties of religion would be sufficient. They are hungry with a natural hunger for God and all that leads to them, and we have but to feed.

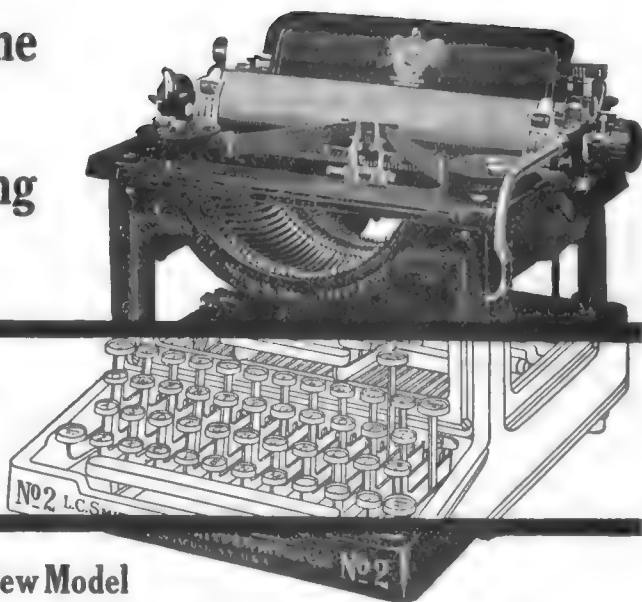
In "Heavenwards," as the title indicates, Mother Loyola tries in a series of essays or meditations to lead the soul up to God. They are simple and full of devotion, and they ought to do a great deal of good.

COMMENT IL FAUT PRIER, par A. Martin, 1 vol. in 16 de la collection Science et Religion, nos. 565-566. Prix, 1 fr. 20. Librairie Bloud et Cie, 7 place Saint-Sulpice, Paris.

This little book comprises two parts. The first teaches by extracts from the New Testament and Church literature how we must pray. The second affords an excellent instruction on the liturgy, under the form of an essay on the Holy Mass, its origin and the meaning of the different ceremonies it contains. The book is planned upon a practical method and for a practical object and is therefore a manual of piety drawn up especially for the use of the young. Far from being a simple collection of formulas, it is really a volume full of life itself and admirably suited to intensify religious life in all readers who will make it their habitual companion.

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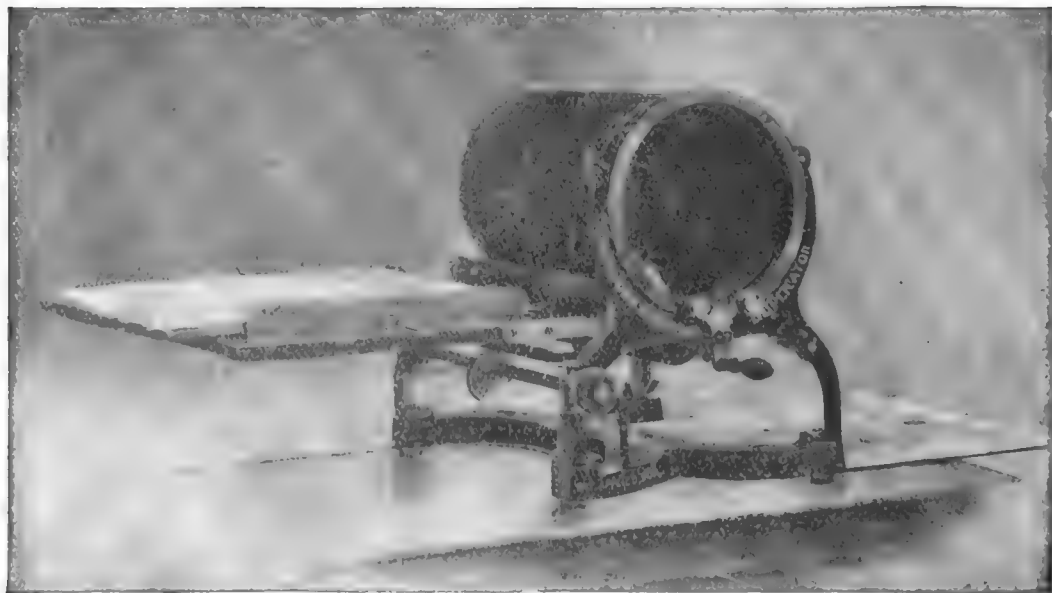
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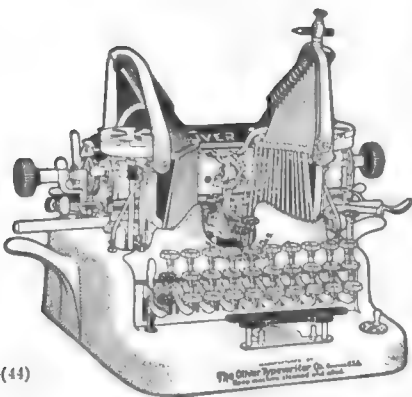
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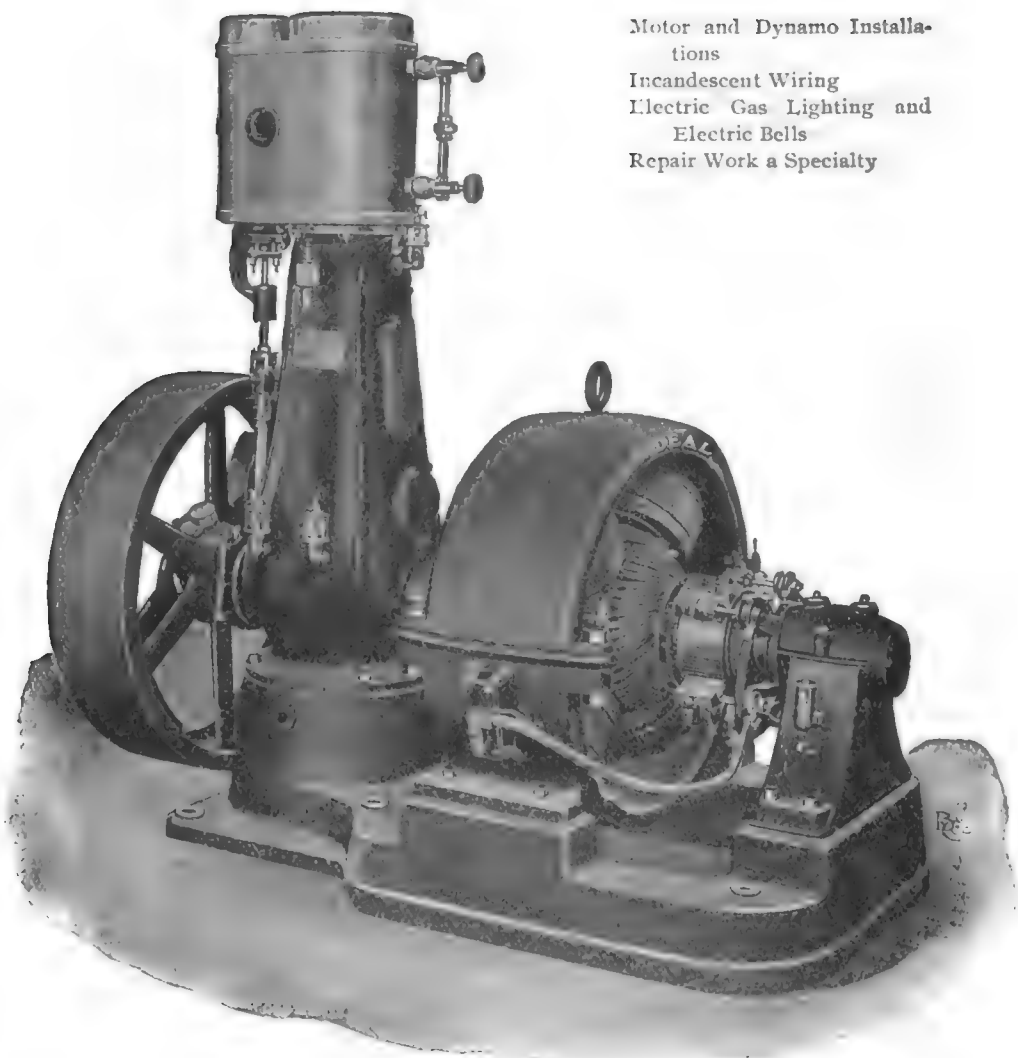
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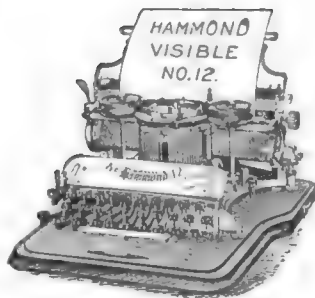
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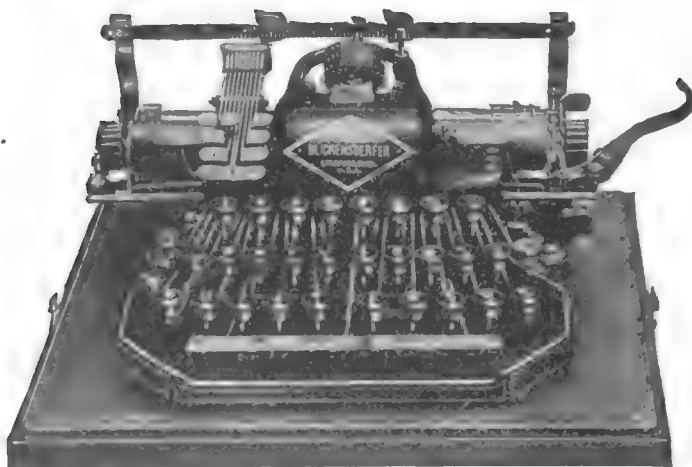
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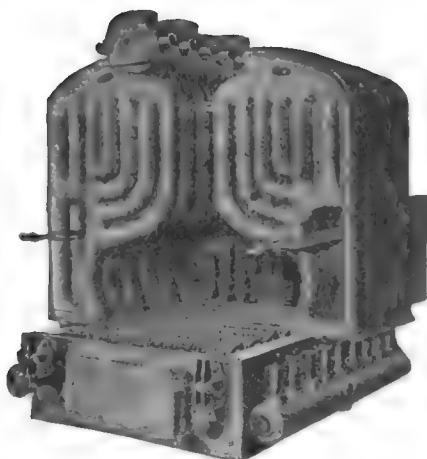
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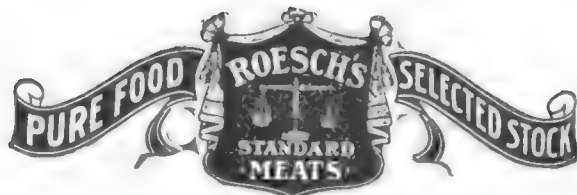
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